10 Years After the Great Recession:
Orthodox versus Heterodox Economics

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Orthodox versus Heterodox Economics

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COMPARISON OF PRECAUTIONARY COSTS AND COMPENSATION COSTS REGARDING OCCUPATIONAL ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES

Altan Kayacan, Zeynep Şişli*

Abstract

Occupational accidents and diseases are mainly caused due to neglecting obligations regarding occupational health precautions for financial reasons. In this study, based on master's thesis, overall results of occupational accidents and diseases in Turkey are examined on basis of SGK data, in addition, it is shown through a precedent that significant economic losses are caused by the absence of simple precautions. The economic and social effects of occupational accidents on human lives, which are expressed by numbers at country level, are evaluated by examining the precautionary and compensation costs in above mentioned case. How effective preferring precautionary costs to compensation costs can be in solving this economic and social problem is emphasized, together with values in terms of human rights.

Keywords: Occupational Accidents; Occupational Diseases; Precautionary Costs; Compensation Costs; Responsibilities of Parties

A. Key Terms

A.1. Definition of Occupational Accidents

One of the things intended to be avoided with occupational health and safety precautions is the danger and risk of occupational accidents to happen. The definition of "accident" in English Dictionary of Cambridge is: *"something bad that happens that is not expected or intended and that often damages something or injures someone".* While WHO's definition of occupational accident is "an event that has not been planned in advance, which often leads to personal injury, damage to machinery and equipment, and production to stop for a while", the definition made by ILO is "An unplanned, unexpected event that causes a specific harm or injury" and finally EUROSTAT's definition is "a sudden event that leads to physical or mental discomfort during work". (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, https://www.csgb.gov.tr/media/6101/isg04.pdf; Kılkış, 2014, p. 10; Stölb, 2013, pp. 55-56)

With the respect of Turkish Social Security Law, description of occupational accident is made within "Act No: 5510 Article No: 13" by counting five situations which leads social insurant to become physically or mentally disabled.

Description of occupational accident within the context of Turkish Labor Law is made within "Act No: 6331 Article No: 3". The elements of occupational accidents in this context –also with regard to employer- are; working by contract, an accident to occur, suitable causal connection between work and accident -act of employer which is contrary to agreement should cause accident-, liability due to a danger brought on by the conduct of business, damage related to accident and suitable causal connection between accident and damage. (Sözer, 2001, p.1894)

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Different definitions of Act No: 5510 and Act No: 6331 cause different responsibilities to be created. While in the Act No: 6331, job casualties are broadly covered by those who can be handled by the employer in terms of situations that the employer can avoid, in the Act No: 5510 all situations that can be counted as occupational accidents are listed and limited to social insurants. (Eser, 2016, p. 8)

"Table 1, Elements of Occupational Accidents"

	Social Security Law	**Labor Law**
Elements of Occupational Accidents	1) Social insurant	1) Employee
	2) Accident	2) Accident
	3) Presumption of Accident	3) Liability of Risk
	4) Damage	4) Damage
	5) Causal Connection	5) Causal Connection

A.2. Definition of Occupational Diseases

It will be beneficial to define "disease" firstly for understanding the term "occupational disease". The definition of "disease" in English Dictionary of Cambridge is: *"a condition of a person, animal, or plant in which its body or structure is harmed because an organ or part is unable to work as it usually does"*.

WHO's definition of occupational disease is "a *disease caused by the work and which is measurable, identifiable, controllable and ones that the relationship between the special factors and the disease can be established in full"*. (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, https://www.csgb.gov.tr/ media/6101/isg04.pdf) On the other hand, ILO's definition of occupational disease is "g*etting to any disease as a result of exposure to risk factors arising from business activity."* (Eser, 2016, p. 8)

In fifth section of By-Law No: 27021, Dated: 11.10.2008, occupational diseases were listed in five groups with Article No: 18. This disease grouping created by occupation-related occurrence is as follows:

• Group A: Diseases due to chemical substances,

• Group B: Skin diseases,

• Group C: Pneumoconiosis and other respiratory-related diseases,

• Group D: Infectious diseases,

• Group E: Diseases caused by physical factors.

If the employee is working under the order and instructions of the employer and the workplace's condition is suitable for the disease, the disease is regarded as occupational disease. (Güzel, Okur, & Caniklioğlu, 2014, p. 442)

B. Responsibilities of Employers and Employees for The Purpose of Preventing Occupational Accidents and Diseases

B.1. Responsibilities of Employers

Employers have many responsibilities in Turkish law, which are subject to supervision and protection obligation. Protecting the health of the employee does not only include protection against physical hazards, but also includes protection against psychosocial hazards and risks. (Çelik, Caniklioğlu, & Canbolat, 2017, p. 321) In other words, within the above mentioned obligation of employers regarding occupational accidents and diseases; personality, life, material body integrity and health of employee are included. (Aktay, Arıcı, & Kaplan, 2013, pp. 146-151)

In our national law teaching, the responsibility of the employer is assessed in two different ways, namely liability at fault and strict liability. The jurisprudence of the Turkish Supreme Court has changed in various periods in history, and in recent years it has been pointed out that the responsibility of the employer is based on fault principal.

When international resources for the liability of the employers evaluated, international conventions which Turkey is a party will need to be examined. The most important resources for the topic are the European Convention on Human Rights, international conventions resulting from the work of the ILO, the European Social Charter, the European Union Directives and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Other than these international resources and Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, Act No: 6098, Act No: 4857, Act No: 5510 and Act No: 6331 are the national resources relating to occupational health and safety regulations.

With all these regulations, employers are obliged to bear various liabilities. In general, these liabilities are listed under the Act No: 6331, Article: 4 as follows:

- Prevention of occupational risks,
- To take all kinds of measures including educating and giving information to employees,
- To become organized,
- Providing necessary tools and equipments,
- Making health and safety measures compatible with changing conditions,
- Improving current situation at the work place,
- To monitor and supervise whether occupational health and safety measures are complied with,
- To eliminate disconformity,
- To perform or have performed risk assessment,
- While assigning duty to employees, to consider the suitability of them for health and safety,
- Taking necessary precautions to ensure that employees who are not adequately informed and instructed do not enter vital and special dangerous places.

B.2. Responsibilities of Employees

Among the basic responsibilities of the employee arising from the employment contract and Act No: 6098, those that important in terms of prevention of occupational accidents and occupational diseases are the obligation to care, diligence and comply with regulations and instructions. Employees must appropriately use machinery, tools

and equipment, technical systems, etc. which are owned by employer. (Narmanlıoğlu, 2014, p. 270) Again, employee who has a loyalty obligation should both prevent or inform the employer regarding incidents that harm or give damage to employer and follow employers' orders and instructions regarding health and safety. (Çelik, Caniklioğlu, & Canbolat, 2017, p. 277)

The obligations of the employee to prevent the occurrence of occupational accidents and occupational diseases are stated in Act No: 6331, Article: 19 as follows:

- Not to jeopardize the health and safety of both self and other employees in line with the health and safety training and the employer's instructions,
- To use the machinery and other production tools in the workplace in accordance with the rules, not to arbitrarily remove or modify these equipment, taking care to use their safety equipment,
- To appropriately use and keep personal protective equipments (helmet, gloves, etc.)
- To notify the employer or employee representative immediately when they see any health and safety hazards or danger in the workplace,
- To be coordinated with the employer and employee representative in eliminating the deficiencies and legislative incompatibilities found in the workplace,
- To cooperate with the employer and employee representatives in ensuring occupational health and safety within the scope of his / her duties.

As can be seen, besides the responsibilities imposed on the employers, many obligations have been imposed on the workers. Thus, it is emphasized that it is not possible, in fact, to provide occupational health and safety through unilateral efforts, that there are many obligations of all parties in this regard and that the parties should cooperate with each other in fulfilling their responsibilities.

C. Economical and Social Effects of Occupational Accidents and Diseases

C.1. Effects on Employers

According to ILO data, 10% of occupational accidents occur because of dangerous working conditions. Employers neglect to take security precautions for work accidents or occupational diseases by considering their costs and prefer not to endure these costs to compensation costs for workers or their relatives, contributing to the creation of a "murder economy" in the sense of economists. (Altan, 2012; Çetin & Gögül, 2015, p. 23) However, occupational health and safety expenditure activity analyzes reveal that the costs of prevention are considerably lower than the costs incurred after the occurrence of occupational accidents or occupational diseases. (Koç & Akbıyık, 2015 p. 130)

For employers, the economic consequences of occupational accidents and diseases are:

- To indemnify pecuniary damage of the employee,
- In case of the death of the employee, compensation for deprivation of support for their relatives,
- Liability of employer arises from revenues and payments made to the employee or his/her relatives by Turkish Social Security Institution,
- Compensation for the moral hazard of employees and their relatives,

Besides these, there might be a bad reputation of employers in workplaces where work accidents happen. (Koç & Akbıyık, 2015, p. 137)

According to Act No: 4857's article related to definitions, the persons acting on the behalf of the employer and the persons involved in the management of the workplace and the employer are the employer's agents. Employer's agents do not have any specific legal responsibility for workers against their actions in the capacity of employers on behalf of employers in this capacity. (Süzek, 2016, p. 200) However, if there is a fault of the employer's agent, the employer will be able to retract to his Proxy and in addition, if the employer's agent performs an unfair act against the workers in a position other than the competent person known to him by this title, he / she will of course be liable for the damages resulting therefrom. (Süzek, 2016, p. 201; Yılmaz, 2012, p. 72)

C.2. Effects on Employees

Employees are the mostly injured parties as a result of occupational accidents and diseases. Among the main aims of all legal norms of the subject are the assurance of employees' right to live and right to have body integrity.

Physical harm, which is the subject of the employee's suffering are; temporary or permanent incapacity for work, invalidity and death. Temporary incapacity is defined as the temporary absence of work during the rest period specified in the authorized physician or health board reports of the victim or the illiterate employee. If the person who becomes permanently incapacitated of work has completely lost his / her winning power in the profession, that is, loss of 100%, the situation is "permanent and full incapacity to work". In any case below this ratio and above 10% ratio is referred to as "permanent and partial incapacity". (Güneş, 2011, p. 77) In cases where the loss of power in the profession is 60% or more, the SSI considers the disability of the employee. In all these cases, the loss of material and moral loss of employees and their relatives is the result.

C.3. Effects on States

It is indisputable that occupational accidents and occupational diseases that cause millions of people to lose their lives every year in the world have had huge consequences in human and socio-economic terms. (Öçal & Çiçek, 2017, p. 618)

ILO studies show that about 4% of the gross domestic product of developing countries, according to the results obtained, is the economic loss that they are estimated to suffer from occupational accidents and diseases. Again according to ILO data, hundreds of people are dying every day or becoming unable to work as a result of occupational accidents or occupational diseases. As a matter of fact, the occupational problems that arise during this century lead to death of more and more people than alcohol, drugs and wars lead. (Öçal & Çiçek, 2017, p. 619) The average cost of business accidents alone is around $ 1.25 trillion annually worldwide and because of reporting systems are different in each country, many accidents are not reported, and some countries do not share their data with the ILO, exact and annual statistics are not available. (Öçal & Çiçek, 2017, p. 619)

The rate of fatal occupational accidents, Turkey is the third in the world and first in the Europe. (Çetin & Karatay, 2015, p. 4; Öçal & Çiçek, 2017, p. 628) According to the information provided by Turkish Social Security Institution's Statistics Yearbook, 286,068 work accidents and 597 occupational diseases reported in total in 2016 resulting in the death of 1,405 insured persons in Turkey. Our economy is also suffering a great deal as

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a result of the accidents that our young population, which constitutes the majority of our workforce, encounter. (Öçal & Çiçek, 2017, p. 630)

Social Security Institution's benefits, which are insured as a result of ocupational accidents or diseases, are directly assessed in terms of economic costs for the government and these benefits negatively affect the income and expense balance in the economy. (Durdu, 2014, p. 68) As an example of indirect costs, adversely affected productivity of workplaces due to occupational accidents or diseases can be shown. (Koç & Akbıyık, 2015, p. 137)

There are more than five thousand deaths per day in the world due to occupational accidents only, and it is estimated that over three hundred million occupational accidents a year are happening. (Koç & Akbıyık, 2015, p. 148) In order to prevent occupational accidents and occupational diseases, international duties and responsibilities have been assigned to the governments, which is inevitable as a result of the failure of these duties, bad reputation to occur in the eyes of other nations.

D. Precedent Regarding Effects of Occupational Accidents and Diseases
D.1. Facts and Legal Procedural Actions

The case, which was filed with the request for material and moral compensation due to the death of the employee after the accident, employees relatives were the plaintiff party. On the defendant side, there is the employer and the principal employer of the employee.

Accident occurred as ceramic tiles fall over the employee while the employee was working in a ceramic factory in İzmir. In the report of the expert delegation, the defendant employer – ceramic factory- was found 60%, the company's manager found %5, the company's production supervisor %5, the work safety specialist %5 and quality control officer %25 defective. It has been assessed that the employee has no fault.

At the end of the case at the İzmir 13th Court of Labor, with the case no: 2014/330-2016/631 the court partially accepted the case by assessing the non-pecuniary damage and decide fort pecuniary damage based on the expert report:

Fort he wife, 117.665,14 TL pecuniary, 100.000,00 TL non-pecuniary,

For child 29.742,90 TL pecuniary, 100.000,00 TL non-pecuniary,

For mother 25.000,00 TL non-pecuniary,

For father 20.000,00 TL non-pecuniary,

For each of brothers and sisters 5.000,00 TL pecuniary,

indemnities were decided.

The decision of the first instance court was appealed to the parties, the District Court of Justice accepted the application and sentenced the court's decision to be partially amended with correction, this decision was also appealed and the file was sent to the Supreme Court of Appeals, 21st Civil Law Office. During the examination of the Supreme Court, the plaintiff and the defendant declared that they waived both their claims and the appeals.

As a result, Supreme Court of Appeals, 21st Civil Law Office has decided to reject the case because of the waiver with decision dated 13.11.2017, no: 2017/2651-2017/9137.

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D.2. Interpretation of Case

One of the most important issues to be considered in above mentioned case is that the worker has found to have no defects. It is the responsibility of the employer to fix the board where the ceramic carvings are located as required and to ensure that they will not to fall down. It is obvious that the cost of this process is so much cheaper than the pecuniary and non-pecuniary compensation costs related to this occupational accident.

As a result of all the proceedings, the amount of 148.408,04 TL pecuniary damages shall be paid by principal and sub-employers in the rate of their defects. Also Social Security Institution will have the right to retract from employers for social security benefits that paid to the plaintiffs. The judge has ruled the statutory interest for a total of TL 265,000.00 in respect of non-pecuniary damage for the claimant and there will also be costs of proceedings and proxy fees within the scope of the financial burden of employers arising from the occupational accident.

In the course of the proceeding, appeals were resorted, and immediately afterwards, the parties did not want to extend the judicial process further because it is they came to an agreement regading compensation. On top of that, the plaintiff waived the case in the course of the appeal examination.

E. Conclusion

The aim of our article is to compare the losses incurred after occupational accidents and diseases with the costs of legislation on occupational health and safety and to reveal the material and moral burden on the social parties. In this context, a sample case has been reviewed in order to be an example of the compensation costs. Also the responsibilities of the parties have been addressed in relation to occupational health and safety, and national and international resources have been demonstrated.

A description of the pecuniary burdens to be incurred by the employers in contradicting their obligations for financial reasons have been made and consequences is referred due to the material and moral loss of the employees, and finally, it is explained what kind of economic consequences are caused by occupational accidents and diseases in the whole country and in the world.

Our work is limited to legal responsibility for compensation and it has been concluded that the regulations on occupational health and safety in both our national law and the international law are sufficient but some steps must be taken in order to ensure compliance with these rules in practice.

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THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF DEBT CRISIS AND SOVEREIGN DEFAULTS

*Aylin Altınay Cingöz, Barış Kablamacı**

Abstract

This study reviews the debt crisis of developing and less developed countries and its impacts on their political conditions. The paper argues the diversified reasons of sovereign defaults depending on debt crisis as well as looks on historical patterns of some countries. The data used in this paper indicates that sovereign defaults associated with debt crisis result with different political consequences. In addition, while some countries experienced coup d'etat, some political improvements through civil society and liberal democracy.

Keywords: sovereign default, debt crisis, political changes, liberal democracy

Introduction

After the 1990s, recent developments in the international financial system show that macroeconomic policy mistakes do not only generate economic problems, but also cause political upheavals in developing countries.

Twenty-six countries defaulted since 1990, according to Standard & Poor's Global Ratings Report (2018), which are twice or more, as a sovereign foreign-currency selective default. Although past defaults enlighten the recent circumstances in the global financial system, there are some particular features of the past defaults, such as; a high debt/GDP ratio, huge foreign currency debt, debt affordability and economic weakness and weak institutions (Moody's, 2013). Therefore, debt crisis could increase from domestic fiscal or political turbulence, regime switches or economic-political transitions relying on trade deficits or a loss of confidence in the global financial market and could lead to roll of the external debt.

Sovereign defaults could arise from sovereign debt crisis and could end generally with the absolute exclusion from financial markets, which are presented as reputational cost and trade sanctions from creditors' residential countries (Borensztein and Panizza, 2008). The difference of the impacts of these two effects mainly depends on how open the economy is. The more open an economy is, the more it could face with a higher default point. Before this point, IMF or other global financial system units could have an international intervention role to soften or prevent a debt crisis, which may generate a reduction in domestic economic activity and production in the economy (de Paoli et al., 2006).

On the other side, sovereign defaults cause significant political implications in developing countries, such as political conflict in the country and political isolation in global political system that leads to adverse influences on the consolidation and a reduction in the level of liberal democracy (Adam and Karanatsis, 2016).

The objective of this paper is to analyze the political consequences of debt crisis and sovereign defaults. For this purpose, we examine the political changes, particularly the change of liberal democracy in these countries, which

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defaulted in the period of 1990 – 2016, using datasets from the World Bank Indicators and V-Dem. The primary question in this paper is that whether macroeconomics generates a significant political change, or in other words if debt crisis or defaults could trigger major changes in liberal democracy in these societies. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the literature review. Section 3 describes the data set and discusses the overview and assessment of the selected countries that are defaulted. Section 4 concludes.

Literature Review

In presenting the related literature of the political consequences of debt crisis and sovereign defaults we choose to start with the story of debt crisis of developing and less developed countries. Not surprisingly, the debt crisis of the 1980s was not the first. Lindert and Morton (1989, p.43) list the sovereign debts historically and start by presenting the lending wave of the 1820's as first, which ended with most Latin American governments defaulting to some degree. Then around 1850s Latin American and the Eastern Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Greece and transiently Egypt) fell into defaults. By the end of 1880s a smaller lending wave came which seriously hit Argentina and a little less Colombia. The 1910s introduced wholesale defaults in the Mexican Revolution, Russian Revolution, and half of the Ottoman Empire. Then the greatest wave came in 1930s, in which essentially all of Latin America, most of Eastern Europe, Turkey and Chine defaulted (Lindert and Morton, 1989, p. 43). Sachs (1989, p. 23) cites that the NBER historical records show that moratoriums played an important role in the resolution of earlier crises. The writer points out that the debt crisis of the 1930s was managed with a one-sided debt rescheduling in most Latin American countries.

When we come to 1980s, World Economic and Social Survey 2017 asserts that the sovereign debt crises of 1980s was set off by the call of Fed in October 1979 to raise interest rates steeply. It had a direct impact on debt service, since much of the external debt in developing countries had been contracted at floating interest rates. A sharp drop in non-oil commodity prices compounded the difficulties. Arezki and Brückner (2010) examine the way commodity exporting countries react to international price booms and come to the conclusion that there is a significant difference in the way different political regimes managed the situation.

Sachs (1989) denotes the genesis of 1980s debt crisis as a combination of policy actions in the borrower states, macroeconomic shocks in the world economy, and a noteworthy spurt of uncontrolled bank credits between 1979 and 1981. The global economy was set on lower growth, higher interest rates, declining terms of trade for commodity exporters and protectionism. Most of the developing countries followed the same vicious pattern of policy actions. They were dealing with chronically large fiscal deficits, balance-of-payments difficulties and overvalued exchange rates. Under restrictive monetary policies they targeted to cut down inflation, which resulted in both high nominal and real interest rates. These ill-judged domestic policies, when combined together with external problems, created overreliance on borrowing from international banks. For developing countries, this meant higher costs of borrowing and reduced demand for their exports. (Sachs, 1989, pp. 5-6) (WESS, 2017, p. 59).

In August 1982, Mexico announced that it will not be able to continue debt service as scheduled, unless it received help through new loans or rescheduling. After Mexico's default a decade-long process started. While circumstances varied from region to region and from country to country, in general, large current account deficits made it impossible to continue the service of debt. Most of the Latin American countries, many African countries and some countries in Asia suffered of debt overhang until the early 1990s. Ocampo (2013) regards the sovereign debt crisis of the 1980s as the most traumatic incident in Latin America's economic history, having been responsible

for the region's "lost decade" of development. It took even more time for sub-Sahara to recover. The end of the debt crisis came, in practical terms, when debt relief was agreed and international investors returned to the region. (Ocampo, 2013, p.1)

The history of sovereign states borrowing money and the financial crisis related to it, has been a long one. Tomz and Wright (2012) describe sovereign debt as one of the first financial assets ever to be traded and indicate that it continues to be a significant part of global financial assets. Borenzstein and Panizza (2008) underline that unlike private debt, sovereign immunity protects the debtors and loosens the rights of creditors. In the case of a private firm, creditors have well-defined legal rights that secure them. So if the firm goes bankrupt, and is unable to pay its total debt, creditors may claim rights on the company's assets. But under the act of sovereign immunity it becomes almost impossible to enforce a debt and governments are usually limited to suit against defaulters. But the literature supports that sovereign debt markets still prevail because costs of sovereign default cause a motivation for the borrowers to repay their debts.

In describing state defaults Tomz and Wright (2012) make a comparison between the narrow and broad version of definitions. In the narrow definition, a violation of the terms of a debt contract such as a failure to meet a principal or interest payment on the due date identifies a sovereign default. (S&P Global Ratings 2016). In the broader version of Standard and Poor's, Beers and Chambers (2006) include the offer of a "voluntary" revision of contract with less favorable terms than the original issue and this definition is inline with the concept used by other credit rating agencies[1].

There is a broad consensus on what the costs of default are, but most of the sovereign debt literature is based on the economics costs of sovereign defaults. To name some; reputational costs, view on sanctions (or default and its impact on international trade) and the economic costs on the domestic banking system make up the economic side of the problem (Borensztein and Panizza, 2008). Although these views have a well-identified theoratical and historical background, the political reflections of state defaults have been examined much less.

There is also a line of literature that focus on quantitative models of sovereign default. Following the seminal work of Eaton and Gersovitz (1981), Novelli (2015) cites the names of Aguiar and Gopinath (2006) and Arellano (2008) and bases his study on the theoretical attitude of Battaglini and Coate (2007, 2008) and the political economy background of Tirole (2012). Novelli's (2015) work is important since it suggests four stylized facts that stimulate the sovereign default model to spread out to political economy.

Jeffrey Frieden's well-written book emphasizes how economic policies change the national development patterns. The idea that every nation has its own growth path or the emphasis on the national characteristic of the sovereign states also carries the argument of political economy: It is the political institutions that matter in the economic development. Frieden's claim asserts "government actions are the response of policymakers to sociopolitical pressures brought to bear upon them by interest groups" (Frieden, 1991, pp. 4-5). His argument leads him to explore why and how individuals and interest groups reciprocally influence each other in the politic field, which brings him to explain and break up the core of democracy and authoritarianism. (Frieden, 1991, pp. 5-7)

This brings us to the notion of democracy. Defining the determinants of democracy has been an issue of scholars in many fields; historians like Huntington or political scientists like Lipset and Rustow. Both theoreticians and

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1   Tomz and Wright give the examples of Greece in 2012 and Argentina in 2002 to illustrate how the two versions of definition matter.

practitioners have subscribed Lipset's modernization theory that as a country becomes more prosperous greater democratization will follow automatically very much. Major studies on democracy revised Lipset's modernization theory that focus on developing countries of the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore it is clear that the relationship between economic crisis and democracy also covers a vast amount of area that interests both economists and political scientists. Examining through related literature shows different starting points of causality between these terms. Acemoglu et al. (2008) exhibit a similar but different line of relationship between income and democracy, and define this "statistical association" as the momentous milestone of modernization theory (Acemoglu et al. 2008, pp. 808-9). Combes and Ouedraogo (2014) cite from Huntington's "third wave" democratization and state that poverty hinders democratic development significantly. Therefore what hinders economic development also hinders the future of democracy (Combes and Ouedraogo, 2014, pp. 5-6). However, Acemoglu et al. (2008) indicate the shortcomings of modernization theory and conclude that countries, which grow faster, do not show any greater tendancy to become democratic or to consolidate the democracy that already exists.

A more backdated study by Haggard and Kaufman (1997) present the economic crisis of Latin American and Asian countries and their consequences on democratic transitions also from the political economy perspective. Within this framework they give two defining characteristic of the economic crisis of 1970s and 1980s. The first one is the aggregate economic setback, seen by the declining growth and accelerating inflation levels. They also highlight the fact that all groups are affected differently from the crisis, one group may gain while the others lose. The other characteristic is that, crises of 1970s and 1980s could not fix themselves. And because these countries were performing poorly, the bargaining power of authoritarian incumbents was decreasing and the strength of oppositions were enhancing. This lead them to the conclusion that economic crisis enabled democratization in these countries (Haggard and Kaufman, 1997, p. 267).

Acemoglu and Robinson (2001) lead the drive for providing the theoretical motive behind the forces that lead to polity transitions, and conclude that political transitions result from the conflict among a rich elite and the citizens made up of poor. Therefore, both authoritarian coups and democratic revolutions are more likely to occur in times of economic (or political) crisis[2]. Acemoglu and Robinson (2006) add, if international trade and financial integration are hindered democracy cannot be solidified. Their argument is based on a framework in which nondemocratic countries are labor abundant, political conflict is between a rich capital owning elite and the poor labor owning citizens, and inequality is sufficiently high that the elite use repression to stay in power[3] (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006, p. 39). If this country suddenly faces a halt of international capital and defaults in its external debt, the disruption of trade and lack of foreign credit will carry the country to economic isolation. By convention of trade theory, this will make the relatively abundant factor owner of workers to gain less, and the relatively scarce factor owner of capitalists to gain more. This in turn, changes the income inequality in favor of capitalists. However, as inequality gets even higher, democracy might threaten or frighten the ruling elite more, since they will face highly adverse policies, such as punitive rates of redistribution, if they democratize. Thus the rich elite may be more willing to use power, either to keep the nature of an existing autocratic regime or to restrict the power of the poor within a democracy. Hence, when an economic crises ends with a sovereign default, the setting becomes ready for deterioration in the level of democracy. (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006, p. 189)

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2   Acemoglu and Robinson (2001) give examples of the coups that occured during recessions or during periods of economic difficulties as Brazil (1964), Chile (1973) and Argentina (1976).

3   The two other predictions are, the nature of political identities and the assumption that there is an inverse U-shaped relationship between inequality and democracy with democracy happening at intermediate levels of inequality.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu
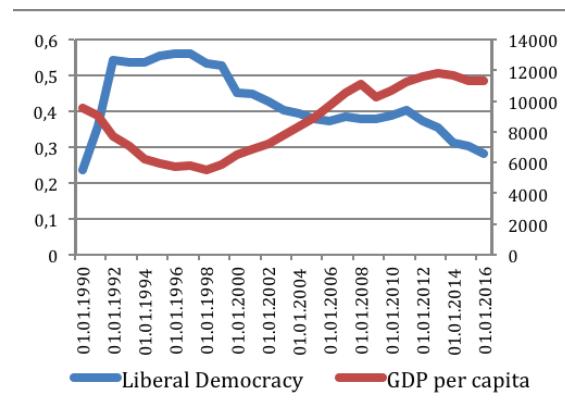
Adam and Karanatsis (2018) mention some of the related literature that follows the framework of Acemoglu and Robinson (2001, 2006) but underline that the empirical results do not necessarily follows the theoretical predictions. They state that a large part of the literature shows a higher probability of coups as a result of economic shocks. On the other hand, a significant number of contributions fail to find any effect. (Adam and Karanatsis, 2018, p. 64-5.) Their own findings conclude that sovereign defaults are interrelated with autocratic regime switches. Their paper draws upon a sample of 105 sovereign states and show that a sovereign default causes a considerable fall in the level of democracy[4]. (Adam and Karanatssis, 2018, p. 62)

Data and Overview
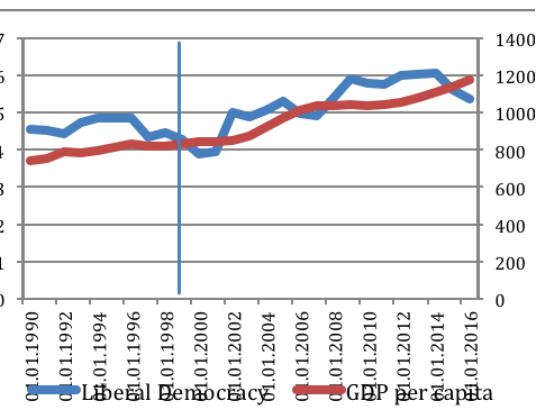
Political changes take some time, if there is a stable economic circumstance. However, profound economic crisis could cause significant political democratic changes according to Lipset (1993). Although every country has its own economic, political and social characteristics, some of them react to economic crisis in the same way, others do not. According to liberal democracy and GDP per capita data from V-Dem and World Bank Indicators, respectively, one could see that liberal democracy in Russia, Ecuador and Uruguay fell down significantly after a default in their economy. However, Uruguay tended to improve their democracy after the economic crises in two years. Besides, Pakistan, Indonesia, Argentina, Paraguay, Seychelles, Cyprus and Jamaica had a stable democratization process during their economies defaulted. There is an important situation for Venezuela and Greece, that they had a reduction in their liberal democracy before their defaults. In addition, only Dominican Republic had a positive change after its economy gets into a default. The relationship between liberal democracy and GDP per capita could be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Liberal Democracy and GDP per capita

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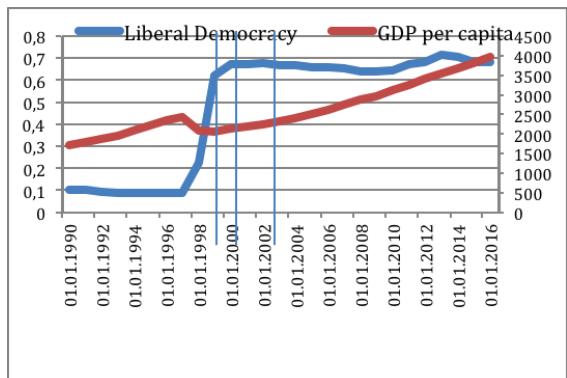
[4] measured by the Polity IV index
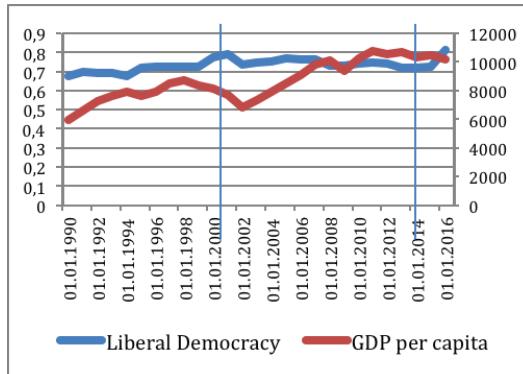
Aylin Altınay Cingöz, Barış Kablamacı
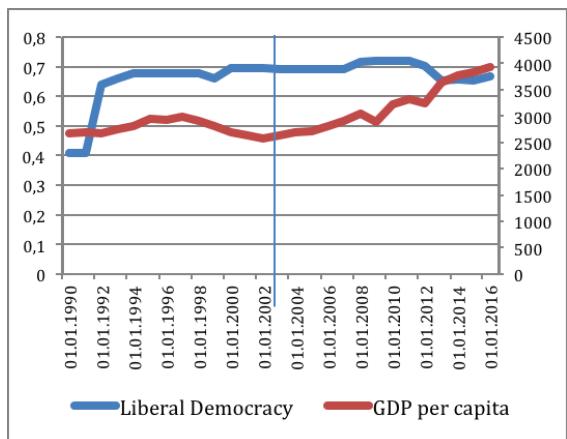
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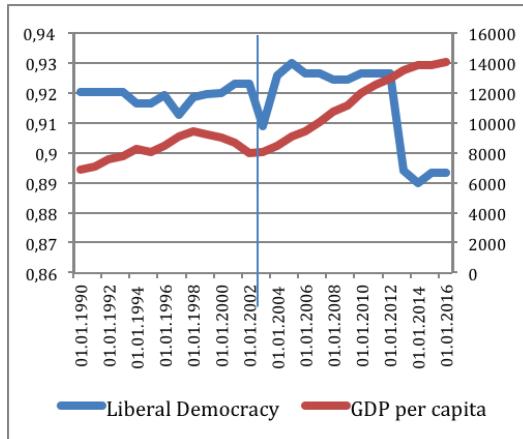
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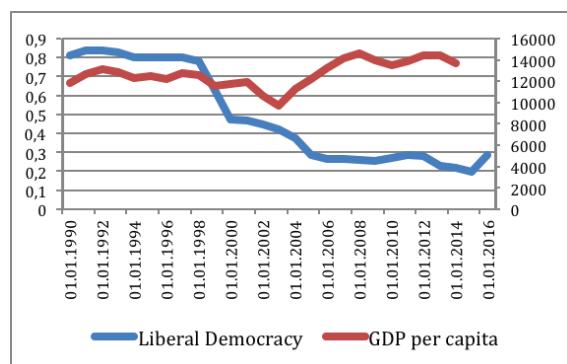
Paraguay
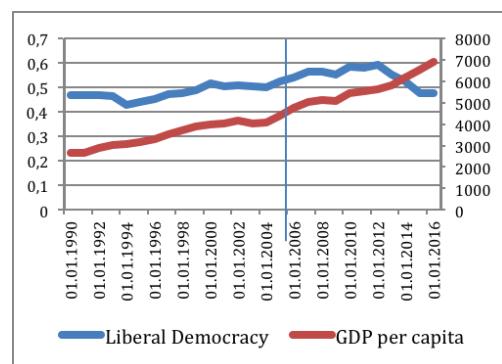
Uruguay
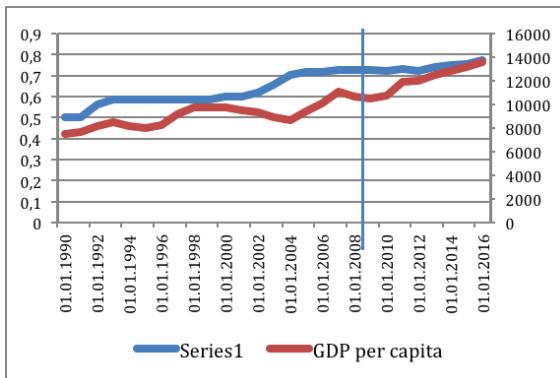
Venezuela

Dominican Republic

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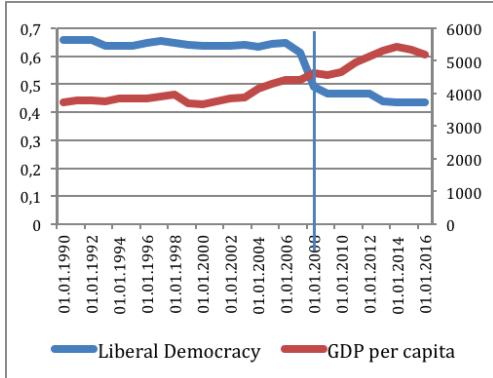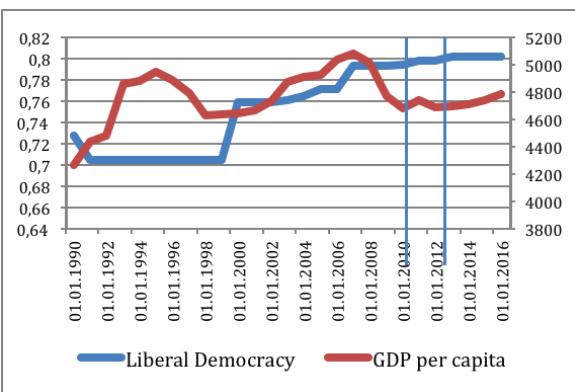
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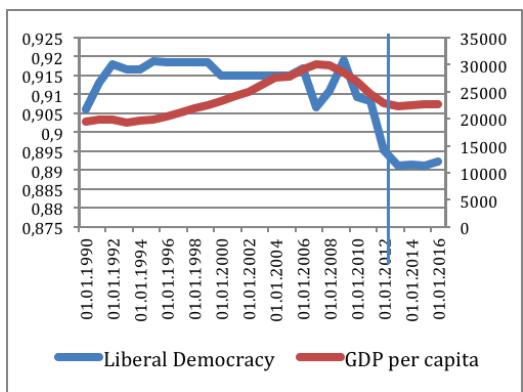
Ecuador
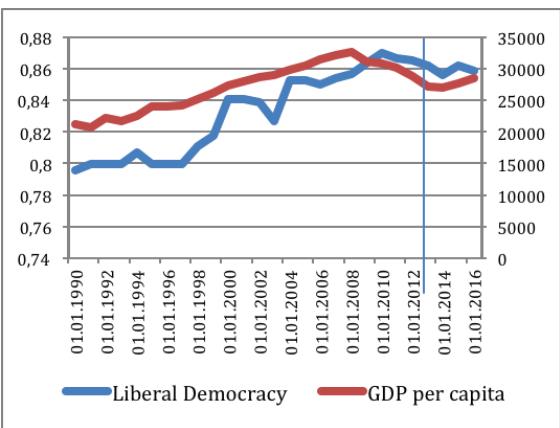
Jamaica

Greece

Cyprus

Concluding Remarks

This paper studies the political consequences of debt crisis and sovereign defaults of less developed and developing countries, which defaulted in the period of 1990 – 2016. In line with that aim, we investigate whether debt crisis or defaults could induce major changes in liberal democracy in these countries. Using liberal democracy and GDP per capita data from V-Dem and World Bank Indicators, our findings respectively show that liberal democracy in Russia, Ecuador and Uruguay decreased significantly after a default in their economy. On the other hand, Uruguay tended to improve their democracy after the economic crises in two years. Pakistan, Indonesia, Argentina, Paraguay, Seychelles, Cyprus and Jamaica had a stable democratization process during their economies defaulted. It is significant to see that Venezuela and Greece had a decrease in their liberal democracy before their defaults, and only Dominican Republic had a positive change after its economy gets into a default. Our results imply that the characteristics of each country play an important role in their economic situation and political changes, and it might be useful to examine these country specific characteristics for further study.

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BREXİT'İN İNGİLTERE VE AB BANKACILIK PİYASASI ÜZERİNDEKİ OLASI ETKİLERİ

Başak Turan İçke*
Mehmet Akif İçke**

Özet

Avrupa Birliği'nde 2008 küresel finans krizi ve ardından Brexit kararı sonrası, daha fazla entegre olma ve daha az entegre olma kararı konusunda ciddi bir belirsizlik oluşmuştur. Bu çalışmada, İngiltere'nin fiilen AB'den çıkması ile birlikte, AB ekonomik bölgesinde yerleşik firmaların finansal hizmetler alanında serbestçe faaliyet göstermesine olanak sağlayan, AB finans piyasası pasaport hakkını (passporting rights) kaybetmesi olasılığında, İngiliz ve AB ülkeleri bankacılık piyasası üzerindeki olası etkiler analiz edilecektir. Ayrıca Brexit'in, AB Tek Bankacılık Piyasası ve AB Tek Sermaye Piyasası oluşturma entegrasyon sürecine etkileri ile Euro para birimi üzerindeki etkileri analiz edilecektir. Çalışmamızda öncelikle İngiltere'nin finans piyasası pasaport hakkını koruyup koruyamayacağı seçenekleri tartışılacaktır. Ardından da Birleşik Krallık'ın bu hakkı koruyamayacağı olasılığının daha ağır bastığı görüşü gerekçelendirilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Brexit, Bankacılık, Finans Piyasası, Pasaport Hakkı.

Abstract

After the global financial crisis of 2008 and then the decision of Brexit in the European Union, there was a serious uncertainty about the decision to become more integrated and less integrated. In this study, possible influences on the banking market in the UK and EU countries will be analyzed by the possibility that the UK will actually lose its passporting rights to the EU financial market, allowing companies located in the EU economic zone to operate freely in the field of financial services after UK say goodbye to EU. In addition, the effects of Brexit's integration monopoly on the EU Single Banking Market and the creation of the EU Monopoly Market and the effects on the Euro currency will be analyzed. In our work, we will first discuss the option for the UK to protect the financial market passport. It would then be justified that the possibility that the UK would not be able to protect this right afterwards.

Keywords: Brexit, Banking, Financial Market, Passporting Rights.

Giriş

23 Haziran 2016 tarihinde Birleşik Krallık halkı güçlü ve etkin AB halkasından ayrılma kararı almıştır. Hiç kuşkusuz halkın bu kararı vermesinde ekonomik faktörler rol oynamıştır. Özellikle serbest dolaşım neticesinde İngiliz halkının yaşadığı istihdam sorunları, konut fiyatlarının artması, kamu hizmetlerinin azalması gibi başlıklar referandum sonucuna katkıda bulunan unsurlar arasında yer almaktadır. İngiliz halkının vermiş olduğu bu kararın

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arkasında ciddi ekonomik problemler yattığı inkâr edilemez. Ancak Brexit kararında ekonomik faktörlere nazaran göç, ulusal egemenlik gibi politik faktörlerin öne çıktığını düşünmek içinde yeterli sebep vardır. Sebebi ne olursa olsun Brexit'in yaratacağı etkiler açısından bakıldığında yalnızca İngiltere değil ama gerek AB gerekse Dünya'nın birçok ülkesini kapsayacak önemde sonuçları olacaktır.

İngiltere özellikle finansal hizmetler anlamında AB içerisinde en güçlü alt yapı, düzenleme, tecrübe ve kaynağa sahip ülke olarak bilinmektedir. Ayrıca İngiltere, Dünya'nın da en büyük finansal hizmet ihraççısı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Londra oldukça değerli bir finans merkezi olarak Dünya çapında bir ağırlığa sahiptir. Londra'nın potansiyeli düşünüldüğünde bu ayrışma ile birlikte, sistemde meydana gelecek olan değişiklikler neticesinde nasıl bir sonuçla karşılaşılacağı hala büyük bir soru işareti olarak karşımızda durmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, Brexit süreci ile birlikte finansal boyutta meydana gelecek değişiklikler açıklanarak, İngiliz bankacılık sisteminde Brexit sonrasında yaşanacak durumun ne olacağı konusundaki tartışmalara yer verilmektedir. Çalışmada ilk olarak AB Finans Piyasası Pasaport Hakkı üzerinde durulmaktadır. Finansal pasaport hakkının AB üyesi ülkeler için sağladığı faydalardan bahsedildikten sonra Brexit sonrasında İngiltere'nin bu hakla ilgili karşı karşıya kalacağı durum üzerinde durulmaktadır. ikinci bölümde, İngiliz bankacılık sektöründe Brexit sonrası durum irdelenmektedir. Son yarım yüzyılda İngiltere'nin yabancı bankalar için bir cazibe merkezi olduğu belirtilerek, Brexit sonrasında İngiltere'deki gerek yerel gerekse yabancı bankaların durumu ile ilgili tespitler yapılmaktadır.

Son bölümde ise Brexit sürecinde ve sonrasında İngiltere'nin karşı karşıya kalacağı senaryolar ayrıntıları ile açıklanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda altı temel senaryo üzerinde durulduğu ifade edilmektedir. Bu senaryolardan üzerinde en son konuşulanın AB ile finans sektörünü kapsamayan bir serbest ticaret anlaşması müzakerelerini tercih edebilecekleri olduğu belirtilmektedir. Ancak bu sonuca kesin olarak varmak için henüz erken olduğunu da belirtmekte fayda bulunmaktadır. Zira Birleşik Krallık'ın hangi senaryoyu benimseyeceği halen derin tartışmalar ile devam etmektedir. Alınacak karar sadece İngiltere'yi değil ama AB'nin tümünü etkileyecek bir karar olacaktır.

AB Finans Piyasası Pasaport Hakkı

Genel anlamda pasaport hakkı, tek pazarda mevcut olan bir ayrıcalığı ifade etmek için kullanılmaktadır. 1989 tarihli II. Bankacılık Direktifi ile resmileşen pasaport hakkı, bir üye devlette kurulmuş olan kurumların, diğer üye devlette serbestçe hizmet sağlaması anlamına gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla ticaretin kolaylaşması için sağlanan bir ayrıcalık olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Randall, 2018).

AB finans piyasası pasaport hakkı, AB üyesi bir ülkede kurulmuş finans kurumuna ve o ülkede yerleşik kurum ve iştiraklerine tüm AB ülkelerinde herhangi bir ek kısıtlayıcı önleme muhatap olmaksızın finansal hizmet sunma olanağı sağlamaktadır. Pasaport hakları, diğer ülkelerde şube kurulması sureti ile veya hizmetlerin sunulması çerçevesinde kullanılabilmektedir. İkinci durumda kurumlar, diğer bir ülkede fiziki olarak şube açılmaksızın finansal hizmetleri sunabilmektedirler. İngiltere'de yerleşik bir finans kurumu, diğer bir AB ülkesinde finansal hizmet sunarken faaliyetleri ile ilgili olarak o ülkelerin denetim ve gözetim kurumlarına bilgi vermek zorundadırlar. Ancak denetim ve gözetim yetkisi ana ülkedeki kurumda kalmaktadır. İngiltere söz konusu olduğunda bu, İngiltere Merkez Bankası (Bank of England- BoE) bünyesindeki "Koruyucu Düzenleme Otoritesi" (Prudential Regulation Authority) olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. AB'de bankacılık ve yatırım hizmetlerini düzenleyen iki temel direktif bulunmaktadır. Bunlar Finansal Ürün Piyasaları Direktifi (Markets in Financial Instruments Directive- MiFID) ve Sermaye Yeterliliği Direktifidir

(Capital Requirements Directive- CRD). Finansal pasaport hakkından sadece Avrupa Ekonomik Alanı'na dahil olan ülkelerde yerleşik finansal kurumlar yararlanabilmektedir. (Miethe ve Pothier, 2016).

Birleşik Krallık'taki sınır ötesi bankacılık hizmetleri çoğunlukla MiFID kapsamında pasaport haklarına ve ayrıca kısmen de CRD'ye bağlı bulunmaktadır. Yaklaşık 1.000 AB-27 firmasının İngiltere'de iş yapmak için MiFID pasaportu bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, AB-27'ye girmek için MiFID pasaportu kullanan 2.250 İngiliz kuruluşu mevcuttur. Birleşik Krallık'taki MiFID kapsamındaki "yatırım şirketlerinin" %50-60'ı AB-27'ye giriş için pasaport kullanmaktadır. MiFID pasaportu ile bankalar hisseleri, tahvilleri veya diğer finansal araçları için ticaret hakkına sahip olmaktadırlar. Brexit sonrasında bankacılık sektöründeki pasaport uygulaması sona erecektir. İngiltere bankaları, Brexit'ten sonra AB ülkeleri için üçüncü ülke statüsüne sahip olacak ve AB müşterilerine doğrudan Londra'dan hizmet edemeyecektir. Hizmetlerine devam etmek için AB-27 ülkelerinden birine taşınmaları gerekecektir (Kaya, Schildbach & Lakhani, 2018).

Brexit sonrasında İngiltere'nin pasaport hakkı ile ilgili olarak karşılaşması muhtemel sorunlar da olacaktır. İngiltere, AB ülke bankalarının Londra'da şube açmasına izin verebilir. Bunun yanı sıra AB üye ülke kanun ve düzenlemelerini kendisine eşit olarak kabul edebilir. Fakat, AB dışındaki bankalar için durum bu şekilde sonuçlanmayacaktır. Bu ülkelerdeki bankalar Londra'da bir iştirak açamayacakken diğer AB üye ülkelerinde şube açabileceklerdir. Bunun nedeni, AB dışındaki bir banka, bankacılık pasaport hakkından yararlanabilmek ve diğer ülkelerde şube açabilmek için, AB üye ülkelerinden birinde şube açmak zorunda olmasıdır. Böylece, Avrupa dışındaki bir bankanın Paris veya Frankfurt'ta şube açması, AB üye ülkelerinde faaliyetlerini sürdürmek durumunda kalması söz konusu olacak ve hem ana ülkenin hem İngiltere'nin hem de AB'nin düzenleme ve denetleme mekanizmalarını uygulamakla yükümlü olması söz konusu olacaktır. Bu üç farklı denetleyici rejimin gereklerinin yerine getirilmesi de artan maliyetlere neden olacaktır. Böyle bir durumda da elbette ki bankalar yüksek maliyetlere katlanmak yerine faaliyetlerini ve kaynaklarını AB ülkelerine kaydıracaklardır (Kılcı, 2018)

İngiltere'nin AB finansal pasaport hakkını yitirmesi durumunda, AB dışından gelen yatırımlar başka yollara yöneleceği için Londra'nın finansal aracılık pozisyonunda gerilemeler söz konusu olabilecektir. Bu noktada AB'ye sermaye girişinde alternatif erişim güzergahı olarak Hollanda ve İrlanda'nın biraz daha öne çıkan ülkeler olması beklenmektedir. ABD'nin, AB ülkelerine yaptığı doğrudan ve portföy yatırımlarının GSYİH'ya oranına baktığımızda daha şimdiden Hollanda ve İrlanda'nın göreceli olarak yüksek olduğu görülmektedir. İngiliz kurumlarının finansal pasaportlarını kaybetmeleri durumunda klasik bankacılık hizmetleri açısından Dublin ve Frankfurt'un, yatırım fonları açısından Paris ve Lüksemburg'un alternatif finansal merkezler olarak öne çıkması söz konusu olabilecektir. (Bundesverband Deutscher Banken, 2018).

İngiltere Bankacılık Sektörü: Brexit Sonrası Durum

Brexit'e finansal anlamda bakıldığında ciddi durumların ortaya çıkması kaçınılmaz görülmektedir. Özellikle İngiltere merkezli finans endüstrisi ile diğer AB finans merkezleri arasında ulusal kurumların desteği ile yeni bir merkantilist savaşın fitillenebileceği ifade edilmektedir. Daha açık bir ifade ile, AB'nin (ki aslında AB'nin ana üye ülkelerinden bahsedilmektedir) İngiltere merkezli firmalara finansal hizmet sunabilmesini kısıtlamayı arzuladığı vurgulanmaktadır. Böylece merkezi İngiltere'de bulunan birçok finansal faaliyetin ve kurumun AB'deki ana merkezlere taşınması zorlanmak istenmektedir (Howarth, Quaglia, 2018).

Kolayca tahmin edilebileceği gibi Brexit kararına ekonomik çerçeveden ilk tepki finans piyasalarından gelmiştir. Brexit kararı ile birlikte İngiltere'de beklentilerde bozulma olmuş ve kararın en ciddi yansıması Sterlin'in uluslararası değerindeki ciddi düşüşte kendisini göstermiştir. Brexit'in İngiliz ekonomisinde büyümeyi yavaşlatıcı etkisinin olacağı tahminleri yapılmıştır. Ancak Brexit'in henüz fiili olarak tamamlanmamış olduğunu unutmamak gerekir. Bu nedenle olumsuz ekonomik etkiler açısından İngiltere'nin gerçekten AB'den fiilen çıkacağı tarih olan 2019 kritik bir eşik oluşturacaktır. Bilindiği üzere 2008-2009 küresel finans krizinin İngiliz finans piyasaları üzerinde banka iflaslarına varan ciddi sonuçları olmuş ve devletin uyguladığı Ortodoks olmayan bir dizi iktisat politikası önlemleri ile krizin atlatılması mümkün olmuştur. Günümüzde ise, finansal krizin hüküm sürdüğü dönemde söz konusu olan İngiliz bankalarının iflası ve İngiliz finans sisteminde ciddi olumsuz gelişmeler bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle Brexit'in İngiltere'de 2007-2010 yılları arasındakine benzer büyük bir krizi tetikleme riski pek görülmemektedir. Daha yüksek görülen olasılık, iktisadi büyümenin kademeli olarak yavaşlamasıdır. Fakat politik olarak kötü yönetilen bir Brexit'in yeni bir finans piyasası krizini tetikleyebileceği riskini de tamamen gözardı etmemek gerekir (Welfens, 2017).

Ayrıca Brexit sonrasında hem AB hem de İngiltere diğer bölgeyi daha kötü değerlendireceği için kredi piyasalarının uyumlandırılması gereksinimi de ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu nedenle iki bölgede de öz sermaye ihtiyacında beklenmedik artışlar meydana gelebilir. Dolayısıyla sermaye maliyetleri yükselebilir. Bu noktada bir çözüm yolu bireysel kredi sözleşmelerinin uyumlandırılmasıdır. Politik olarak daha zor olan çözüm seçeneği ise mevcut kredi sözleşmelerinin süre sonuna kadar korunmasıdır. Diğer yandan Brexit sonrasında, varlıklar ile ilgili olarak öz sermaye yeterlilik koşullarının eşgüdümünün sağlanması gerekmektedir (Vereinigung der Bayerischen Wirtschaft, 2018).

Birleşik Krallık'ı Brexit hamlesine iten önemli nedenler arasında makro ekonomik değişkenlerden özellikle cari işlemler açığı ve borç yeniden finansmanı kalemlerindeki etkilenmeler de yer almaktadır. Bakıldığı zaman 2015 yılının ikinci yarısında cari işlemler açığının GSYİH'nın yaklaşık olarak %5.5'i olduğu, son çeyrekte ise bu oranın hiç görülmemiş bir rakam olan %7'ye ulaştığı ifade edilmektedir. Yılın ikinci yarısında doğrudan yatırımların oranının azaldığı ve ani ve büyük sermaye çıkışlarına maruz kalma ihtimalinin yüksek risk doğuracağı konusu tartışılmaya başlanmıştır. Dahası, devlet borçlarının yeniden finansmanı da büyük bir stres unsuru haline gelmiştir. Kamu borçlarının GSYİH'nın yaklaşık %90'ına geldiği belirtilmektedir. Yukarıda bahsedilen risklerin gerçekleşmesi durumunda GSYİH'deki kayıpların daha da ağırlaşacak olması da büyük bir risk olarak karşılarında durmaktadır. (Kierzenkowski, Pain, Rusticelli, & Zwart, 2016)

Son yarım yüzyılda İngiltere yabancı bankalar için önemli bir cazibe merkezi olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Londra, Küresel Finansal Merkezler Endeksi'ne (Global Financial Centres Index) göre Avrupa'nın ve hatta dünyanın en önemli finans merkezi olarak gösterilmektedir. Avrupa genelindeki sermaye piyasası işlemlerinin %60'ı ve Avrupa'daki finansal varlıkların %40'ı Londra'da yönetilmektedir. Küresel bankacılık faaliyetlerinin neredeyse beşte biri İngiltere'de gerçekleşmektedir. Toplamda 260'ın üzerinde kredi kurumu (bunların yarısından fazlası yabancı ülke kökenlidir), hem AB'ye hem de Dünya'nın tamamına finansal hizmetlerini sunarken finansal merkez olarak Londra'yı kullanmaktadırlar (Bundesverband Deutscher Banken, 2018). 2017 yılında, İngiltere'de banka varlıklarının yarıya yakını (%49'u) yabancı sermayeli bankalardan kaynaklanmıştır. Bu oranın, ABD'de %20'den az, Almanya'da %14 ve Japonya'da ise %4 olduğu görülmektedir. İngiliz müşterilere yönelik hizmetler ise, Birleşik Krallık'taki yabancı banka faaliyetlerinin önemli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. (Randall, 2018). İngiltere'nin AB'ye üye olmasından bu yana bankacılık sektörünün ciddi bir büyüme kaydettiğini söylemek mümkündür. İngiltere'nin AB'ye üye olduğu yıl bankacılık sektörü aktiflerinin GSYİH'daki payı yaklaşık olarak %100 iken, bu oran 2013 yılında %450'ye yaklaşmıştır (Miethe ve Pothier, 2016).

Ramiah, Pham ve Moosa (2017), İngiltere'deki çeşitli sektörlerde Brexit referandumunun yarattığı etkileri ölçmek üzere bir çalışma gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Bu çalışmadan elde ettikleri sonuçlara göre Brexit ile birlikte en çok olumsuz etkilenen sektörler arasında bankacılık sektörü de yer almaktadır. Brexit referandumu sonrasında bankacılık sektöründeki firmaların hisse senetlerinin getirilerinin hayli olumsuz etkilendiğini belirtmektedirler. Örneğin referandumu takip eden onuncu günde bankacılık sektöründeki kayıpların %15.37'lik bir orana ulaştığını hesaplamaktadırlar. Bu olumsuz durumu tetikleyen en önemli unsurlardan biri olarak, finansal hizmetler sektöründe pasaport hakkının kaybedilmesi gösterilmektedir.

Brexit'ten sonra Avrupa'daki her finansal merkezin karşılaştırmalı üstünlüklerini kullanmaya çalışması beklenmektedir. Bu noktada Brexit sonrasında Almanya ve Fransa'nın, Frankfurt ve Paris'teki özellikli yatırım bankacılığı faaliyetlerinin yoğunlaşması ile birlikte toplam aktiflere göre AB'deki en büyük (sırası ile birinci ve ikinci) bankacılık sektörlerine sahip olacakları ifade edilebilir. Ancak şu var ki, kıta Avrupası finans merkezleri, Londra'ya kıyasla birtakım sebeplerden ötürü hep daha az çekici olmuştur. Özellikle Birleşik Krallık'ın nisbeten daha esnek düzenleyici çerçeveye sahip olması, uzmanlığın daha fazla oluşu, İngiliz common law'ındaki birtakım avantajlar ve ülkenin finansal hizmetlere özel gelişmiş alt yapısı Londra'yı cazip kılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Brexit sonrasında geride kalanlar için sistemde bazı reformlara gidilmesi gerekliliği ortadadır. 2017 yılında İngiliz bankaları, Brexit görüşmelerinin Tek Pazar'a tam erişim sağlanmaması durumunda personel ve faaliyetlerini AB-27'ye taşınması için bir acil eylem planı duyurmuşlardır. Örneğin, HSBC mevcut iştirakini Paris'te büyütmek için harekete geçmiştir. RBS, Dublin'de benzer uygulamaları yapmayı planladığını açıklamıştır. Barclays de yine Dublin'de bir yan kuruluş açma kararını açıklamıştır. Brexit'in bankacılık sektörünü sekteye uğratması durumunda Avrupa ekonomisinin finansmanını bozabileceği konusunda görüş bildirenler bulunmaktadır. Ancak Bundesbank Yönetim Kurulu üyesi Andreas Dombret'e göre, bu korku yersizdir. Brexit'in olası yansımaları finansal istikrar veya AB'nin reel ekonomisi için bir sorun teşkil etmemektedir. (Djankov, 2017)

Bu görüşü desteklercesine, Brexit'le birlikte İngiltere, Dünya çapında anlaşmalar yapmakta özgür, rekabetçi vergi oranları belirlemekte serbest ve büyük yatırımcıları İngiltere'ye çekecek politikaları benimsemede engelsiz olacaktır. Cardi'nin çalışmanın bulguları da, Brexit sonucunda bazı ulusötesi ittifakların mevcut olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak şimdilik bu ittifakların sınırlı kaldığı, AB özel ve kamu sektörü aktörlerinin önemli ölçüde harekete geçirilmesinin başarılamadığı da bir tespit olarak belirtilmektedir. (Cardi, 2017)

Brexit, İngiltere'deki birçok bankayı faaliyetleri ve yapıları anlamında temel bir gözden geçirme ihtiyacı doğurmuştur. Örneğin HSBC bu gözden geçirmeyi yaparak Birleşik Krallık'ta kalma kararını açıklamıştır. Bu kapsamdaki bankaların Avrupa'daki faaliyetleri ve Birleşik Krallık'taki operasyonları için yeniden yapılandırılmasının gerekip gerekmediği, bir veya birden fazla üye ülkede grup şirketi kurulup kurulmayacağı konusunda karar verilmesi gerekecektir. JP Morgan CEO'su Dimon'a göre, Brexit'in Londra'daki uluslararası bankalar için büyümeyi on yıllar boyunca tersine çevirmesi olabilecektir. Dahası Brexit'le gelişen süreçte İngiltere merkezli bankaların artık AB genelinde hizmet vermeyeceğini deklare etmektedir. (Coiley, 2016)

Avrupa'da Brexit sonrasında, AB-27'de bankacılık sisteminin yeniden şekillendirmesi için geliştirici adımlar atılmasına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Özellikle, Avrupa İstikrar Sigortası Programı çerçevesinde oluşturulacak bir Avrupa İstikrar Mekanizması (European Stability Mechanism – ESM) ve Avrupa Mevduat Sigortası Fonu'nun bu kapsamda değerli olduğu ifade edilebilecektir. Eş zamanlı olarak euro bölgesi bankalarının ülke riskine maruz kalma limitlerini düzenlemek ve bankacılık denetimi için gerekli olan bir tek kural kitabının oluşturulması önem taşımaktadır. Avrupa'da bankacılık birliğini tamamlayabilmek, ABD yatırım bankalarının hakimiyetine de bir

tehdit niteliği taşıyacaktır. Bankacılık birliğinin güçlendirilmesi, sadece riskler değil aynı zamanda genişleyen Euro bölgesi finans sektörünün Brexit sonrasında faydalarının da Euro bölgesi ülkeleri tarafından daha iyi paylaşılmasını sağlamalıdır. Bir başka ifade ile, fayda paylaşımı olmadan sadece risk paylaşımına isteksizlik duyma tehlikesi her zaman bulunmaktadır. Bu durum Euro bölgesinin genişlemiş finansal sektörünü finansal istikrarsızlığa karşı daha savunmasız hale getirecektir (Sapir, Schoenmaker &Veron, 2017).

Diğer taraftan Birleşik Krallık'ın perakende ve işletme bankacılığı büyük ölçüde etkindir ve gelirlerinin yaklaşık %80'i doğrudan pasaporta bağlı değildir. Bunula birlikte tahminlere göre AB kapsamındaki bankacılık işlemlerinin yaklaşık %23 civarında olduğu, elde edilen gelirin ise 25 milyar Sterlin olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Brexit'in AB pazarına bağlı bankalar üzerindeki muhtemel etkisi, yeniden yapılanma ve AB'de iştiraklerin açılmasının ihtiyacının doğması sonucunda işletme maliyetlerindeki artış şeklinde olabilecektir. Bu itibarla, Brexit sonrası durumda nisbeten daha küçük bankacılık kurumlarının Londra'yı terk etmesi akılcı olabilecektir. Ya da bankaların diğer bankalar ile konsolidasyona giderek AB pazarlarına hizmet vermeye devam etmeleri de mümkün olabilecektir. Daha büyük bankaların ise yeniden örgütlenme ve AB kurallarına uyumlaştırılmaları sonucunda şehirde faaliyet göstermeleri mümkün olabilecektir. (Djankov, 2017)

Brexit Sonrası Dönem için Çözüm Yolları mı Çözümsüzlük mü Galip Gelecek?

İngiltere ile AB arasındaki ilişki halen kesin bir şekilde ortaya konulmadığından Brexit sonrası dönem için birkaç senaryonun çok sayıda finansal başlık için çeşitli sonuçları ile değerlendirmesi yapılmaktadır. Bu konu ile ilgili literatürde Sert-Brexit ve Yumuşak-Brexit kavramları farklı anlamlarda kullanılabilmektedir. İngiltere Başbakanı May de Brexit müzakerelerinde Sert-Brexit planından yana olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Bu çerçevede Sert-Brexit, İngiltere'nin AB'den çıkış sürecinde ve çıkış sonrasında AB Tek Pazarı'nın bir üyesi olmayacağı ve AB ile bir gümrük birliği oluşturmayacağı anlamında kullanılmaktadır (Hosp, 2017). Bunun yanı sıra Sert Brexit ile birlikte AB ile ticaret daha pahalı hale gelecektir. İhracattaki düşüş, (ki bu senaryo içerisinde İngiltere'nin ihracatının %39 oranında azalacağı tahmin edilmektedir) AB üyesi olsun olmasın diğer ülkelerden daha fazla İngiltere'yi etkileyecektir. (Brakman, Garretsen, Kohl, 2017) Konumuz çerçevesinde Brexit sonrası en çok gündemde olan alternatif senaryolara kısaca değinmek gerekmektedir.

İlk senaryo olarak, Brexit sonrası İngiltere'nin Avrupa Ekonomik Alanı'na katılması seçeneğinden bahsedilmektedir. Norveç modeli olarak da adlandırılan bu seçenekte Birleşik Krallık, Avrupa Ekonomik Alanı (European Economic Area- EEA) adı verilen bir statüye geçmeyi tercih edebilir. Avrupa Ekonomik Alanı 28 AB üyesi ülkesine (henüz İngiltere dahil) ek olarak Avrupa Serbest Ticaret Birliği (European Free Trade Association- EFTA) üyesi olan İzlanda, Norveç ve Liechtenstein'dan oluşur. Bu durumda AB'den çıkmış olan İngiltere, Avrupa Tek Pazarı'nın (European Union's Single Market) bir parçası olabilecektir (Efe, 2017).

Teorik olarak seçenekler arasındaki en mantıklı çözümün, İngiltere'nin Norveç gibi Avrupa Ekonomik Bölgesi'ne katılması olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Avrupa Ekonomik Bölgesi üyeleri, Avrupa Tek Pazarı'nın bir parçasıdır ve malların, hizmetlerin, sermayenin ve emeğin serbest dolaşım hakkına sahiptirler. EEA üyeleri istihdam hukuku, tüketici koruması, ürün standartları ve rekabet politikası alanlarını kapsayan Tek Pazar ile ilgili tüm AB mevzuatını kabul etmek zorundadır. EEA üyeleri ayrıca, Tek Pazar'ın bir parçası olabilmek için AB bütçesine katkı sağlayacak ödemeleri de yapmakla yükümlüdürler. Bu alternatifin dezavantajlarından biri, EEA ülkeleri ile AB arasındaki ticaret engelleri, AB üyelerinin kendi aralarındaki uygulamalardan daha fazladır. Bunun nedeni Norveç, İzlanda ve Liechtenstein'ın Gümrük Birliği'ne ait olmamalarıdır. Bu da bahsi geçen ülkelerin AB'nin diğer ülkeleri ile kendi

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dış ticaret tarifelerini yapabilecekleri ve kendi ticaret görüşmelerini yapabilecekleri anlamına gelmektedir. Ayrıca EEA ülkeleri ile AB arasındaki ticaret, gümrük işleri, menşe kurallarının uygulanması ve anti-damping vergileri gibi uygulamalara tabidir (Capuano, 2017). Bu senaryo, İngiliz finansal hizmet sağlayıcılarının AB-27'ye tam pasaport haklarından yararlanabileceği anlamına gelmektedir. Yeniden yerleştirme maliyeti ya da artan sermaye maliyeti bulunmamaktadır. Londra ekosisteminin korunması sağlanır. Bu senaryonun etkisi aslında diğerlerine kıyasla düşüktür. İngiltere, Tek Pazar'a erişimini sürdürdüğünden finansal piyasalar muhtemelen çok fazla bozulmamaktadır. Ancak bu durumun kısa vadeli olması ve belirsizliği en aza indiren senaryo olarak kabul edildiği ifade edilmektedir (Vries, Gartner, Haentjens, Korteweg, Markakis, Repasi, &Tegelaar, 2017). Sonuç itibariyle, sadece ekonomik açıdan bakıldığında Brexit sonrası AB ile olan ilişkilerin düzenlenmesinde Norveç Modeli'nin, İngiltere ve özellikle de finans merkezi Londra için en iyi seçenek olduğu söylemek mümkündür (Neuhäuser, 2017).

Ancak kişilerin serbest dolaşımı ve AB bütçesine katkıda bulunmak gibi unsurlar İngiltere'nin EEA'ya katılma kararı vermesini zorlaştıracak etkenlerdendir (İKV, 2016). Sonuç olarak Norveç modelinin uygulamada İngiltere tarafından kabul edilme olasılığı yok denecek kadar azdır. Başka bir çözüm yolunda anlaşma sağlanamadığı takdirde İngiltere AB finans piyasalarına serbestçe girebilme şansını yitirecektir.

İkinci senaryo, "Eşdeğerlik Senaryosu" veya diğer bir adlandırma ile "Kuralların Uyumlaştırılması Senaryosu" dur. Bu aslında temel Sert Brexit senaryosunun bir çeşidi olarak da değerlendirilebilir. İngiltere'nin düzenleyici ve denetleyici çerçevesi ile ilgili olarak benimsenen bir denklik olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu kapsamda bazı finansal hizmetler, Avrupa Komisyonu tarafından kabul edilen pozitif denklik kararına dayanılarak pasaport hakkını elde edeceklerdir. Bu şekilde Londra ekosisteminin kısmen sağlam kalması sağlanabilecektir. Dolayısıyla Sert Brexit senaryosuna kıyasla maliyeti daha düşük kalacak bir senaryo olarak tanımlanabilmektedir. Ancak Birleşik Krallık firmaları Brexit sonrasında üçüncü ülke firmaları olarak değerlendirildikleri takdirde perakende hizmeti vermek istedikleri her AB üyesi ülkede bir şube kurmak zorunda kalacaklardır. Elbette yine de yüksek maliyet anlamına gelecektir. Diğer taraftan toptan bankacılık faaliyetlerine bakıldığında burada üçüncü ülke eşdeğer rejiminin öngörülmediği ifade edilmektedir. Dolayısıyla Birleşik Krallık toptan bankacılık piyasasının, AB-27 piyasasına doğrudan erişimi kaybolacaktır. Böylelikle örneğin İngiliz bankalarından borç almak isteyen AB-27 şirketlerinin para swapı kullanmaları gerekecektir. Ayrıca AB-27 için en büyük etki olarak ise İngiltere'deki banka kredilerine doğrudan erişim kaybolacaktır. Sonuç olarak bu senaryoda da Londra ekosisteminin kısmen düzenleyici bir denklik senaryosu ile başbaşa kaldığı söylenebilmektedir. AB merkezli tüzel kişilik olan bir bağlı şirket, AB genelinde pasaport haklarından yararlanabilecektir. İngiliz bankalarının mevcut şubelerinin bir kısmını bir bağlı şirkete dönüştürerek maliyetleri biraz düşürme imkânı doğabilecektir. Örneğin Barclays, RBS, HSBS'nin AB-27'de zaten bağlı şirketleri bulunduğundan haklarını korumaları söz konusu olacaktır. Ancak önemli miktarda finansal hizmet sağlayıcısı pasaport hakkını kaybedeceğinden eşdeğerlik senaryosunda AB-27 müşterilerine hizmet vermeye devam etmek için yeniden konumlandırılmaları gerekecektir (Vries, Gartner, Haentjens, Korteweg, Markakis, Repasi, &Tegelaar, 2017).

Tahmin edileceği gibi, AB'nin tek taraflı olarak düzenlemelerin uyumluluğuna dair kararlar alması İngiltere'de çok arzulanan bir durum değildir. İngiliz hükümetinin AB düzenlemelerine uyum sağlamak zorunda kalmak istememesi, uyum kararının tek taraflı geri alınabilmesi ve uzun karmaşık hukuki süreçlere gerek duyulması dezavantajlar olarak sayılabilir (Triebe, 2018 ve Aran, 2017).

Üçüncü senaryo İngiltere ile AB arasında finansal hizmetleri de kapsayan bir serbest ticaret anlaşması yapılması yönündedir. Aslında genel olarak hizmetler ve özel olarak finansal hizmetler, ender istisnai uygulamaları dikkate

almayacak olursak, serbest ticaret anlaşmalarının kapsamına girmemektedir. Dolayısıyla İngiltere'nin arzuladığı kapsamdaki bir Brexit sonrası finansal hizmetler düzenlemesi de, serbest ticaret anlaşması tanımına uymamaktadır. Finansal hizmetleri de kapsayan bir serbest ticaret anlaşması, tamamen yeni ve nev'i şahsına münhasır öneri olma özelliği taşımaktadır. Buna rağmen İngiliz siyasetçiler AB'nin finansal hizmet sunucularına tek pazara serbest giriş olanağını müzakere edeceğine inanmışlardır. Alternatif çözümlerin pek iç açıcı olmaması nedeni ile İngiliz siyasetçilerin bu yönde düşündüğünü söylemek mümkündür. (Triebe, 2018)

Müzakere süresinin çok uzun olması, geniş kapsamlı gümrük prosedürlerini gerektirmesi bu senaryonun kabulünü zorlaştırmaktadır (Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie, 2018). Önemli bir başka dezavantaj olarak, iki bölge arasında finansal hizmetlerin sorunsuz mübadelesini sağlayacak böyle düzenleme ve denetleme mekanizmasının kurulmasında ve işletilmesinde ortaya çıkabilecek zorlukları da belirtmek gerekir (Triebe, 2018).

Dördüncü senaryo olarak "Anlaşma Olmayan Sert-Brexit" senaryosundan bahsetmek mümkündür. Gerek İngiltere'deki iç siyasi dengeler gerekse AB'nin İngiltere'nin istediği yönde bir anlaşmaya karşı tutum sergilemesi nedeni ile, giderek anlaşma olmaksızın AB dışında kalma olasılığını ifade eden Sert-Brexit öne çıkmaktadır. Böyle bir durumda, son çare olarak Dünya Ticaret Örgütü kurallarına göre hareket edilebileceği vurgulanmaktadır. Bu süreç İngiltere açısından büyük zorluklar getirebilecektir. Çünkü Dünya Ticaret Örgütü ile günümüze dek yapılan düzenlemeler İngiltere adına AB tarafından yapılmıştır. İngiltere'nin AB dışına çıkmasıyla birlikte, Dünya Ticaret Örgütü üyesi ülkelerin tamamının onaylaması gereken günümüze kadar bir örneği de olmaya bir tür çok taraflı düzenleme yapması zorunlu olacaktır. Ancak bu yöntemde de, DTÖ üyesi ülkelerin ikili düzeyde İngiltere ile ticari çıkar anlaşmazlıklarına girerek aktarma sürecini yavaşlatma ve durdurma tehlikesi bulunmaktadır (Aran, 2017 ve Karacan, 2017). Dolayısıyla bu seçeneğin İngiltere açısından kaos yaratma potansiyeli taşıdığına dikkat çekmekte fayda bulunmaktadır (Odier, 2018).

Brexit tartışmalarının başında özellikle İngiliz tarafında "kötü bir anlaşma yapmaktansa, anlaşma yapmamak daha iyidir" söylemi sıklıkla dile getirilmekteydi. Brexit müzakerelerini yürüten her iki tarafta da böyle bir düşüncenin hakim olması, kaçınılmaz olarak anlaşma olmaksızın çıkış riskini arttıracaktır. Ancak anlaşma olmaksızın Sert-Brexit'in mevcut koşullarda daha iyi bir seçenek olacağı inancı mantık kurallarıyla çelişmektedir. İngiltere ile AB arasındaki derin ekonomik ilişkileri dikkate aldığımızda çözümsüzlük seçeneği Brexit'in olası olumsuz sonuçlarını en üst noktalara taşıyacaktır. Müzakereler için öngörülen sürenin sonuna yaklaşılması ile "hiçbir anlaşma olmaması tüm taraflar için en kötü anlaşmadır" düşüncesi etkili olmaya başlamaktadır. Müzakereler için daha fazla süre kazanılması, ekonominin ve aktörlerin yeni duruma hazırlanma imkanı sağlanması ve çözümsüzlük senaryosunun önüne geçilebilmesi için geçiş süreci düzenlemeleri büyük bir önem taşımaktadır. (Deutsches Aktieninstitut, 2017).

Beşinci bir senaryo, Londra'nın Offshore Finans Merkezi (OFM) olarak konumlandırılmasıdır. Bu senaryo Birleşik Krallık'ın kendisini AB'den tamamen çözmesi durumunda mümkündür. Dolayısıyla Sert Brexit senaryosunun bir çeşidi olarak görülmektedir. İlk aşamada Londra'nın OFC haline gelmesi, işlem maliyetlerinin en aza indirildiği ve finansal hizmetlerin offshore pazarında kalması için son derece karlı olduğu ifade edilmektedir (Vries, Gartner, Haentjens, Korteweg, Markakis, Repasi, &Tegelaar, 2017).

Ele almak istediğimiz son senaryo "Finansal Hizmetleri Kapsamayan Bir Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması" senaryosudur. İngiltere Başbakanı Theresa May, Temmuz 2018'de İngiltere'nin AB ile yapacağı Brexit müzakerelerinde önerilerin sıralandığı Brexit-Beyaz Kitabı'nı ortaya koymuştur. Böylece Ekim 2018'de başlayacak olan AB Zirvesi Brexit müzakerelerinde İngiltere'nin müzakere başlangıç pozisyonu aşağı yukarı şekillenmiştir. Ancak İngiltere'nin önünde

çok sıkışık bir takvim bulunduğunu unutmamak gerekir. İngiltere 29 Mart 2019 tarihinde AB'den çıkmış olacaktır. Fakat AB ile varılan uzlaşma gereği Aralık 2020'ye kadar bir geçiş süreci öngörülmektedir (Odier, 2018).

Hazırlanan Brexit-Beyaz Kitabı'ndaki ifadelerden, İngiliz hükümetinin AB ile finans sektörünü kapsamayan bir serbest ticaret anlaşmasını müzakere etmeyi tercih edeceği görülmektedir. İngiltere, AB ile yürüttüğü mal ve tarım ürünleri ticaretinin Brexit sonrasında mümkün olduğu kadar alışılageldik şekilde işlemesini arzulamaktadır. Bu çerçevede İngiltere, mal akımları için AB'nin standart ve düzenlemelerini kabul etmeye hazır bir görüntü vermektedir. Diğer yandan Brexit-Beyaz Kitabı'nda finansal hizmetler ticaretine ilişkin somut önlemlere pek değinilmediği görülmektedir. Bu durum İngiliz hükümeti için Brexit darboğazında, finansal kesimin reel kesimden daha az önem taşıdığı şeklinde yorumlara yol açmaktadır. Böyle bir yoruma kesin cevap vermek henüz mümkün değildir. Ancak görünen odur ki, İngiliz hükümeti AB finansal pasaport haklarını elde tutabilmek için AB ile anlaşmazlığa düşme riskini almak istememektedir. Ekim ayında yapılacak müzakerelerde, İngiliz finans sektörü için ciddi sonuçlar doğuracak olan finansal pasaport haklarının kaybedilmesi konusu belirleyici bir rol oynamayacağı anlaşılmaktadır. O halde en geç Aralık 2020'de İngiltere'de yerleşik finans kurumları pasaport haklarını kaybedecektir. İngiliz hükümetinin finans sektörü aleyhine sonuçlar doğuracağı açık olan böyle bir pozisyon almasında iki neden öne çıkmaktadır. Birinci neden, 2008 finans krizi sonrasında finans kesiminin kamuoyunda çok kötü bir imajı olmasıdır. İkinci neden ise, Brexit'ten etkilenecek olan finansal hizmet sunucularının çoğunun yabancı menşeli olmasıdır. Sonuç olarak Beyaz Kitap'la birlikte İngiltere'nin endüstri politikalarında öncelikleri netleşmiştir. Ancak finans sektöründe AB ile işbirliğine dair somut hedefler hala karanlıkta kalmaya devam etmektedir. (Schäfer, 2018)

İngiltere'nin AB ile devam edecek ilişkilerinde Brexit'in etkisi, seçilen modele bağlı olacaktır. Ancak Birleşik Krallık hükümeti bahsi geçen modellerden tercih edilebilecek olanının hangisi olacağı hakkında net bir karar belirtmiş değildir. Brexit yalnızca Birleşik Krallık'ın AB ile devam eden ilişkilerini değil ama üçüncü ülkeler ile ilişkileri de etkileyecektir. Dolayısıyla seçilen yolun yaratacağı etki oldukça geniş bir çerçeveyi kapsayacaktır. (Coiley, 2016)

Sonuç

Ekonomik entegrasyonun aşamalarının tüm taraflar açısından avantaj ve dezavantajları beraberinde getirmesi söz konusudur. Entegrasyon ilerledikçe ve aradan belirli bir süre geçtikçe o entegrasyonun ekonomik kazanımları kamuoyunda giderek içselleşmekte ve adeta doğal bir durummuş gibi değerlendirilmektedir. Diğer yandan ilk başta ekonomik kazanımların üzerini örttüğü entegrasyonun olumsuz etkileri giderek daha fazla rahatsızlık vermekte ve göze batmaktadır. Böyle bir ortamda ekonomik parçalanma eğilimleri yükselebilmektedir. İngiltere açısından bakıldığında ülkeyi Brexit sonucuna iten en önemli unsurlar arasında, büyük cari işlemler açığı ve borç finansmanı ile ilgili gelişmeler yer almaktadır. Brexit oylamasında da bu unsurun etkili olduğu düşünülebilir. Ancak fiili çıkış tarihi yaklaştıkça ve Brexit'in doğurabileceği kayıplar tartışıldıkça "Yeni bir oylama yapılsaydı aynı sonuç çıkar mıydı?" sorusu da gündeme gelmektedir.

Basit bir mantıkla düşündüğümüzde, parçalanma (disentegrasyon) durumunda ekonomik kayıplar yaşanması elbette söz konusu olacaktır. Dolayısıyla, İngiltere AB ile entegrasyon sürecinde önemli kazanımlar elde etse de, Brexit ile birlikte gerek İngiltere gerekse AB-27 ülkeleri için ekonomik anlamda kayıplar beraberinde gelecektir. Bu kayıpların hangi düzeye ulaşacağı ise, büyük ölçüde İngiltere'nin AB'den çıkış sürecinin ve çıkış sonrasında iki bölge arasındaki ilişkilerin nasıl düzenleneceği konusu ile ilişkili olacaktır. İngiltere'nin AB'den ayrılması hiç kuşku yok ki her iki taraf için de sadece ekonomi ile sınırlı kalmayan ciddi etkiler doğuracaktır. İngiltere açısından AB pazarının taşıdığı önem ve AB için Dünya'nın en önde gelen finans merkezi olan Londra'nın konumu, ilerleyen

dönemde her iki taraf açısından da bir anlaşma zemini oluşmasını zorlayacaktır. Sürecin yaşatacağı belirsizlik büyük olsa da net olan şudur ki, Brexit sonrasında İngiliz bankacılık sektörü artık asla aynı olmayacaktır.

Ayrıca AB finansal pasaport haklarının kaybedilmesi, bankaların faaliyetlerinin bir kısmını kıta Avrupası'na kaydırmaları nedeniyle Londra açısından bir istihdam kaybına yol açacaktır. Ne var ki bu kaybın başlangıçta öngörülenden düşük olacağı beklenmektedir. Ancak tüm bunların bir finans merkezi olarak Londra'nın konumunda telafi edilmesi imkansız bir gerilemeye neden olacağını ve hatta bir finansal krizi tetikleyebileceğini söylemek mümkün değildir. Ayrıca bu sürecin Frankfurt, Paris gibi finans merkezlerinin cazibesini olağan üstü derecede artıracağını da iddia etmek doğru olmayacaktır.

Kanaatimizce, Brexit kararının alınmasında siyasi gerekçeler, ekonomik gerekçelerin önüne geçmiştir. AB'den çıkan bir İngiltere'nin hangi ekonomik sonuçlarla muhatap olacağı kamuoyunda yeterince tartışılmamış görünmektedir. Sürecin gidişatına bakıldığında İngiliz makamlarının AB ile yapılan Brexit müzakerelerine yeterince hazırlıklı olmadıkları izlenimi doğmaktadır. Aralık 2020'de nihai olarak AB dışında kalacak olan İngiltere'nin, AB'nin de kabul edeceği net bir çıkış stratejisi hala ortada yoktur. Bu durum, başta İngiltere olmak üzere tüm ilgili ekonomilerde ciddi bir belirsizlik faktörü olarak olumsuz etkiler yaratmaktadır.

Gelinen son aşamada alternatif çıkış senaryolarından gerçekleşme olasılığı en yüksek olan iki seçenek kalmış gibi görünmektedir. Bunlardan ilki Temmuz 2018'de Brexit-Beyaz Kitabı'nda ifade edilen finansal hizmetleri kapsamayan bir serbest ticaret anlaşmasıdır. İkinci senaryo ise çözümsüzlük anlamına gelen Anlaşmasız Sert-Brexit'tir. Takvimin sıkışıklığını ve durumun aciliyetini dikkate alan İngiliz hükümeti finansal hizmetleri geri plana atan bir tercihte bulunmuş gibi görünmektedir. Hiç kuşkusuz bu tercihte, anlaşmasız bir Sert-Brexit olasılığının reel sektörde doğuracağı yıkıcı ekonomik etkilerle karşılaşmama arzusu rol oynamıştır. Öngörülen serbest ticaret anlaşması finansal hizmetleri kapsamayacağı için İngiliz menşeili finansal kurumlar AB finans piyasalarına serbest giriş imkanı sunan finansal pasaport haklarını kaybedeceklerdir. Bu özellikle İngiltere merkezli bankaların AB'deki faaliyetlerini olumsuz etkileyecektir. Bu nedenle birçok banka AB ülkelerindeki finans merkezlerinden birine faaliyetlerinin tümünü veya bir kısmını aktarma ihtiyacı hissetmektedir. İngiltere'deki bankalar kendilerini bu duruma hazırlamak için gerekli önlemleri planlamaktadırlar.

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NEOLIBERALISM AS A SOURCE OF THE CRISES

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Abstract

A decade on from the Global Financial Crisis, a turning point in global economic policy has been proved. The paradox of neoliberalism is not only logical, but also reflects itself in the widespread inequality - on the one side the wealthy elite and on the other side the rest of the population. Large unemployment rate in many countries results in decline of family, cultural and health values. Neoliberalism, which promotes the idea of equality, paradoxically works against it. Logos of profit imposes unifying values that are submitted to the imperial power of the profit, clearly interpreted today as a greed. Such overall tendencies subdue democracy as a form of political action and the fragility of its influence has become increasingly apparent.

Keywords: neoliberalism, crises, democracy, globalisation

Introduction

The last half of the century has been very turbulent. The post–World War II economic expansion followed with economical and political changes established a new economic order known as Neoliberalism or the Washingtons Consensus. Expansion of neoliberalism happend during the 1990s, when the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism and socialism led Francis Fukuyama to present the end of history and the victory of neoliberalism and democracy as the last stage of development of the human society. However, we have witnessed that history has changed several times since then.

It went from the longest continued economic boom that lasted from 1991 to 2001 in US, to the War on teror (9/11), financial and economic crisis based on deregulation and privatization, Arab spring, Brexit and new protectionism reflected in trade-war. Current situation in the world has confirmed Noam Chomsky's attitude that neoliberalism leads to a diminution of democracy and a decline in the ability of states to conduct social and economic policy on their own terms. The wave of neoliberal criticism represents a typical reaction on all these events, which resulted in a questioning idea of neoliberalism.

In this paper, authors tried to provide an insightful historical overview of development of neoliberalism, clarify reasons for and against and analize negative consequences of ideology.

The main purpose of this paper is to gain an overview of negative consequences of neoliberalism. Swinging between economics theories and mindset of western policy makers, it has been remarked that convincion that there is 'no alternative' to neoliberalism has to be overcome. Evenmore, the failure of Friedmann monetarism and his cognizance that the use of quantity of money as a target "has not been a success" gives us an insight of the core of the problem. "I'm not sure I would as of today push it as hard as I once did." (Fredmann, 2002)

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The paper consists of three parts. In the first part of the paper is described history of neoliberalism. The second part is related to the principles of neoliberalism. The third part is about consequences and necessity of finding an alternative.

1. From Liberalism to Neoliberalism

Liberalism is an ideology that appeared in the 17th century and reached its peak with the French revolution in the 19th century. Liberalism as a political and moral philosophy is centred on four main principles – individualism, egalitarianism, universalism and meliorism (Gray, 1990) Or, as Maurice Cranston stated, "by definition liberal is a man who believes in liberty" (Cranston 1967 p459) All liberals advocated individual liberty to be the most important political goal, which default to basic freedom, including extensive freedom of thought and freedom of speech and emphasized human rights, especially right to life, liberty and private property. They argued that development of an individual and society can be achieved only in the market economy and that liberal state must be determinated by limitations on the power of government (laizzes-faire principle) and the application of the rule of law (Gray, 1999). However, it should be noted that liberalism accepts some government intervention in economy to protect liberty (Birch & Mykhnenko, 2010). The major contributor to the ideas of liberalism are associated with Hobbes, Locke, Mill, Spinoza, Kant, Smith, Hume and other authors of that time.

The glorification of liberty and the further development of liberalism in Europe was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I, which overturned Europe into a protectionist fortress. The Great depression of the 1930s led into government interventionism and Keynesianism. The intellectuals of that time inherited the hopes for progress with Marxist ideas and the development of socialism. The final downturn in liberalism was by the end of World War II, with domination of socialism and comunism (Gray, 1999). A strong reaction of some economists of that time against planned economies and government invervention began to revive economic liberalism and create new ideology that is going to be transforming force of our time – neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is an ideology that it grounded on the ideas of free markets, free trade, private property, profit and minimal state. There are numerous definitions of neoliberalism. Thus, David Harvey defines neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p.2). Blomgren argues that "neoliberalism is commonly thought of as a political philosophy giving priority to individual freedom and the right to private property. It is not, however, the simple and homogeneous philosophy it might appear to be. It ranges over a wide expanse in regard to ethical foundations as well as to normative conclusions. At the one end of the line is „anarcho-liberalism", arguing for a complete laissez-faire, and the abolishment of all government. At the other end is „classical liberalism", demanding a government with functions exceeding those of the so-called night-watchman state" (Blomgren 1997 p.224). Perry Anderson describes neoliberalism as the most successful ideology in world history (Andrson 2000, p.17)

Ideological justification for neoliberalism was provided by classic liberalism. These ideas are deeply incorporated into neoliberal ideology. The major contributors were Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek, the two outstanding minds of the last century. They both had very contraversal ideas that inspired notable figures including Milton Friedman, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, and made regarded contribution to neoliberalism by incorporating two key assumtions – egoism and free market (Birch & Mykhnenko, 2010).

The idea of egoism and free market can be originaly found in Adam Smith's The Wealth of nations and Theory of moral sentiments. Smith argued that every person should have self-interested behavior because it leads to the betterment of society as a whole "as long as he (individual) does not violate the law of justice" (Smith, 2007, p.533). In his opinion, free market and invisible hand of the market will determinate supply and demand and price mechanism would naturally and automatically establish an appropriate price or equilibrium with societal benefits that will increase GDP as well as the wealth of nations (Smith, 2007). But, at that time, Smith didn't know that free market could have side effects such as big unemployment rate, inflation or war. However the same justification could not be accepted from today's neoliberal protagonists.

Ludwig von Mises was an Austrian economist. He criticized socialism as a system of destruction and tried to find the form of social arrangement that is the most conducive to social progress. As an appropriate solution he found liberalism, but the one that corrected the errors of classical liberalism. He argued that "in economic policies, there are no miracles. You have read in many newspapers and speeches, about the so-called German economic miracle, the recovery of Germany after its defeat and destruction in the Second World War. But this was no miracle. It was the application of the principles of the free market economy, of the methods of capitalism, even though they were not applied completely in all respects. Every country can experience the same "miracle" of economic recovery, although I must insist that economic recovery does not come from a miracle; it comes from the adoption of—and is the result of—sound economic policies (Mises, 2006, p. 1-15). Indeed, the same success story was found in US in the second half of the 1990s when the US government has followed neoliberal policies and had the longest continued economic expansion (Kotz, 2003) However, it should be noticed that economic growth was direct consequence of increased consumption and has affected every dimension of social life, including the gap between rich and poor, the nature of work, the role of big money in politics, the quantity and quantity of public services and the character of family life (Kotz, 2003)

Friedrich Hayek was Mises's student and Nobel Prize-winning economist, who has also criticized socialism and interventionism. He argued that planning is inferior to the results of the free-market system because the free-market contributes to the achievement of social benefits. In contrast to the free market, the planning system gives too much power to the government, what puts that power in the hands of a small group rather than in each individual. That is the road that leads to serfdom. (Hayek, 1994) In his point of view, centralized planning is undemocratic because it requires "that the will of a small minority be imposed upon the people" (Hayek, 1994, p. 77) Democracy is possible only within capitalism while in socialism ''democracy will inevitably destroy itself"(Hayek, 1994, p.72). He states that "democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom, socialism restricts it. Democracy attaches all possible value to each man; socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude." (Hayek 1994, p.25) However, from this point of view, it seems that democracy and capitalism have nothing in common too and that democracy destroys itself in capitalism as well. Brexit, Trump-era and the aggressive behavior of authoritarian countries like Russia, China, and Iran, showed that the weaknesses of liberal democracies are becoming increasingly apparent. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan described: "democracy is where the world was, not where the world is going." (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018)

Milton Friedman was Heyek's student and Nobel Prize-winning economist. As the main advocate opposing Keynesian interventionist government, he was probably one of the most influenced economists of the last century. Even more, his ideas and perceptions were and remained influential not only in academic circles, but also in public

policies of many countries. He was great supporter of the freedom and his ideas about the superiority of markets and limitations of government and government intervention were used to shape and develop one of the largest political transformations in human history when were implemented on a large scale in Chile 1970s and influenced the rise of Reaganomics and Thatcherism after 1980s. He and his followers have always pointed out to the federal government's sluggish role in administrating economy and its inefficiency. Once he said: ''if you put the federal government in charge of the Sahara Desert, in 5 years there'd be a shortage of sand''(Friedman, 2002, p.25). For this reason, he advocates that the role of the state should be limited by deregulation and privatization of free-market activities. Regardless of his ideas, awards and criticism, as Paul Krugman stated. ''in the long run, great men are remembered for their strengths, not their weaknesses, and Milton Friedman was a very great man indeed—a man of intellectual courage who was one of the most important economic thinkers of all time, and possibly the most brilliant communicator of economic ideas to the general public that ever lived. But there's a good case for arguing that Friedmanism, in the end, went too far, both as a doctrine and in its practical applications''. (Krugman, 2008) Or, as Rumsfeld said: "Milton is the embodiment of the truth that ideas have consequences." (Klein, 2007)

2. Principles of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism has been interpreted in many different ways. What all neoliberal definitions have in common is that neoliberalism assumes growth and development based on macro-stabilization, liberalization and privatization of economies (Stein, 2012) Namely, all neoliberal policies are based on principles that could be sorted as follow (Beder, 2006)

1. Privatization of state property

2. Free trade

3. Deregulation of business activities

4. Deregulation of financial markets

1. One of the most important neoliberal principles is privatization of state property. Modern capitalistic system is driven by profit that regulates supply and demand (Shaikh, 2016). Rapid technical and technological changes, constant innovations and strong competition made state-own companies less efficient and unresponsive to consumer demand comparing to private companies. For this reason, neoliberals advocate privatization of state property and reduction of government intervention to a minimum in order to allow greater capital injections and to achieve efficiency. (Balj, 2016) Todaro states that privatization improves efficiency, increase outputs and lower costs to reduce public internal and external debt, and promotes individual initiatives while rewarding entrepreneurship. (Todaro, 2009) However, although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth in hands of few and making the public pay even more for its needs. (Martinez, 1997) Furthermore, privatization has transfered the responsibility for problems of society such as healthcare, education and social sphere into the problems of an individual. As outcome, we have private health care, private education, private pension funds. Nevertheless, consequences are more than obvious. Not only privatization of state owned companies made that services more expensive but also raised the ethical question. Dworkin see it as irrationality or as failure of system to provide people with the care and services they want at the prices they are willing and able to pay. He states that "the system makes choices for people that they would not make for themselves" (Dworkin, 2002). In many countries privatization process was conducted in a very bad way, by selling state property under its value to minority of people. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn states that privatization process in Russia during 1990s

resulted in selling state property 250 to 400 times under its market value. He names this process "free-will state suicide" (Solzhenitsyn, 1999) On the other hand there was minority of people who increased their wealth. That is how Russian oligarchs were created.

2. The basic principle on which neoliberalism is based on is the free market. There was general agreement that opening the economy to the rest of the world is very important for successful reform. However, it has been forgotten that only countries with developed industries can successfully engage into free trade. Otherwise they will experience rapid deindustrialization process. Erik Reinert describes this in a picturesque way by saying that the consequences of free trade for the developing countries are "as if suddenly subjecting a greenhouse plant to a cold." (Reinert, 2007, p97). That is exactly what happened to many countries that applied neoliberal policies. Neoliberal policies, reflected in low inflation rate, low deficit and low public debt are conducted through macroeconomic stabilization and structural adjustment programs (Chomsky, 1999) There are numerous examples of unsuccessful implementation of those programs.

Macroeconomic stabilization and adjustment programs were applied first time in Chile during 1970s. Fridman himself described the case of Chile (the "Miracle of Chile" as called) with the words that "Chilean economy did very well"- key economic indicators were bettered. However, the other side of "Miracle of Chile" is, as Stiglitz stated, great disparity - one percent of the country's population possesses one-third of its wealth. (Stiglitz, 2008) Chilean neoliberal experiment, as named by many authors, was imposed by force and was accompanied by lot of violence and human victims. Chilean senator Horvath stated that neoliberal model needs major surgery; it is unsustainable and gives a few so much power that they can also heavily influence politics. (Stiglitz 2008).

Implementation of IMF structural adjustment programs in South Asia created the so-called "Miracle economies". Because of their outstanding growth performance, Thailand was often stated as example of success of neoliberal policies (Norberg, 2003). However, economic expansion has taken a step-change down after flaws in the financial systems first in Thai economy and later in others Asian countries (Krugman, 1998). Asian financial crisis spilled over via Russia to Brazil and soon enveloped the whole Latin American continent.(Krugman, 2010) Not only these countries experienced decline in GDP and economic growth but also faced consequences such as increased poverty, illegal economy, migrations, decline in family and health values (Napoleoni, 2008).

It is clear that free-market reforms have contributed to the increase in poverty and inequality in a crude manner. According to Michel Chossudovski, these processes actually lead to a "bullet-free war", the destruction of social policy and the deprivation of the development of the national economy.

3. Neoliberals advocate deregulation of business activities and market deregulation in order to allow freedom of movement of capital. Deregulation is a process of removing government and state regulation to foster greater economic competition by allowing the market place to establish priorities and professional standards of business conduct rather than needless government intervention (Gershon, 2015) Namely, by opening up of a market to the free flow of capital and the removal of political control from central bank, deregulation of business activities should improve productivity and increase efficiency of business by allowing capital to move freely where it gets best return (Patnaik, 1999, Hailler 1996) However, deregulation failed to achieve an efficient allocation of resources (Newberry 1989, Wolf 1979) Deregulation, above other things, allows free capital movement between countries. To be more competitive on the market, many multinational companies relocate production to developing countries. Developing countries are usually not legally well provided, with almost non-exist regulation and low

wages, cost and taxes, what allows multinational companies greater flexibility in operating Not rarely, it results in child labour, minimal wages and environment pollution. (DeGeorge, 1999) Furthermore, deregulation do not increase competition but leads to lack of competition because capital moves freely. Also, deregulation of business activities is usually followed with scandals involving corporate misconduct such as the falsification of an earnings report that Enron did and environmental disasters, such as British Petroleum and Deepwater Horizont. However, what is illogical is that market deregulation allows free movement of capital while on the other hand there is no free movement of labour.

4. Financial deregulation enabled financial markets to allocate international capital efficiently. Namely, financial deregulation means speculative capital movement in search of quick profit (Patnaik, 1999) In other words, financial deregulation helped only financial companies and transnational corporations to increase its profit and created financial corporations of enormous power. Soros describes financial deregularion by a methaphor of oil tanker. He states that markets are inherently unstable and there needs to be some sort of regulation along the way, like compartments on oil tanker that maintains the tanker's stabilty in the water. Deregulation of financial markets effectively removed that compartments which made tanker very unstable. Eventually the deregulation of financial markets has led to the end of compartmentalisation and caused financial crisis.

The financial crisis has revealed weaknesses of financial and economic system. Policy of low interest rate is being pursued to stimulate credit expansion and increase consumer demand through bank credit to consumers. (Gupta 2008) At the same time, deregulation of financial markets created the so-called CDOs or collateralized debt bonds, which represent a combination of different types of debt, sliced into varying levels of risk and sold to investors. (Krugman 2008) Likewise, the rating agencies were enabled to rate such CDOs with the highest credit rating. For that reason, CDOs became popular for investing. The major buyers of CDOs were insurance companies, banks, pension funds and hedge funds, rather than individuals.(Krugman,2008) What followed was a domino-like collapse of world markets in 2008 and the worst financial crisis since 1930s.
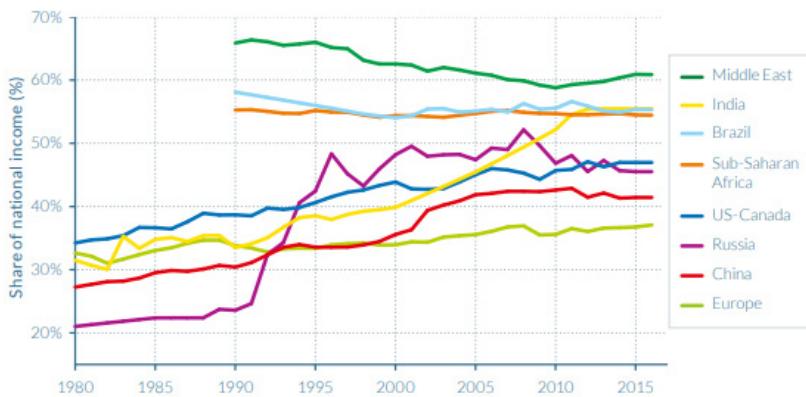
Paul Krugman in The Return of Depression Economics states that global financial crisis was obvious and could have been prevented: "I'm tempted to say that the crisis is like nothing we've ever seen before. But it might be more accurate to say that it's like everything we've seen before, all at once" (Krugman, 2008, p 165) However, it has not been prevented but stimulated with neoliberal policies. Eventually, when world slipped into crisis, macroeconomic policy of many countries responded to the crisis with set of instruments such as deep cut in policy interest rates, massive fiscal stimulus and bailout and nationalization of some banks, or more precisely, with Keynesianism! (Birch & Mykhnenko, 2010) It is obvious that basis of neoliberalism as opponent of Keynesianism was shrugged.

3. Consequences

The role of deregulation, privatization and market liberalization as main principles of neoliberal policy has a plenty of blame to share. The implementation of neoliberal policies was a painful process which caused many crises around the world. Historical experience from many other countries shows that economic downturns followed by financial crises are long and deep. (Reinhart 2010) A decade after global financial crisis, the recovery has yet to arrive. On the one hand, a global growth has steadily declined while on the other hand, global instability and income inequality have risen. (Chossudosky,) World we know today is based on the great disparities: rich minority that grows richer

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
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9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

and poor majority that grows poorer .The latest income inequality report for 2018 by the World Inequality Lab reveals that inequality has increased in nearly all world regions in recent decades, but at different speeds.
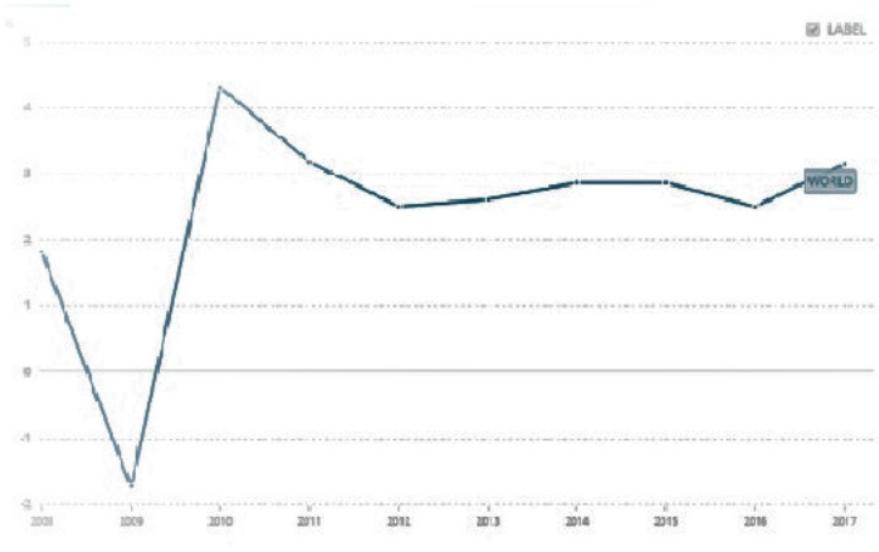
Figure 1: Inequality in the world

Source: WID.world (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.
In 2016, 55% of national income was received by the Top 10% earners in India, against 31% in 1980.

Figure 1 shows that the lowest inequality rate is in Europe and the highest is in the Middle East. What is interesting is that income inequality has been increased: the global top 1% earners have captured twice as much as the 50% poorest individuals. Also, inequality within countries is rising: over the past decades, countries have become richer but governments have become poor.

Figure 2: Global Growth

Figure 2 shows global economic prospect report by IMF and World Bank. Report shows that global growth has steadly declined after the crisis and during this post-crisis period remained almost unchanged. One of the reasons for that, according to World Bank, might be decline in commodities consumption in developing countries that depend on commodity exports, rise of foreign currency debt, escalating trade protectionism and heightened geopolitical tensions.

Global politics uncertainty and weakened confident in national government has raised a question of democracy. Dalton for example, argues about decreasing trust in political authorities and dissatisfaction among democrats (Dalton, 2008). Chomsky speaks of weaker performance by democratic institutions and asks himself can our society survive this order (Chomsky, 2003). The last half of the century, especially the last 20 years, have shown that democracy might be under threat worldwide and, as it turned out, the legitimacy of neoliberalism has never been and will never be in a democracy. Even though liberal democracy is considered to be the only legitimate regime in the modern world, it seems obvious that neoliberal order cannot be the result of a democratic process. (Chomsky, 1999) As Chomsky states, "the neoliberal system has an important and necessary byproduct – a depoliticized citizenry marked by apathy and cynicism. One the one hand, the social inequality generated by neoliberal policies undermines any effort to realize the legal equality necessary to make democracy credible" (Chomsky, 1999, p 9-10) In his words, "neoliberalism is the immediate and foremost enemy of genuine participatory democracy across the planet and will be for the foreseeable future". (Chomsky, 1999, p 11) Namely, such tendencies inherent in liberal democracy repulsed with big moral slap of social disparities since greed has been institutionalized and legitimized as a driver of free market economies (Beder 2006) Or, as Birch stated, morality and ethics "turned to the right." (Birch & Mykhnenko, 2010) Recent events in the world show that democratic government is increasingly coming under strain for many reasons. Levitsky and Ziblatt argue that between 2000 and 2015 democracy broke down in 27 countries. (Levitsky & Ziblatt 2018) There is an increasing complexity of political issues and interactions that democratic governments have to deal with and on the other side, there is a growing individualism.

A recent study published in Psychological Science suggests that people across the globe are becoming more individualistic over time, what means more isolated and focused on themselves, rather than others. Idea of selfishness and egoism that is the basis of neoliberalism is deeply incorporated in today's society. Thus, Ayn Rand, who was one of the greatest defenders of capitalism, proudly advocated and upheld rational selfishness. She argued that selfishness does not include a moral evaluation and truly meaning of that concept is self-respect and self-support by own effort and without sacrifices for others. (Rand, 1964) Identically, Erich Fromm argued that "the criticism of democratic society should not be that people are too selfish; this is true but it is only a consequence of something else. What democracy has not succeeded in is to make the individual love himself; that is, to have a deep sense of affirmation for his individual self, with all his intellectual, emotional, and sensual potentialities". (Fromm, 1955) However, individual in today's society has not only lost a deep sense of affirmation for an individual self but have found themselves in consumer society - I am what I have, what I own (Balj, 2016).

Within consumer society, objects are used fast and disposed wastefully. Recently this rapid use and disposal has been largely associated with the corruption of values and thus often carries a negative meaning. (Penpece, 2006). As Naomi Klain described in No logo, consumerism is intrusive, manipulative, unsustainable, does not meet our needs and restricts our choices and lives. Globalization is a process whereby corporations discovered that profits lay not in making products, but in creating branded identities people adopt in their lifestyles (Klein,1999) Marcuse

named it ''one dimensional man'' as individual who is subjected to a new kind of totalitarianism in the form of consumerist and technological capitalism (Marcuse, 2008).

Conclusion

Efforts to respond to one problem often lay the foundation to another problem. Created to expand economic growth and development in 1970s, neoliberal policies failed to lead to the betterment of society as a whole.

As it has been described, negative consequences of neoliberalism carry so much weight. Global financial crisis was the worst crisis since the Great Depression in 1930s. Apparently a corporation's imperative to increase its profitability comes at too high price to the global society. Unemployment rate has been increased everywhere in the world while economic efficiency, productivity and competitiveness have remained low (Beder, 2006).

However, although this crisis was direct consequence of neoliberal policy, ten years after the crisis show only economic stagnation and no alternative on the sight. Reasons for that may be numerous. For instance, Dumenil and Levy state that lack of political motivation within European Union as there is no national feeling since no European nation exist (Dumenil, & Lévy,2004). He also states and social-political nature of the endeavor as major reasons for this stagnation. Others, like Fukuyama point out that direct consequence of status quo and unsuccessful neoliberal ideology is populism. He argues that examples of populism could be found everywhere, from Brexit to Trumps election.

It is more than obvious that in our society, moral values started to decline pulling down family and collective values as well as sense for collectivity. Individual interest has been put over interest of majority of people.

It is therefore justified to raise the question of whether there is an alternative to neoliberalism?

Defenders of the neoliberal ideology clame that there is no alternative. Friedman, for instance, stated that there is no alternative way so far discovered, of improving the lot of the ordinary people that can hold a candle to the productive activities that are unleashed by a free enterprise system. (Friedman, 2002) However, it is too pessimistic. Opportunities multiply as they are seized. Response to neoliberalism and to new trends in the world shoud be present in a way that will not create future harm and will lead to betterment of our society.

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KÜRESEL KRİZ SONRASI KIRILGAN BEŞLİ ÜLKELERİN MAKROEKONOMİK PERFORMANSLARI ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALİZ

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Abstract

Comparative Analysis On Macroeconomic Performances Of Fragıle Fıve Countries After Global Crısıs

Macroeconomic performances of the fragile five Brazil, Indonesia, India, South Africa and Turkey after the term when the global crisis exploded will be compared through the economic discomfort index composed of the sum of "unemployment rate and inflation rate" that was put forward by A.Okun in 1970s and through the misery index that was developed as "(inflation rate + unemployment rate + interest rate) – growth rate" by R.Barro in 1996. According to these indexes, the inflation rate and unemployment rate will be low and moreover, to R.Barro, if the State's cost of borrowing is low and especially the growth rate is high, the index value will be low. That the index value is low when compared to other countries would show that their macroeconomic performances are good. According to the index values of the 2008 global crisis term and the following years, in the comparison made for the fragile five countries, in terms of both economic discomfort index and misery index values, South Africa takes the first and Turkey the second place. Because in South Africa the unemployment rate increasingly rises and the growth rate increasingly drops, the index values are higher than those of other countries. In Turkey although the growth rate shows increase, the inflation rate and interest rate rise and macroeconomic performance drops. While in 2008 the one being at the best situation was Brazil, in the following years the index values have increased especially with increasing rate of unemployment and dropping rate of growth. After the 2008 crisis term, macroeconomic performances of India and Indonesia have shown improvement according to both indexes. Especially Indian economy, also with the impact of the applied economic reform policies, has shown an exemplary fast growth and high macroeconomic performance.

Keywords: Fragile Five Countries, Misery Index, Macroeconomic Performance

Giriş

Küresel finansal kriz, pek çok ülkenin makroekonomik performansını önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Birçok gelişmiş ülkenin 2008 yılında daralmasından sonra, ülkelerin büyüme performansları olumsuz etkilenmiş ve genelde büyümeyi desteklemek amacıyla genişletici para ve maliye politikaları uygulamışlardır (Yükseler, 2017: 1). Gelişmiş ülkelerin uyguladığı genişletici politikalardan, gelişmekte olan ülkeler genelde olumlu etkilenmiş, büyük miktarda yabancı sermaye yatırımı çekerek toparlanma yaşamışlardır. Ancak ABD Merkez Bankası'nın (FED) Mayıs 2013'ten itibaren aşırı genişlemiş para politikalarını tedrici bir şekilde sıkılaştıracağını açıklamasıyla, gelişmekte olan ülkelere yönelik sermaye akımlarında dalgalanmalar görülmüştür. Bu dönemde Fed'in, tahvil alımlarını azaltarak sonlandıracağına yönelik açıklamaları sonucunda, paraları en çok değer kaybeden ülkeler Brezilya, Hindistan, Endonezya, Türkiye ve Güney Afrika olmuştur. Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu bu ülkeler, 2013 Ağustos ayında ABD kökenli yatırım bankası Morgan Stanley tarafından "kırılgan beşli" olarak ifade edilmiştir (Bayat, Kayhan ve Taşar, 2018: 203-204). Kırılgan beşli olarak ifade edilen bu ülkelerin ortak özellikleri, yüksek cari açık, yüksek enflasyon, düşük

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büyüme hızı, yaşanan siyasi sorunlar ve yüksek dış finansman ihtiyaçları olarak vurgulanmıştır. Bu ülkelerde yaşanan benzer sorunlar, belirsizlik ve riskleri dolayısıyla kırılganlıklarını artırmaktadır (Çan ve Okur Dinçsoy, 2016: 201).

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu en kırılgan olarak belirtilen beş ülkenin, 2008-2018 dönemi, makroekonomik performanslarının karşılaştırılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bir ülkenin makroekonomik performansının ölçülmesinde ve ülke karşılaştırmalarında kullanılan birçok temel gösterge vardır. Bunlardan en önemlileri enflasyon oranı ve işsizlik oranıdır. Toplum tarafından dikkatle izlenen bu değişkenler, dönemsel olarak siyasal iktidarların başarılarının değerlendirilmesinde de önemlidir (Yıldırım, Karaman ve Taşdemir, 2016: 21). Ancak bu değişkenlerin her birinin tek başına analizi, ülkelerin ekonomik ve sosyal refah düzeylerinin karşılaştırılmasında yetersiz kalmaktadır. Bu nedenle daha kapsamlı ve çok bileşenli endekslerin kullanımı yaygınlaşmıştır. Bunlardan en yaygın kullanılanlardan biri, 1970'li yıllarda A. Okun tarafından ortaya konulan İktisadi Hoşnutsuzluk Endeksidir (Orjinal Sefalet Endeksi). Bu endeks 1999 yılında R. Barro tarafından yeni değişkenler eklenerek geliştirilmiştir (Akpınar, Taşçı ve Özsan, 2013: 60). Bu endekslerin temel amacı, makroekonomik değişkenleri topluşlaştırarak, ekonominin makro açıdan performansını değerlendirmek üzere daha kapsayıcı bir gösterge oluşturmaktır. Bu amaçla çalışmanın ilk kısmında sefalet endeksi ve parametreleri hakkında bilgi verilecektir. Daha sonra Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu kırılgan beşli'nin sefalet endeks göstergeleri değerlendirilerek, hesapladığımız sefalet endeksi değerleri üzerinden karşılaştırılarak analiz yapılacaktır.

Sefalet Endeksi ve Göstergeleri

ABD'de aynı anda artan işsizlik ve enflasyon oranlarının görüldüğü 1970'li yıllarda Arthur Okun tarafından geliştirilen iktisadi hoşnutsuzluk endeksi (Orjinal Sefalet Endeksi), ekonomilerin makroekonomik performansını ve toplumun yaşam memnuniyetlerini ölçmekte en yaygın olarak kullanılan yöntemlerden biridir (Cohen vd., 2014:2). Toplumda dikkatle izlenen temel makro göstergeler olan işsizlik oranı ve enflasyon oranının zaman içinde değişmesi ülkelerin ekonomik performanslarındaki değişimi yansıtır. Bazı ülkeler daha büyük sefalet endeksine sahipken, düşük sefalet endeksleri olan ülkeler de vardır (Pogoy ve Plaisent, 2016: 31). İşsizlik oranı ve enflasyon oranı toplanarak hesaplanan bu endekste, her iki değişkene de eşit ve sabit ağırlık verilmekte, ekonomik açıdan aynı derecede önemli olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Oldukça basit görünen bu endeks, artan işsizlik oranı ve yüksek enflasyonun ekonomik ve sosyal maliyetlere neden olduğu varsayımına dayanmaktadır (Hanke, 2018b).. Bu göstergelerden birinin seviyesinin yükselmesi, ulusal refahı olumsuz etkilemektedir. Bu nedenle, sefalet endeksi, ekonomik refahın ters ölçümü olarak düşünülebilir. Ulusal refahı belirlemede temel bir rol oynayan en önemli gösterge reel gayrisafi yurtiçi hasılanın (GSYH) büyüme oranıdır (Cohen, Ferretti ve McIntosh, 2014: 2-6). 1996 yılında Robert Barro tarafından, hoşnutsuzluk endeksini oluşturan işsizlik oranı ve enflasyon oranındaki değişmelerin yanı sıra reel GSYH büyüme oranı ile uzun vadeli faiz oranlarındaki değişmelerin de kullanılmasının gerekli olduğu ortaya konulmuştur. İktisadi hoşnutsuzluk endeksi Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinde (ABD) Başkanların ekonomik alandaki performanslarını ölçmek için sıkça kullanılan bir yöntem olmuştur. R. Barro 1999 yılında, 2000 yılına kadar ABD'de Başkan olarak görev yapmış kişilerin ekonomi politikaları bakımından başarı düzeylerini ölçmüştür (Akpınar, Taşçı ve Özsan, M., 2013: 60). Sefalet endeksi bir çok ekonomist tarafından zaman içinde değiştirilmiş ve ABD dışındaki diğer ülkelere de uygulanmış ve hatta ülkeler arası karşılaştırmalarda da kullanılmıştır.

A.Okun ve R.Barro'nun sefalet endeks göstergeleri:

A. Okun'un Sefalet Endeksi=A+B

R. Barro'nun Sefalet Endeksi= (A+B+C)-D

A. Enflasyon oranı: Uluslararası fiyat karşılaştırmaları için tasarlanan tüketici fiyatlarındaki yıllık yüzde değişim alınmaktadır.

B. İşsizlik oranı: İşgücünün yıllık yüzdesi olarak alınmaktadır.

C. Uzun vadeli devlet tahvil faiz oranı: On yıllık devlet tahvil faiz oranı alınmaktadır.

D. Reel GSYH büyüme oranı: Yıllık yüzde değişim değeri alınmaktadır(Lechman, 2009: 2-3).

Sefalet endeksindeki göstergelerin değişimi endeks değerini belirlemektedir. Krizlerin yaşandığı dönemlerde ülkelerin çoğunda sefalet endeksinin değeri yükselmekte, makroekonomik performans bozulmakta, istikrarın sağlandığı dönemlerde ise endeks iyileşmektedir. Endeksin değeri yükseldiği ölçüde toplumda huzursuzluğun ya da ekonomi de karamsarlığın arttığı ifade edilmektedir (Yıldırım, Karaman ve Taşdemir, 2016: 21). R. Barro'nun sefalet endeksine göre, işsizlik oranı ve uzun dönem faiz oranı artarken, reel GSYH büyüme hızı ortalamanın altındaysa, enflasyon oranı yükseldiğinde memnuniyetsizlik artacağı varsayılmaktadır. Enflasyon, işsizlik ve faiz oranları yükseldiğinde, büyüme oranı negatif olduğunda yani ekonomi daraldığında sefalet endeksi yükselmektedir. Endeks değerinin yükselmesi makroekonomik performansın düştüğünü, ekonomide bozulmanın ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir (Özcan ve Açıkalın, 2015: 160). Ekonomik açıdan, enflasyondaki artış, yüksek işsizlik ile birleşince, tüketici harcamalarında ve ekonomide daralmaya yol açar. Tüketici fiyatlarındaki artış, nominal gelirin satın alma gücünü azaltmakta, refah kaybına neden olabilmektedir. Enflasyon yükseldikçe hayat pahalılığı artar ve işsizlik arttıkça, daha fazla insan yoksulluk sınırını aşar. Enflasyonun artması, faizlerin artmasına neden olmakta, reel kesimin yatırım kararlarını olumsuz yönde etkilemekte, azalan yatırımlar ise işsizliğe neden olabilmektedir. Bu durum hanehalkı gelirlerinde düşüşe ve refah kaybına neden olmaktadır (Akpınar, Taşçı ve Özsan, 2013: 61). İşsizlik reel üretim kaybının yanı sıra, gelir dağılımını bozan, vergi gelirlerinide azaltan bir olgudur. Uzun vadeli devlet tahvil faiz oranının artması, devletin borçlanma maliyetinin artması anlamına gelmekte ve endeksin değeri artmaktadır. Daha yüksek faiz oranı sefalate katkı yapmakta, makro ekonomik performansı zayıflatmaktadır. En temel gösterge olan büyüme oranının, yüksek olması endeks değerinin düşmesinde ve dolayısıyla makroekonomik performansın güçlenmesinde önemlidir (Lechman, 2009: 3). Ekonomik göstergelerdeki değişimi ifade eden bu endeks, aynı zamanda sosyal parametreler üzerinde de etkilidir. Ekonomik hoşnutsuzluk endeksindeki iyileşmeler, toplumun mutluluk ve umut düzeylerini de olumlu etkilemektedir (Çondur, 2016: 1317).

Kirilgan Beşli Ülkelerin Sefalet Endeksi Göstergeleri (2008-2018 Dönemi)

Bu bölümde 2008-2018 dönemi için, Brezilya, Endonezya, Güney Afrika, Hindistan, ve Türkiye'nin sefalet endeksi göstergelerinin gelişimini analiz edeceğiz. Sefalet endeksi göstergeleri olan enflasyon oranı, işsizlik oranı, büyüme oranı ve uzun vadeli faiz oranı verileri, tanımında ve kapsamında farklılık olmaması için, yerel kaynaklar yerine tek kaynaktan sağlanmıştır. Ülkelerin enflasyon oranları, büyüme oranları ve Hindistan hariç işsizlik oranları, International Monetary Fund(IMF), World Economic Outlook Database, April 2018'den alınmıştır. Hindistan'ın işsizlik oranları Tradingeconomics'den elde edilmiştir. Uzun vadeli tahvil faiz oranları ise Investing'den alınmıştır. Enflasyon oranları olarak tüketici fiyat endeksinin yılsonu yüzde değeri alınmıştır. İşsizlik ve büyüme oranlarının da yılsonu yüzde değerleri alınmıştır. Uzun vadeli faiz oranı olarak ise 10 yıllık devlet tahvil faiz oranı esas alınmıştır. Türkiye 10 yıllık devlet tahvil ihracına, 2010 yılında geçmesinden dolayı 2008 ve 2009 yılları için 5 yıllık devlet tahvil faiz oranı esas alınmıştır.

Tablo 1'de kırılgan beşli ülkelerin enflasyon oranlarını göstermektedir. Tablo.1'e göre, küresel krizin yaşandığı 2008'de Endonezya %11,1 oran ile birinci sırada yer alır iken, 2009'da %3'e düşmüştür. İzleyen yıllarda yükselmeler olsa da dönem sonunda ortalama %3 seviyesini korumuştur. 2009'da enflasyon oranı artan tek ülke Hindistan'olmuştur. Bir önceki yıl dördüncü sırada iken, %10,5 oran ile birinci sıraya yükselmiştir. İzleyen yıllarda tekrar düşüşe geçse de 2012'de tekrar %10,5 oran ile birinci sıraya yükselmiştir. Bu yıldan sonra düşüşe geçmiş ve 2017'de %4,7 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2018 yılı sonunda daha da düşeceği öngörülmektedir. Türkiye ise 2009'da ikinci sırada yer alırken, 2011'da %10,4 oran ile en yüksek olan ülke olmuştur. Güney Afrika 2008'de %10,1 olan enflasyon oranını 2017'de %4,7'e düşürmüştür. Brezilya'da ise denetim altında olan enflasyon 2015'de hızla yükselerek %10,7 oran ile birinci sırada yer almıştır. Bu yıldan sonra tekrar gerileyen enflasyon, 2017'de %2,9 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2017'de enflasyonu en yüksek olan ülke %11,9 oran ile Türkiye'dir. Enflasyonu denetim altında olan ekonomiler, Hindistan ve Endonezyadır. Bu ülkelerin merkez bankaları, bir yandan enflasyonla mücadele ederken bir yandan da dış finansman ihtiyacını karşılayabilmek için faizi yüksek tutmaktadırlar.

Tablo.1 2008-2018 Dönemi Kırılgan Beşli Ülkelerin Enflasyon Oranları%

A	ENFLASYON ORANI%	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*
	Brezilya	5,9	4,3	5,9	6,5	5,8	5,9	6,4	10,7	6,3	2,9	3,9
	Endonezya	11,1	3	7	3,8	3,7	8,1	8,4	3,4	3	3,6	3,5
	GüneyAfrika	10,1	6,3	3,5	6,2	5,7	5,4	5,3	5,3	6,7	4,7	5,6
	Hindistan	9,4	10,5	9,2	8,8	10,5	7,7	5,3	5,3	3,6	4,7	5,2
	Türkiye	10,1	6,5	6,4	10,4	6,2	7,4	8,2	8,8	8,5	11,9	10,9

Kaynak: *International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2018, www.imf.org *: Tahmin*

Tablo 2, 2008-2018 dönemi kırılgan beşli ülkelerin işsizlik oranlarını göstermektedir. İşsizlik oranı açısından en yüksek olan ülke ortalama %25 oran ile Güney Afrika olmuştur. Türkiye ise ikinci sıradaki yerini 2016 yılına kadar korumuştur. Türkiye'de dönem içinde ortalama %10 işsizlik oranına sahip olmuştur. 2016 yılına kadar tek haneli orana sahip olan Brezilya %11,3 işsizlik oranı ile ikinci sırada yer almaya başlamıştır. İşsizlik oranı açısından en istikrarlı ve en iyi göstergeye sahip ülke %3,5 oran ile Hindistan'dır. Hindistan'ı Endonezya takip etmektedir.

Tablo.2 2008-2018 Dönemi Kırılgan Beşli Ülkelerin İşsizlik Oranları%

B	İŞSİZLİK ORANI %	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*
	Brezilya	9,4	9,7	8,5	7,8	7,4	7,2	6,8	8,3	11,3	12,8	11,6
	Endonezya	8,4	7,9	7,1	6,6	6,1	6,1	6,3	5,9	6,2	5,4	5,2
	GüneyAfrika	22,5	23,7	24,9	24,8	24,9	24,7	25,1	25,4	26,7	27,5	27,9
	Hindistan	4,1	3,8	3,5	3,5	3,6	3,5	3,4	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5
	Türkiye	10	13,1	11,1	9,1	8,4	9,0	9,9	10,3	10,9	11,0	10,7

Kaynak: *International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2018,*
*www.imf.org;www.tradingeconomicshttps://tr.tradingeconomics.com/india/unemployment-rate *: Tahmin*

Tablo 3, kırılgan beşli ülkelerdeki uzun vadeli (10 yıllık) devlet tahvil faiz oranlarını göstermektedir. Kriz döneminde en yüksek uzun vadeli faiz oranı %17,5 ile Türkiye'dir. Devletin uzun vadeli borçlanma maliyeti krizden sonraki dönemde biraz düşüş gösterse de son yıllarda artış eğilimindedir. Türkiye kadar olmasa da ikinci sırada olan Brezilya'nın faiz oranı 2008'de %12,6 ile yüksek düzeydedir. 2015'de diğer göstergelerde olduğu gibi bozulma görülmekte olup %16,5 orana yükselmiştir. Beş ülkede de 2010 yılında, önceki yıllara göre gerileme izlense de 2013'de ülkelerin uzun vadeli borçlanma maliyetleri artmıştır. 2017 yılı sonu itibariyle en yüksek oran Türkiye ve Brezilya'da görülmekte olup 2018 yılında da yükselişin devam edeceği tahmin edilmektedir.

Tablo.3 2008-2018 Dönemi Kırılgan Beşli Ülkelerin Uzun Vadeli Faiz Oranları%

C	FAİZ ORANI %	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*
	Brezilya	12,6	13,4	12,4	11,1	9,2	13,2	12,4	16,5	11,5	10,3	11,7
	Endonezya	11,9	10,1	7,6	6,0	5,2	8,4	7,8	8,9	7,9	6,3	7,3
	GüneyAfrika	7,3	9,0	8,1	7,9	6,4	7,9	7,8	9,8	8,9	8,6	9
	Hindistan	5,3	7,7	7,9	8,6	8,0	8,8	7,9	7,8	6,5	7,3	7,8
	Türkiye	17,5	10,7	8,6	10,0	6,6	10,3	8,1	10,5	11,1	11,4	17,0

Kaynak: *www.investing.com/rates-bonds *: Tahmin*

Tablo 4, 2008-2018 dönemi kırılgan beşli ülkelerin büyüme oranlarını göstermektedir. 2008'de yaşanan küresel finansal krizinin ardından, 2009 yılı büyüme oranı verileri incelendiğinde, Hindistan ve Endonezya büyüme oranları diğer ülkelerden pozitif ayrışmaktadır. Hindistan'ın büyüme oranı 2008 yılına göre 2 katından fazla artmıştır. Endonezya'nın büyüme oranı azalma gösterse de krizden pek etkilenmemiştir. Türkiye'nin büyüme oranı -%4,7 oranında daralarak, krizden en fazla etkilenen ülke olmuştur. 2010'da beş ülkenin de büyüme oranı artmış, ekonomilerinde ciddi toparlanma gerçekleşmiştir. 2011'de Türkiye en yüksek büyüme oranına sahip ülke olmuştur. 2012'de ise beş ülkenin büyüme oranında düşüş görülmektedir. Ancak en dikkat çekici olan ülke Türkiye olmuştur. 2011 yılındaki %11,1 seviyesinden %4,8 seviyesine gerilemiş, 2013'de %8,5 seviyesine yükselerek %5 potansiyelin oldukça üzerinde gerçekleşmiştir. Hindistan'da 2014'ten itibaren ekonomik büyüme toparlanmış ve en hızlı büyüyen ülke olmuştur. Yapısal reformların hızlanması ve düşük emtia fiyatları ile güçlü bir büyüme hızı yakalayan Hindistan'ın (Oecd, 2017) 2017 yılı büyüme oranları %6,7 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2018'de daha da büyüyerek %7,4 olması beklenmektedir. Güçlü büyümenin yanısıra cari işlemler hesabı ve enflasyon oranında hızlı düşüş de gerçekleşmiştir. Hindistan incelediğimiz dönem içinde ortalama %7 ile en yüksek büyüme oranına sahip ülkedir. Hindistanı, Endonezya ve Türkiye takip etmektedir.

Tablo.4 2008-2018 Dönemi Kırılgan Beşli Ülkelerin Büyüme Oranları%
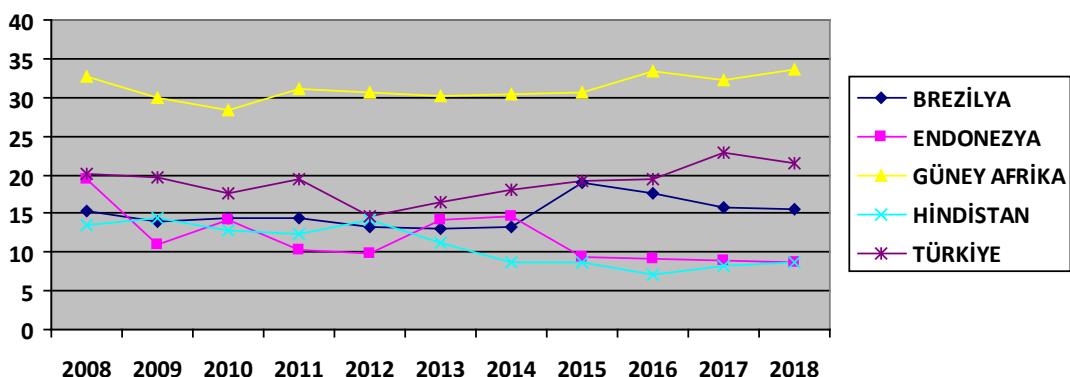
D	BÜYÜME ORANI %	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018*
	Brezilya	5,1	-0,1	7,5	4	1,9	3	0,5	-3,5	-3,5	1	2,3
	Endonezya	7,4	4,7	6,4	6,2	6	5,6	5	4,9	5	5,1	5,3
	GüneyAfrika	3,2	-1,5	3	3,3	2,2	2,5	1,8	1,3	0,6	1,3	1,5
	Hindistan	3,9	8,5	10,3	6,6	5,5	6,4	7,4	8,2	7,1	6,7	7,4
	Türkiye	0,8	-4,7	8,5	11,1	4,8	8,5	5,2	6,1	3,2	7	4,4

Kaynak: *International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2018, www.imf.org *: Tahmin*

Kırılgan Beşli Ülkelerin Makroekonomik Performanslarının Sefalet Endeks Değerleri Üzerinden Karşılaştırılması (2008-2018 Dönemi)

Bu bölümde A. Okun ile R. Barro'nun sefalet endeks değerleri ayrı olarak hesaplanarak grafik şeklinde verilmiştir. Grafik.1 kırılgan beşli ülkelerin A.Okun'un orjinal sefalet endeksi göstergeleriyle (A+B) elde edilen değerlerini göstermektedir. Grafiği incelediğimizde kriz dönemine göre endeks değeri en çok düşen dolayısıyla makroekonomik performansı ciddi anlamda güçlenen ülke Hindistandır. 2009'da 14,3 değerinde olan endeks, 2017'de 8,2 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Hindistanın bu başarısında, çift haneli olan yüksek enflasyon oranını kontrol altına alarak düşürmesi etkili olmuştur. Sefalet endeks değerinde ciddi anlamda iyileşme gözlenen diğer ülke Endonezya olmuştur. Krizin yaşandığı 2008'de 19,5 değerinde olan endeks sürekli azalarak, 2017 sonunda 9 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Endonezya'nın endeks değerindeki düşüşte işsizlik oranındaki azalma etkili olsa da asıl enflasyonun denetim altında tutulabilmesi etkili olmuştur.

Grafik.1: 2008-2018 Dönemi A.Okun'un Orjinal Sefalet Endeks Değerleri%
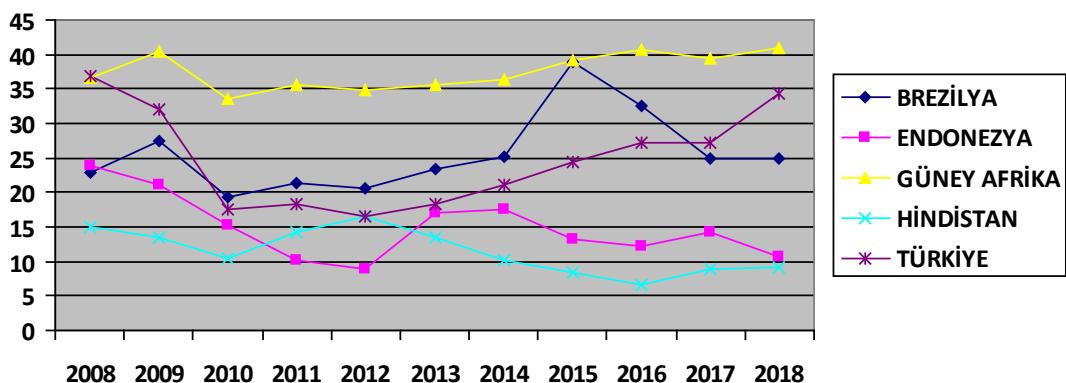
Üçüncü sırada yer alan ülke Breziya'dır. Brezilya'dan sonra Türkiye ve Güney Afrika gelmektedir. Brezilya ve Türkiye'nin sefalet endeks değeri küresel krizden sonra düşüş gösterse de 2013 yılından itibaren artış eğilimine geçmiştir. Brezilya 2015 yılında 19 endeks değeriyle en yüksek düzeye ulaştıktan sonra gerilemeye başlamış 15,7 değerine düşmüştür. 2015'den sonra çift haneli olan işsizlik oranı artış göstermeye devam etse de enflasyon oranındaki önemli düşüş ile son yıllarda ülkenin ekonomik performansında iyileşme görülmektedir. Türkiye'de ise son yıllarda hem enflasyon oranı hem işsizlik oranının yükseliş eğiliminde olması nedeniyle endeks değeri artmaktadır. Güney Afrika'nın endeks değerinde pek bir değişiklik görülmemektedir. Güney Afrika'nın makroekonomik performansı, 2008'den itibaren enflasyon oranındaki düşüşe rağmen, iyileşme göstermemektedir. Bu durumun nedeni yüksek olan ve sürekli yükselme eğiliminde olan işsizlik oranıdır.

Grafik. 2, 2008- 2018 dönemi R. Barro'nun sefalet endeks değerlerini göstermektedir. Küresel kriz döneminde ülkelerin çoğunda makroekonomik performansın bozulduğu, ancak izleyen yıllarda toparlanma kaydedildiği görülmektedir. Sefalet endeksine göre makroekonomik performans açısından en iyi durumda olan ülke Hindistandır. Hindistan'ı Endonezya ve Brezilya takip etmektedir. Türkiye dördüncü sırada yer almaktadır. En kötü durumda olan ülke Güney Afrika'dır. Yıllar itibariyle incelediğimizde Güney Afrika'nın makro ekonomik performansının seyrinde düzelme olmadığı görülmektedir. Türkiye'nin 2008'de sefalet endeksi 36,8 iken 2010 yılında 17,6 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2013 yılından itibaren sürekli artış göstermiş, 2017 yılında 27,3'e yükselmiştir. 2018'de ise

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daha da artarak 34,2 olacağı tahmin edilmektedir. Türkiye özellikle son yıllarda kırılgan beşli ülkeler arasında en yüksek büyüme oranına sahip ülkedir. Ancak ortalama %10 işsizlik oranı ile istihdam yaratamayan bir büyüme söz konusudur. Özellikle 2013 yılından itibaren Türkiye'nin makroekonomik performansı zayıflamaktadır. Bu durum büyüme oranı hariç diğer sefalet endeks göstergelerinin bozulmasından kaynaklanmıştır. Kırılgan beşli ülkeler arasında en yüksek işsizlik oranı Güney Afrika'da iken, Türkiye en yüksek enflasyon oranına ve 10 yıllık devlet tahvil faiz oranına sahiptir. Enflasyon oranı yükseldikçe uzun vadeli faiz oranı da yükselmektedir. Özellikle son dönemde döviz kurunun yükselmekte olması, Türk lirasının değer kaybetmesine, enflasyonun daha da yükselmesine neden olmaktadır.

Grafik. 2: 2008-2018 Dönemi R. Barro'nun Sefalet Endeks Değerleri%

Kırılgan beşli sınıflandırılmasından ilk defa bahsedildiği 2013 yılından bu yana, Hindistan ve Endonezya'nın kırılganlığı ciddi anlamda azalmıştır. Brezilya, Türkiye ve Güney Afrika, hala büyük ölçüde dövize bağımlı olmaları, zayıf para birimlerine sahip olmaları, iç siyasi huzursuzluk ve/veya yolsuzlukla mücadelelerin de etkisiyle giderek daha da kırılgan hale gelmişlerdir (Dalvinder Kular, 2016).

Steve Hanke (2018), 216 ülkenin enflasyon ve işsizlik oranları toplamından oluşan sefalet endeks değerini karşılaştırmıştır. Bu rapora göre, Güney Afrika, sefalet endeks değeri en yüksek ülkeler arasında beşinci sırada yer almaktadır. Ayırca %25'in üzerinde işsizlik oranıyla 2019'da ikinci sırada yer alacağı öngörülüyor. Bunun yanı sıra raporda, kırılgan beşli arasında yer alan diğer ülkelerin 2018 yılı tahminleri de yer alıyor. Bu ülkelerden Türkiye 19., Brezilya 35., Endonezya 71., Hindistan ise 88. sırada yer almaktadır (Hanke, 2018). Bu çalışmadan da gördüğümüz gibi makrokoekonomik performansları açısından kırılgan beşli ülkelerin sıralaması aynıdır.

Sonuç

Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu kırılgan beşli ülkelerin makroekonomik performanslarını ölçmek için A.Okun ve R. Barro'nun sefalet endeksi kullanılmıştır. Kırılgan beşli ülkeler olarak adlandırılan Hindistan, Güney Afrika, Brezilya, Endonezya ve Türkiye'nin, enflasyon oranı, işsizlik oranı, büyüme oranı ve uzun vadeli faiz oranı verileri dikkate alınarak, 2008-2018 dönemi için, hesaplanan sefalet endeksi değerlerine göre makroekonomik performansları karşılaştırılmıştır. Küresel kriz döneminde ülkelerin makroekonomik performanslarının bozulduğu, ancak izleyen yıllarda giderek iyileşme kaydettikleri gözlenmektedir. Özellikle 2013 yılı Ağustos ayından itibaren

Hindistan ve Endonezya, bütün göstergeler itibariyle diğerlerinden pozitif yönde ayrışarak önemli bir toparlanma sürecine girmişlerdir. Her iki endekse göre, 2017 yılı son verileri ve 2018 yılı tahminleri itibarıyla, makroekonomik performans açısından en iyi konumda olan ülke Hindistan'dır. Hindistan ekonomisi, uygulanan ekonomik reform politikalarının da etkisiyle, örnek alınacak hızlı bir büyüme ile yüksek makroekonomik performans göstermektedir. Hindistan'ı Endonezya, Brezilya ve Türkiye takip etmektedir. En olumsuz makroekonomik performansa Güney Afrika sahiptir

Son yıllarda Hindistan ve Endonezya %5'in üzerinde büyüme oranı, düşük faiz oranı, düşük işsizlik oranı, düşük enflasyon oranı ile en iyi sefalet göstergelerine sahip ülkelerdir. Makroekonomik performansındaki olumlu gelişmelerle bu iki ülkenin kırılganlığı önemli ölçüde azalmıştır. Brezilya'nın da son yıllarda, yüksek işsizlik oranına rağmen, enflasyonu denetim altında tutabilmesiyle makroekonomik performansında iyileşme gözlenmektedir. Kırılganlığı en fazla artan ülke Türkiye'dir. İncelenen dönem içinde ülkenin makroekonomik performansı ciddi anlamda bozulmuştur. Türkiye %5'in üzerinde cari açığa sahipken, diğer ülkelerde cari açık %3'ün altındadır. Bu dönemde Türkiye, artan cari açıkla büyüyen, işsizliği, enflasyonu düşüremeyen ve yüksek maliyetle borçlanan bir ekonomik görünümdedir. Kırılgan beşli arasında yer alan Güney Afrika'nın makroekonomik performansında pek fazla bir değişme olmamıştır.

Sefalet endeks değeri en yüksek olan Türkiye ve Güney Afrika'nın makroekonomik performanslarını güçlendirebilmeleri için, öncelikle yapısal sorunlarına çözüm getirici reformları uygulamaya koyması ve ekonomik politikalarla kamu borçlanma politikaları arasında koordinasyonu sağlaması önemlidir. Her iki ülkede de kronik hale gelen özellikle Güney Afrika'da daha da yüksek olan işsizlik sorununa çözüm getirici, istihdam yaratan sanayi ve teknolojik yatırımlara yönelerek, sürdürülebilir büyüme oranı hedeflenmelidir. Diğer taraftan, dışa bağımlılığı azaltarak cari açığı düşürmek, enflasyonu kontrol altına almak ve böylece devletin borçlanma maliyetinin de azalmasını sağlayarak, daha iyi bir makroekonomik performansa ulaşabilmek mümkün olabilecektir.

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RIGHT CAPITAL MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES FOR THE COUNTRIES UNDER STRESS

M. Mustafa Erdoğdu*

Abstract

Capital controls are the obvious way to control financial flows. Malaysia and Chile are the prime examples that applied different capital control techniques with considerable success. There are also other alternatives or supporting measures like currency transaction taxes to reduce the negative effects of currency outflows for the countries under stress. A credible option in this respect is a two-tier currency transaction tax, which was proposed to reduce currency speculation by Paul Bernd Spahn in mid-1990s to improve the one-tier currency transaction tax proposed by James Tobin in 1970s to penalize short-term currency speculation. This paper aims to draw some lessons from the aforementioned capital control experiences and evaluate the possible effects of applying a two-tier currency transaction tax to reduce the negative effects of currency outflows for the countries under stress.

Keywords: Financial Crises, Capital Controls, Currency Transaction Taxes, Malaysia, Chile

1. Introduction

High volatility in exchange rate markets has been a recurrent problem for the global financial system, particularly after the demise of the Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s. Following the dissolving currency system, fashionable opinion held that unfettered free markets, a reduced role for the state, and integration into the global economy provided the best formula. This formula came to be known as the "Washington Consensus," which many economies followed by removing virtually all restrictions on cross-border capital flows. Consequently, the world economy has entered into a period characterised by financial globalisation, a process expected to increase economic efficiency and speed up economic progress. Unlike widely held positive expectations, however, the outcome has been increasingly frequent and severe financial crises.

Financial crisis risk of any country depends heavily on the term structure of foreign borrowings it receives since potential exit of short-term capital inflows carries a severe exchange rate risk. Therefore, when a country has a short-term structure for its borrowings, its financial crisis risk is high. In this regard, the important point to note is the linkage between unregulated cross-border capital inflows and frequent outbreaks of global financial turmoil observed in the past three decades. While such financial crises would be the result of many other factors, excessive short-term flows can be seen as the most important causative factor leading to the dramatic rise in frequency of the financial crises and near crises. Thus, decreasing the share of short-term capital movements and increasing the share of foreign direct investments and long-term borrowings appears as the best strategy.

There are many control devices that have been suggested and have been used in regulating free flows of short-term capital, in particular of portfolio type. The list includes, for example, the dual exchange rate regime, administrative prohibition and compulsory deposit requirements on bank lending and borrowing from non-residents (Epstein *et al.*, 2003). Since capital controls are the obvious way to control financial flows, this paper will examine different

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capital control techniques applied by Malaysia and Chile in the next section. The third section will evaluate the possible effects of applying a two-tier currency transaction tax, which was proposed to reduce currency speculation by Paul Bernd Spahn in mid-1990s to improve the one-tier currency transaction tax proposed by James Tobin in 1970s. The fouth section will conclude.

2. Capital Controls

Past experiences make it clear to reduce the risk of a financial crisis, it is necessary to manage the composition of capital inflows in favour of long-term capital and foreign direct investments and avoid short-term capital. Capital controls are the prime tool to do this.

2. 1. Chilian-Stile Capital Controls

The Chilian-stile capital controls are the least disruptive among all the capital controls and can be regarded as market-friendly. The main aim of the Chilian-style capital controls is to deter short-term capital inflows without negatively affecting long-term investments. The most important capital management technique implemented in Chile is a compulsory deposit application (Garber & Taylor, 1995: 176). In Chile, 20% of short- and medium-term external loans were subject to mandatory deposits (reserves), and domestic and foreign credit transactions up to a year were applied at 1.2% stamp tax rate per year (Agosin & Ffrench-Davis, 1998). This practice has been tightened after May 1992 and has been extended to cover all international financial transactions other than commercial loans.

The financial cost of mandatory provisions and taxes on foreign borrowing consists of the tax on the foreign credit and the interest income that is no longer the result of applying the mandatory reserve. The minimum period of mandatory repayment in Chile is one year. On the other hand, there is a sharp tax increase of up to two times as the maturity is shorter. This is a major deterrent to short-term trends. Looking at capital accounts in Chile, significant reductions in total entry levels occurred in 1991 and 1995, when compulsory reserve implementation was initiated and tightened. However, entries have returned to their previous high levels, about one year elapsed (ie, 1992 and 1996) over the regimes (Balseven & Erdoğdu, 2004).

Although capital controls had a significant impact on the formation of a more stable macroeconomic environment, especially after 1991, the impact of price swelling in the securities and real estate markets remained limited. In 1991, Chile has experienced price inflation in its stock market. That price inflation declined after the strengthening of controls in 1995, but it started to increase again soon afterwards. A similar situation occurred in the post-1995 real estate sector. However, loans and interest rates were given to the private sector stayed stable (Palma, 2000: 40).

It appears that the capital controls implemented in Chile have little effect until 1995, in terms of reducing the proportion of short-term debt in total debt. However, after the tightening of controls in 1995 with a comprehensive implementation, the situation changed drastically. The share of short-term debts in total debts decreased from 18% in 1994 to 16% in 1995, to 12% in 1996 and to 5% in 1997 (Palma, 2000: 34). Nevertheless, in the period 1996-97, fiscal capital inflows reached a very high level of 10% of the GNP, and despite intensive intervention in the foreign exchange market, the Central Bank of Chile could not prevent the appreciation of the exchange rate. With the addition of the effects of the Asian crisis at the beginning of 1998, large capital inflows in 1996-97 began to decline and the nominal exchange rate depreciated by more than 10% (Agosin & Ffrench-Davis, 1998: 12).

The Chilean capital controls have been effective in deterring short-term inflows since it changed the composition of inflows. Although total capital inflows declined, the decline in short-term flows was compensated with the increases in the long-run inflows. The decline in short-term capital inflows reduced the vulnerability of the economy since it made difficult the current account balance deterioration through overvaluation of domestic currency and thus reduced a financial crisis risk (Epstein *et al.*, 2003). Similarly, Jiménez (2003: 6) suggests that "this framework has proved very successful in confronting external shocks during 2000-2003". Hence, controls do appear being successful in tilting the composition of inflows toward less vulnerable liability structures (Ostry et al., 2010).

2. 2. Malaysian-Style Capital Controls

In the middle of 1997, Malaysia's domestic debt to GDP ratio was 170% (the highest in the World at that time). Moreover, the capital market capitalization rate of the country was as high as 310% of GDP. All of this left the Malaysian economy in a very fragile position against a change of negative perception that could be experienced in international markets. Therefore, preventing capital flight was of great importance.

Control over capital outflows is based on economic rationality and efficiency is clear. Nevertheless, the Malaysian government was concerned about the impact of the controls on future capital inflows (Kaplan & Rodrik, 2001: 11). Moreover, it was afraid that controls may cause the necessary reforms to be delayed in the economy, and there were doubts that controls could reduce the discipline for increasing the quality of macroeconomic policy (Frankel, 1999: 3).

All these thoughts and anxieties led Malaysia to follow a policy similar to the IMF programs at the outset of the Asian Crisis, which broke out in the summer of 1997. It emerged shortly after implemented IMF-style policies however that they could not deliver the desired results. As a result, Malaysia began implementing comprehensive and rigorous checks on capital flows and exchange rates in September 1998, 14 months after the crisis started.

The local currency Ringgit has been fixed at $ 3.80 USD. It was imperative that all the deposits held in ring banks in the coastal banks be returned to the country within one month and the foreigners must wait 12 months for the revenues of Ringgit to be converted into foreign currencies. After 5 months, this practice was turned into a tax payment instead of a waiting requirement. In addition to these measures, the government has tightly restricted the Malaysian citizens' transfer of capital abroad and has stopped the foreign portfolio capital into the country for twelve months (Sharma, 2003: 7-8).

Jomo (2001) pointed out that the capital controls implemented in Malaysia were put into practice at a time when a political crisis was taking place and with inappropriate policy instruments. It may, therefore, be misleading to assess the impact of capital controls. Despite that, however, it seems possible to say that the policies implemented were successful beyond what was expected. As Chomthongdi (2001) suggest, the Malaysian experience has proven that policy options that can be implemented even in crisis conditions are not as small as people think. The success, on the other hand, very much related to coherency and consistency with the overall aims of the economic policy (Epstein, 2010: 214).

Looking back, it appears that the Malaysian capital controls hasten the recovery of the economy compared to IMF-style policies. This was because such controls limited the national debt to grow and kept growth hopes in the near future intact. In an IMF working paper, it was stated that "[i]n macroeconomic terms, these controls neither

yielded major benefits nor were costly" (Johnson *et al.*, 2006:1). According to the results of an econometric study by Kaplan and Rodrik (2001), however, on the Asian countries that entered the crisis in 1997-1998, Malaysia achieved more successful results than South Korea, Indonesia and Thailand, which implemented IMF policies. In a recent paper, it was suggested that "[t]he capital controls have been successful in the short run in switching some of the short-term capital inflows into longer-term portfolio investments, without jeopardizing the Malaysian investment environment in the longer-term" (Amin & Annamalah, 2013: 549).

3. A Two-Tier Currency Transaction Tax

The idea of levying a tax on foreign exchange transactions introduced during the early 1970's by the Nobel-laureate economist James Tobin. The foundation for such a tax is that some speculators and noise traders are after short-term profits and their short-term speculative efforts drive up trading volume and generate disruptive, inefficient price movements that are inconsistent with stability. The fundamental investors in the market are neither sufficiently numerous nor active to overwhelm the effects of this behaviour. Imposition of a currency transaction tax may raise the cost of the trading so that drive the speculators and noise traders partially or completely out of the market while leaving the fundamental investors to dominate the market (Dodd, 2003: 37-8).

The main goal of levying a relatively small tax on cross-border currency transactions was to reduce speculation and volatility while promoting the autonomy of national macroeconomic and monetary policies. The basic principle of the proposed tax, known as Tobin tax, is simple. A small ad valorem charge would be levied on every transaction involving the exchange of one currency for another. Such a tax would penalize all transactions but speculative round-trips would be hit more severely, leading to greater exchange rate stability (Tobin, 1978). Thus, by its disproportionate impact on short-term transactions, currency transaction tax would contribute to a reinforcement of long-term expectations which by nature create greater stability.
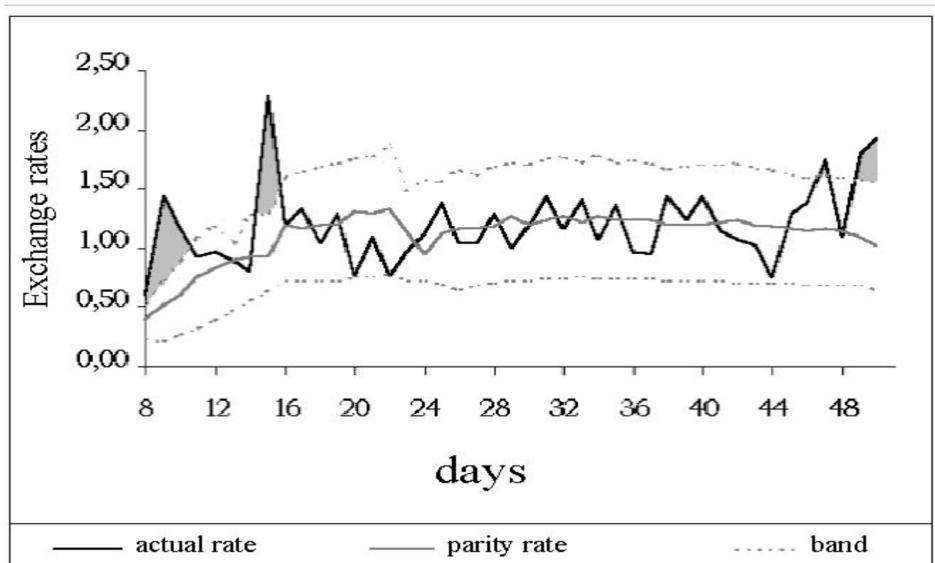
A currency transactions tax would achieve its purpose through an extremely simple filtering of currency trading. For example, suppose a 0.1% tax is levied on all foreign exchange transactions, and that the (annualised) domestic interest rate is 5.0%. Then, with a one-year holding period, the interest rate on a comparable foreign currency denominated asset would have to be at least 5.2% to make foreign investment attractive. If instead the foreign asset is held for only a month, then the foreign interest rate must be at least 7.4% to offset the tax. For one-day round trips, foreign rates would have to be at least 77%. Thus, a small and enforceable tax could virtually shut off short-term capital flows.

James Tobin's original proposal was for a charge of between 0.1% and 0.5%. Although he proposed as much as 1% later, his most recent suggestion was that the rate better not to exceed 0.25% and 0.1% might be satisfactory. Tobin (1996) amended his original proposal to encompass forward and swap transactions as well. Since Tobin first introduced his tax on currency trading, the market in foreign exchange has expanded about several hundred times. Both James Tobin himself and other economists have worked on this tax and refined it to fit in today's market conditions.

In this respect, the work of Paul Bernd Spahn is particularly important. He argued that the level of tax that Tobin suggested is too high and that should be much lower. In the meantime, Spahn (1995) suggested that the tax should include a second, much-higher rate that would come into force whenever signs of major speculation arise – when

price movement exceeds a pre-established limit. This second-tier tax would discourage speculative currency runs, for which a low rate would not be a sufficient disincentive.

Graph 1. The Spahn Tax Surcharge Mechanism

Source: *Spahn (1996: 26).*

Graph 1 demonstrates the workings of this mechanism. The first tier of this variation would be low (such as 0.01%) and raise revenue at a moderate scale without necessarily distorting financial operations or encourage tax avoidance. It focuses on spot transactions, but could also be employed on derivative trades, at a standard lower rate. This would allow derivatives markets to function at low costs, yet prevent the emergence of derivatives as a tax avoidance device. In times of exchange rate turbulence, the second tier of the tax would come into effect. This second tier would be a punitively high rate and act as a circuit-breaker, akin to that used in stock markets where computer-trading programs are suspended when prices fall a given amount. While the first tier will help reduce volatility, greater reduction in volatility would come from the operation of the tax surcharge. The tax surcharge makes the currency trade unprofitable and thus prevents currency crashes. The two taxes would be fully integrated, the former tax constituting the operational and computational vehicle for the latter (Erdoğdu & Balseven, 2006).

This study suggests that *a two-stage currency transaction tax* can be a very useful tool not only for reducing a financial crisis risk but also for reducing the negative effects of currency outflows for the countries where there is high volatility. A recent news is that 11 EU countries agreed to a Financial Transaction Tax on investments in 2013, which took effect in 2014 (Schneider, 2013). It seems this is a first important step to use this tool for curbing speculation in the World economy.

4. Conclusions

We can say that Chilean-style capital control and two-stage currency transaction tax would be good for almost any country on earth to reduce financial crisis risk and their benefits would be much more than the possible costs they may incur. Chilean-style capital control is good to deter short-term capital inflows, which can hardly be used for investment purposes. Since such capital controls would not create any liabilities on foreign direct investment and long-term capital inflow, it would improve the quality of capital inflows and reduce financial crisis risks.

Unlike some forms of capital control, a currency transaction tax would fall far more heavily on short-term transactions than long-term. Taxes on short-term capital inflows may reduce volatility of financial flows. A two-tier currency transactions tax is particularly promising in this respect. The first low rate of such a tax would raise revenue at a moderate scale without necessarily distorting financial operations or encourage tax avoidance. The second higher rate would only come into action when the level of currency trading passes a certain threshold or safety margin and would act as a circuit-breaker, preventing most crises. Besides, it raises considerable amounts of revenue that can be used to reduce public finance deficit.

Malaysian-style capital control is an emergency measure to stop capital outflows during a financial crisis. The Malaysian experience shows us that there are meaningful options for governments even under the difficult conditions of experiencing a financial crisis. It needs to be noted however that these controls should be valid for a definite period of time (such as 12 months) and that foreign investments do not be presented as enemies.

To achieve positive outcomes from capital management techniques depends very much on the institutional quality and consistency of the economic policies with each other. In other words, these techniques should be implemented in an open and transparent manner, designed to be coherent and consistent with the other economic policies. In this way, they may remove the ambiguity from the market and improve the economic situation.

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MARX'S MATERIALIST DIALECTIC METHOD AND THE TRANSFORMATION PROBLEM*

Cecilia Escobar**

Abstract

In this article, Marx's method is considered vis-à-vis the method of the classical economists. This comparison makes evident that the abstract character of the category value as conceived by the latter was partially responsible for the contradictions that led to the disintegration of the Ricardian school and the vulgarisation of political economy—where Marx's theory was eventually included. Once Marx's method is understood, his treatment of the contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit becomes clear: albeit essential, value is just the first moment in the re-construction of the totality. The solution of the contradiction is precisely the discrepancy between values and prices of production, a discrepancy without which the capitalist economy could not exist.

Keywords: abstract and concrete, real contradiction and logical contradiction, value and price of production

"The power of Marx's theory does not reside in its internal logical consistency as much as

in the fact that the theory is thoroughly saturated with complex, rich social-economic

content taken from reality and elucidated by the power of abstract thought."

–Isaac Rubin, *Essays on Marx's theory of value*

The Method of Political Economy and Marx's Method

Through a one-sided analytical empiricist method, Smith and Ricardo—and with them, political economy—attempted to explain the reality that surrounded them: the capitalist mode of production. Their method corresponded to the predominant method in the science of their time: the mechanistic natural science and the philosophy of empiricism of the 17th and 18th centuries. Under this light, objective reality was seen "as a kind of aggregate of eternal and immutable constituent elements, identical in any object of nature." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) Cognising a thing meant to analyse it, to dissect it into its unalterable parts to after try to comprehend their interactions and relations on the basis of the common element they shared, leaving aside their particular outward forms. By abstraction, Smith and Ricardo arrived at value, exchange-value, as the basic component for understanding the relation through which the capitalist economy manifested itself. Given the exchange of products, exchange in general, exchange-value appeared as the immutable constituent element, as the principle in agreement with which all phenomena had to be explained. Value was thereby made into an abstract universal, a sort of natural law. By a similar analytical operation, they found that the determinant of value was living labour, labour as such, labour

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in general. The labour theory of value was thus formulated and an entire system of definitions was erected on this ground. "Both Smith and Ricardo endeavour to understand the capitalist system of interaction as a complex whole whose component parts are eternal realities identical for any stage of the development of mankind: labour, labour implements (capital), needs, surplus product, etc." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) But in so doing, the specificity and historical character of the capitalist economy could not be grasped. Its existence was conceived generally, and its particularities confused with those of the general form of social production: capitalist production appeared as the natural form of all forms of social production. By trying to directly subsume a living, changing, conflictive reality under one single abstract principle from which separate, eternal, definitions were supposed to be derived and/or explained, synthesis, the "comprehension of the necessary connection between the abstractly considered constituent elements of the object (labour, capital, profit, etc.), proved to be impossible exactly because analysis that singled out these categories was *one-sided* analysis: it broke up that very concrete historical form of connection of these categories." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) The method of the abstract principle could not solve the problem of cognition. Such method

distorts the whole picture of reality… and is equally insensitive to its details. It is aware of particulars, registers them, but does not understand them since it fails to grasp their significance. Instead of uncovering the objective sense of facts (details), it obfuscates it. It abolishes the wholeness of the investigated phenomenon by decomposing it into two autonomous parts: that which agrees with the principle and can be interpreted by it, and that which contradicts the principle and therefore remains in darkness (with no rational explanation or comprehension of it), as an unilluminated and unclarified 'residue' of the phenomenon. (Kosik, 1976, p. 28)

It was not enough to distinguish the parts of the thing, but the question of why such parts in their interconnection gave rise to that particular thing instead of any other had also to be answered. Cognition of the thing required to find its essential parts, their inner connections and conflicts, the features without which the thing ceased to be what it was. It required, in a word, necessity. "A swan may be painted any colour other than white—it will not cease to be a swan. But extension cannot be taken away from an object of nature without destroying that object itself. A theoretical proposition must therefore contain only those abstractions which express the forms of existence of the given object necessarily inherent in it." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) For that, experimentation, and not only contemplation, was needed. In the case of the economic life, this entailed the examination of humanity's socio-historical practice: the relationships that people establish (including their relationship with nature) at the particular stage of development of the social production. Abstraction, as a phase in the investigation process, had to lead to meaningful, concrete, determinations and not to increasingly more general concepts removed from the specific character of the object under study: the categories explaining the thing had to constitute forms of its being. The process of cognition thus understood and undertaken implies the reconstruction of the process of emergence and development of the thing, seen as a totality. The scientific criterion goes beyond the theory's internal consistency, it is the criterion of truth, the correspondence of theory with reality.

The notion of exchange-value of the classical economists was in need of concretisation. The explanation of why labour acquired that specific social form in this specific historical period was missing. Labour's capacity to create commodities rather than products and (exchange) value rather than use-value was the empirical fact that Smith's and Ricardo's proposition '(exchange) value is determined by labour' registered; but what their analyses did not register were the concrete historical conditions under which such proposition was valid—for even the existence of labour and product as abstract categories was possible only when society reached a certain stage of development (cf. Marx, 1986, p. 41).

With them, that the product of labour is a commodity, i.e., something produced with the intention of being exchanged and therefore containing not use-value but exchange-value for its producer, appeared as transhistorically valid. Labour by itself, labour in general, could not explain the production of commodities nor exchange-value: it was a condition for their being but also for their non-being. For labour to define the capitalist production it was necessary to set it on the concrete historical form and social relations in which its execution was indeed translated into commodities and exchange-value, that is, to be placed within a definite historical system of interactions. It is not labour in general but the concrete historical form of labour as performed under capitalist relations of production what constitutes the determinant, the substance, of value: value is a socially and historically determined form.

The attempt to explain all the phenomena of the capitalist economy in agreement with one single abstract principle (viz., labour-value), together with the fact that the purpose was to explain reality, led political economy, especially Ricardo, to fall into a series of theoretical contradictions. On the one hand, Ricardo's one-sided method prevented him from understanding how contradictions emerged, what their nature was and how they could be portrayed and dealt with in the theory. He either ignored them or denied them, treated them as exceptions, and as a result, he failed to detect the categories' inner connections.[1] On the other hand, because his aim was the correspondence of theory with reality, the actually contradictory state of things was inevitably reflected in his theory as contradictions in definitions. The conflict between capital and labour, for instance, which implied a threat to the capitalist economy, also implied a theoretical inconsistency which in the eyes of Ricardo's detractors invalidated his theory: Ricardo's explanation of the origin of profits contradicted the law of value, the very existence of profits challenged the labour theory of value. Far from being a weakness, the contradictions were an indication of "the strength and objectiveness of his method of theoretical expression of things." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) Ricardo had subordinated the metaphysical axiom according to which theoretical propositions cannot contradict each other to the correspondence of theory with reality. But "when his followers and pupils made it their principal concern not so much theoretical expression of facts as formal coordination of already available definitions, subject to the principle forbidding contradictions in definitions as the supreme principle, from that point on the disintegration of the labour theory of value set in." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) The concern for the elucidation of the real was replaced by the concern for the theory's internal consistency. The need to reformulate Ricardo's labour theory of value ensued, bringing with it the disintegration of the Ricardian school.[2]

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1   "[Ricardo] must be reproached for not going far enough, for not carrying his abstraction to completion, for instance, when he analyses the *value* of the commodity, he at once allows himself to be influenced by considerations of all kinds of concrete conditions. On the other hand one must reproach him for regarding the phenomenal form as *immediate and direct* proof or exposition of the general laws, and for failing to *interpret* it. In regard to the first, his abstraction is too incomplete; in regard to the 2nd, it is formal abstraction which in itself is wrong… With Ricardo the one-sidedness arises also from the fact that in general he wants to show that the various economic categories or relationships do not *contradict the theory of value*, instead of on the contrary *developing* them together with their apparent contradictions out of this basis or representing the development of this basis itself." (Marx, 1989a, pp. 338, 377) See also Marx, 1996, p. 311.

2   "What he [James Mill] tries to achieve is formal logic consistency. The *disintegration* of the Ricardian school therefore begins with him. With the master what is new and significant develops vigorously amid the 'manure' of contradictions out of the contradictory phenomena. The underlying contradictions themselves testify to the richness of the living foundation from which the theory itself developed. It is different with the disciple. His raw material is no longer reality, but the new theoretical form in which the master had sublimated it. It is in part the theoretical disagreement of opponents of the new theory and in part the often paradoxical relationship of this theory to reality which drive him to seek to refute his opponents and explain away reality. In doing so, he entangles himself in contradictions and with his attempt to solve these he demonstrates the beginning disintegration of the theory which he dogmatically espouses. On the one hand, Mill wants to present bourgeois production as the absolute form of production and seeks therefore to prove that its real contradictions are only apparent ones. On the other hand, [he seeks] to present the Ricardian theory as the absolute theoretical form of this mode of production and ditto to disprove the theoretical contradictions, both the ones pointed out by others and the ones he himself cannot help seeing." (Marx, 1989b, pp. 274-275)

Naturally, such need did not stem from a blind devotion to the principles of formal logic; it obeyed, rather, a conservative motive: the "desire to present the capitalist system of commodity production as an everlasting form of production eternally equal to itself, rather than as a historically emergent system that can therefore turn into another." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) Economic science had to dehistoricise capitalism, to picture it as harmonious. It had, in a word, to become apologetic: not to explain but to mystify reality. Hence the epithet with which Marx described these efforts: vulgar economics.[3]

True understanding of the capitalist economy (for the purpose of its transformation) demanded that the contradictions in definitions, insofar as they were the reflection of the contradictions in the real object, were not eliminated by reformulation (e.g., by making value to include profit thereby relinquishing the category value) but explained (e.g., by discovering why, in the movement of reality, value enters into contradiction with profit). Scientific thought demanded that the contradictions into which an objective and necessary category fell in the course of its development were clarified and exposed so as to unveil the manner in which they were solved in practice. That was the aim of the critique of political economy, the aim of Marx's theory: to develop the labour theory of value down to its last consequences.[4] For that, the basis on which political economy was built had to be modified. Its very method of approaching reality had to be modified. Value could not be conceived as an abstract universal, for then it could be ascribed to any form of social production and the mode of existence of the capitalist economy could not be identified. Instead, it had to be conceived as a concrete general principle. Abstraction had to be carried out in such a way that the historical character of the capitalist economy was not disposed of but brought to the forefront, to be the criterion for abstraction; it had to comprise necessity: not a generic abstraction leading to determinations valid for all historical periods but a genetic, meaningful, abstraction valid for this particular historical period. The capitalist economy had, moreover, to be considered as a living totality so as to make synthesis possible. Only in this manner the organic connections, the links mediating its moments, could be ascertained and its working as a whole revealed. Accordingly, cognition of the capitalist economy required not to start from the socio-historical forms as given (e.g., from value) in order to find its material content (viz., labour), but to start from the material content as given (e.g., labour as organised by capital) in order to find how its specific social forms came into being (viz., value) (cf. Marx, 1989b, p. 500): to move not from concrete existence to abstract universals, but from concrete abstracts to the concrete totality. This is precisely Marx's method, the materialist dialectic method.

As is known, it consists in the ascension from the abstract to the concrete, from the simple to the complex, from the universal to the particular. It traces the emergence and development of the different categories (moments) forming the totality, their becoming into one another. The latter occurs not by virtue of thought but of reality's own development, and in this sense Marx's method is a historical method: "In Marx's work, one concept is transformed into another, not in terms of the power of immanent logical development, but through the presence of an entire series of accompanying social-economic conditions… the logical development of the theory accompanies the actual development of capitalism." (Rubin, [1928] 1973, pp. 91, 93) Such movement is triggered by contradictions that are inherent in the object, and so, the more concrete determinations

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3   "To the degree that economic analysis becomes more profound it not only describes contradictions, but it is confronted by its own contradictions simultaneously with the development of the actual contradictions in the economic life of society. Accordingly, vulgar political economy deliberately becomes increasingly *apologetic* and makes strenuous attempts to talk out of existence the ideas which contain the contradictions." (Marx, 1989b, p. 501)

4   According to Pilling (1980, p. 43), "Marx's concern was never confined to pointing out the errors of Ricardo and others, he was above all concerned to show the limitations of a method that had produced a series of concepts which, while explaining bourgeois economic relations 'with social validity', proved incapable of probing to the 'law of motion' of capitalist society."

contradict the more abstract ones. Yet, the different moments are kept as valid forms of the totality's existence: they are included and contained, transcended, in the most developed ones; this is why "thought can discern, in the analysis of a developed object, its sublated history." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) E.g., prices of production contradict labour-values but do not invalidate them. How the contradictions arise and are solved in practice is what investigation intends to determine.

Marx found value by studying the movement of the basic element of the capitalist economy: the commodity, namely, by studying exchange as organised by capital. Consistent with his method, he did not take the commodity as given but enquired how and why the products of labour assumed that particular social form. By understanding things as the unity of opposites, he conceived the commodity as the contradiction between value and use-value, an insight that involved the discovery of the dual character of labour: abstract labour and concrete labour—from which the origin of (aggregate) profit could be found without contradicting the law of value. The commodity's internal struggle was, nevertheless, manifested only as an external struggle, in the exchange of one commodity for another. It was this external form what made exchange-value palpable, but it also concealed the contradictory relation of the commodity with itself—the conflict seemed to be the result of a "more or less accidental collision of two internally non-contradictory things." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) Put another way, when remaining on the surface of the phenomena, that is, when considering exchange as a direct and isolated act between two commodities, no inner conflict could be perceived, and consequently, no immanent value could be ascertained. Exchange-value appeared not as the form in which the value of the commodities is expressed but as the value of the commodities itself—as with the classical economists, who neglected the fact that commodities enter circulation with a value. For Marx, however, "the external contradiction was an index of the one-sidedness of knowledge: only the outward form of manifestation of an internal contradiction had been caught, instead of the contradiction itself. Dialectics obliges one always to see, behind a thing's relation to another thing, its own relation to itself, its own inner relation." (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 214) In direct exchange, value is and is not use-value: each commodity expresses its own value and serves as expression of value for the other commodity—i.e., it assumes the relative and the equivalent form of value at the same time. This is an unsolvable situation from the formal logic point of view; all the same, exchange takes place in reality because commodities do not exchange directly for one another but through the mediation of money. A generalised direct exchange is impossible both in thought and in practice; the capitalist economy could not exist if that were the case, for then its movement would be constantly hindered by the conflicts that the contradiction between value and use-value entails. Money was the medium that the market created to solve the conflict. Thanks to it, value and use-value unfolded into two different commodities and the same act was split into sale and purchase. But exactly because of that, the contradiction was not definitely solved but merely differently expressed: it took the form of the polarity between money and commodity.

Thus, according to the materialist dialectic method, that a contradiction cannot be solved within the limits of a particular moment or stage of development does not mean that the theory so far built is defective; it means, rather, that reality needs to be further investigated, that the new forms that the categories developing the object in its necessity assume are yet to be discovered. It indicates, in short, the need to look for the solution of the contradictions not in thought but in practice, in the movement of the real object. Clearly, this presupposes the fulfilment of one key condition: that contradictions in definitions are not banned but allowed.

The Transformation Problem

The law of value, formulated as a universal law by Ricardo, was supposed to explain profits, and yet it could not explain profits without contradicting itself. In the mind of the metaphysical, formal logic, scholar, for whom contradictions are the result of deficiencies in thought, this was evidence of the theory's inadequacy. The detractors of the labour theory of value did not fail to draw attention to this fact. Ricardo's followers, for their part, engaged in refining the law so that the empirical phenomena could be subsumed under it. The contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit in Ricardo's theory is what Marx referred to as the transformation problem (cf., e.g., Marx, 1989b, p. 361; Marx & Engels, 1987, p. 390).

Ricardo himself was fairly aware of this contradiction. He knew that the law of value could not explain why the capitalists employing less living labour and more objectified labour did not obtain less profits than those employing more living labour and less objectified labour—in fact, they could obtain more. Experience showed that profits were in proportion to the size of the total capital invested and not in proportion to the size of that part invested in wages. This implied that capitals of equal size, regardless of their division into fixed and circulating capital and of the sphere of production in which they operated, obtained equal profits. In view of that, Ricardo took as given the existence of a general rate of profit which, in combination with the law of value, could explain profits. In this manner, the general rate of profit was treated as an external factor that modified the working of the universal law: profit, instead of a contradiction to the law, was an exception to it—hence Malthus' observation that in reality the exception seemed to be the rule and the rule the exception.[5] Because Ricardo did not examine the inner connection between the law of value and the general rate of profit, he did not perceive that the development of the first led to the second, and that therefore, in the capitalist economy, the development of the law of value contradicts the law of value by necessity. The general rate of profit was not an additional factor that had to be externally added to the law, but the result of its application and development.[6]

Ricardo's pupils, eager to prove that the Ricardian law corresponded to the observed facts, ended up giving in to the detractors' stance, viz., rejecting the labour theory of value. The antinomy was certainly unsolvable from the

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5 "[T]his definition of an equal rate of profit… yielded by capitals of different organic composition contradicts the law of value or, as Ricardo says, constitutes an exception to it, whereupon Malthus rightly remarks that in the progress of industry, the rule becomes the exception and the exception the rule. The contradiction itself is not clearly expressed by Ricardo, namely, not in the form: although one of the commodities contains more unpaid labour than the other—for the amount of unpaid labour depends on the amount of paid labour, that is, the amount of immediate labour employed provided the rate of exploitation of the workers is equal—they nevertheless yield equal values, or the same surplus of unpaid over paid labour. The contradiction however occurs with him in a particular form: in certain cases, wages, variations in wages, affect the cost price (he says, the exchangeable values) of commodities. Equally, differences in the time of turnover of capital—whether the capital remains in the process of production (even if not in the labour process) or in circulation for a longer period, requiring not more work, but more time for its return—these differences have just as little effect on the equality of profit, and this again contradicts (is, according to Ricardo, an exception to) the law of value. He has therefore presented the problem very one-sidedly. Had he expressed it in a general way, he would also have had a general solution. But his great contribution remains: Ricardo has a notion that there is a difference between value and cost price [price of production], and, in certain cases, even though he calls them exceptions to the law, he formulates the contradiction that capitals of unequal organic composition… yield equal surplus value (profit) and—if one disregards the fact that a portion of the fixed capital enters into the labour process without entering into the valorisation process—equal values, commodities of equal value (or rather [of equal] cost price [price of production], but he confuses this)… Malthus uses this in order to deny the validity of the Ricardian law of value." (Marx, 1989b, pp. 261-262)

6 "Instead of *postulating* this *general rate of profit*, Ricardo should rather have examined in how far its *existence* is in fact consistent with the determination of value by labour time, and he would have found that instead of being consistent with it, *prima facie*, it *contradicts* it, and that its existence would therefore have to be explained through a number of intermediary stages, a procedure which is very different from merely including it under the law of value. He would then have gained an altogether different insight into the nature of profit and would not have identified it directly with surplus value." (Marx, 1989a, p. 401)

formal logic perspective. It was impossible to bring the two things into agreement because such agreement did not exist in reality. To try to solve the contradiction by pure formal logic amounted to reformulating the theory denying thus its validity at any stage of development of the totality. Given that these attempts were held (and could be held only) in thought, i.e., in theoretical terms detached from reality, they constituted, as Marx pointed out, verbal disputes:

Here the contradiction between the general law and further developments in the concrete circumstances is to be resolved not by the discovery of the connecting links but by directly subordinating and immediately adapting the concrete to the abstract. This moreover is to be brought about by a verbal fiction, by changing *vera rerum vocabla* [the correct name of things]. (These are indeed 'verbal disputes', they are 'verbal', however, because real contradictions which are not resolved in a real way, are to be solved by phrases.) When we come to deal with McCulloch, it will be seen that this manner which appears in Mill only in embryo, did more to undermine the whole foundation of the Ricardian theory than all the attacks of its opponents. (Marx, 1989b, pp. 277-278. Cf. also Marx, 1988, p. 395)

In order to redefine value, McCulloch redefined labour. In his opinion, labour could be properly defined as "any sort of action or operation, whether performed by man, the lower animals, machinery, or natural agents, that tends to bring about a desirable result." (McCulloch quoted in Marx, 1989b, p. 364) For him, value was produced by any kind of capital, fixed or circulating, constant or variable. With this definition—which allegedly strived to put an end to the vague terms in which labour was understood—, the contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit was solved, but the category value was lost. The real labour process was ignored and the capitalist production itself was left aside. The productive activity referred, firstly, to any form of social production; and secondly, to a mere technical process in which social relations did not exist. By reformulations of this sort the labour theory of value was sacrificed, and along with it, the scientific attempt to understand capitalism.

According to the metaphysical thought, a law can be accepted as universal only if it stands as a rule under which all the empirical facts can be included without contradictions. When a contradiction arises during the formulation of a theory, the metaphysical theorist is forced to stop and go back so as to locate the error in reasoning that caused it. Since contradictions in the real object cannot be solved in this way, he draws the conclusion that the theory—which may be valid at some stage of the development of the object—is inadequate and abandons it. As a result, contradictions remain undetectable, indistinguishable and impenetrable. This is the fundamental difference *vis-à-vis* the materialist dialectic method: the totality standpoint and the admittance of contradictions enable the elucidation of the nature and meaning of these contradictions. As Ilyenkov (1977, p. 219) put it:

if a contradiction arises of necessity in the theoretical expression of reality from the very course of the investigation, it is not what is called a logical contradiction, though it has the formal signs of such but is a logical correct expression of reality. On the contrary, the logical contradiction, which there must not be in a theoretical investigation, has to be recognised as a contradiction of terminological, semantic origin and properties. Formal analysis is also obliged to discover such contradictions in determinations; and the principle of contradiction of formal logic applies fully to them. Strictly speaking it relates to the use of terms and not to the process of the movement of the concept. The latter is the field of dialectical logic. But there another law [different from the law of identity] is dominant, the law of unity and coincidence of opposites, a coincidence, moreover, that goes as far as their identity. It is that which constitutes the real core of dialectics as logic of thought that follows the development of reality.

As soon as this is understood, Marx's treatment of the transformation problem becomes clear. He recognised the contradiction not as a mistake or inaccuracy in thought but as the necessary form of the development of the capitalist economy, and therefore, as a necessary contradiction in definitions: a contradiction that signposted the need of further concretisation of the category value. He showed that the "law of value contradicts in actual fact, not only and not so much in Ricardo's head, the law of the average rate of profit." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) The latter had to be not directly subsumed under the former but developed from it. Hence the need to distinguish two different levels of abstraction: capital-in-general and many-capitals, which involved the distinction between production and distribution of surplus-value: the profit of the whole capitalist class could not exceed the total surplus-value produced. Marx observed that given a common rate of surplus-value, the total of surplus-value produced (capital-in-general) depended on the total variable capital invested, that is, on the total surplus-labour extracted; but the profit that each capital obtained (many-capitals) depended not on the surplus-value it individually produced but on its size. He arrived thus at the conclusion that the total surplus-value was first produced and afterwards distributed among the individual capitals in proportion to their magnitude; in other words, that the distribution of surplus-value had nothing to do with the production of surplus-value nor with the determination of value by labour-time (cf. Marx, 1986, pp. 362, 471; 1987, p. 196; 1989a, p. 414), for the source of the aggregate profit (exploitation, capital-in-general) and the source of the individual profit (profit upon alienation, many-capitals) did not coincide. The distribution of surplus-value was brought about by the antagonistic relation of capital to alien capital, by competition, from where a common rate of profit emerged: competition was a profit equalisation process. It was this equalisation process—by which the continuous existence of capital-in-general, i.e., capital as such, was permitted (and also eventually endangered!) and which left the determination of value untouched— what caused prices to deviate from values.

Marx's solution consisted precisely in the insight that prices of production are different from values, meaning that, in general, the profit that each individual capital obtains differs from the surplus-value it produces.[7] Ricardo had correctly perceived the problem, but in his effort to avoid contradictions in the labour theory of value he confused price of production with value and profit with surplus-value (cf. Marx, 1989b, pp. 60-61, 258-262). An equal rate of profit in the various spheres of production could only arise if prices deviated from values (cf. Marx, 1989a, pp. 423-424). Accordingly, while in *Capital* Vol. 1 Marx affirmed that the surplus-value was the result of that part of capital invested in living labour (capital-in-general), in *Capital* Vol. 3 he affirmed that profit was the result of all the parts of the capital invested individually (many-capitals). But

between the first and the second proposition a whole system was developed, a whole chain of connecting links; between them, nevertheless, there was preserved a relationship of mutually exclusive contradictions banned by formal logic. This is why vulgar economists triumphantly declared, after the appearance of the third volume of *Capital*, that Marx had not fulfilled his pledge, that the antinomy of the labour theory of value remained unresolved by him and that the whole of *Capital* was consequently nothing more than speculatively dialectical hocus-pocus. (Ilyenkov, 1977, pp. 210-211)

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7   "The capitalists, like hostile brothers, divide among themselves the loot of other people's labour which they have appropriated so that on an average one receives the same amount of unpaid labour as another. Competition achieves this equalisation by regulating average prices [prices of production]. These average prices themselves, however, are either above or below the value of the commodity so that no commodity yields a higher rate of profit than any other. It is therefore wrong to say that competition among capitals brings about a general rate of profit by equalising the prices of commodities to their values. On the contrary it does so by converting the value of the commodities into average prices, in which a part of surplus value is transferred from one commodity to another, etc." (Marx, 1989a, p. 264. Cf. p. 274 and Marx, 1998, p. 173)

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That was the marginalist attack that Böhm-Bawerk ([1896] 1949) famously voiced: Marx had contradicted his own theory, the labour theory of value had to be abandoned.

In practice, however, commodities are sold neither at values nor at prices of production but at market-prices. This in no way implies that labour-values are fictitious or incorrect. Once Marx found that the prices that secure equal profits for capitals of equal size were different from labour-values, additional concretisation was still needed in order to grasp how such prices were formed, viz.: how the individual values were transformed into market-prices and how these market-prices converged and gave rise to the prices of production—the first process pertained to the competition within productive spheres and the second one to the competition between them. Actually, Marx faced a double task: on the one hand, to explain the genesis of the general rate of profit; and on the other hand, to solve the confusion between production and circulation, i.e., to refute the Ricardian profit upon alienation thesis as explanation of the origin of aggregate profit. It is the latter, and not the former, what his well-known transformation diagram (chapter 9, *Capital* Vol. 3) illustrates: the general rate of profit as independent of the movements of competition (cf. Marx, 1989a, pp. 303-305; 1989b, p. 12; 1998, pp. 851-852). In this diagram, the transformation of values into prices of production, which in reality takes place through capital movements among the productive spheres and transferences of surplus-value among the individual capitals within the same sphere, is portrayed as transferences of surplus-value from one sphere to another. Put differently, the diagram depicts the arrival point of the equalisation process, showing in this manner the source of the total surplus-value and the necessary discrepancy between prices of production and values. Obviously, the complete solution consists in both the clarification of the origin of aggregate profit and the explanation of the genesis of the general rate of profit.

In *Capital*, consistent with Marx's method, such solution is not immediately given but built throughout the whole exposition. Given that the formation of the general rate of profit presupposes the production of surplus-value (*Capital* Vol. 1) and the circulation of capital (*Capital* Vol. 2), price of production could not appear before *Capital* Vol. 3, even if references to it are made from the first book (cf. Marx, 1996, pp. 176n., 311). Nevertheless, the contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit remains, for a real contradiction does not disappear only because its chain of mediations has been clarified. Yet, it acquires a different form: that of the violent interaction among the individual capitals.

To sum up, Ricardo's method of investigation helped him to perceive the antinomy between the law of value and the general rate of profit, but at the same time, it rendered him (and his detractors and followers) unable to distinguish logical contradictions from real contradictions. As a result, he failed to properly understand it, failing also to realise until what extent his aim of making theory correspond to reality had been fulfilled. Though essential, labour-value was no more than the first (most abstract) moment in the theoretical reconstruction of the totality, and as such, it had to be sublated in the body of a more developed conception. The contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit exposed not the inadequacy of the labour theory of value but the fallacy of the view that value could, by itself, explain every aspect of the capitalist economy.

The Sequence of The Categories in Marx's Method

The previous discussion suggests that not only the determination of the categories but also the sequence in which they appear in the theory are central to the materialist dialectic method: both have a necessary character. The categories find their place in the theory not according to what suits best the theorist but according to the actual development of the real object. This is why the genesis of the thing can be discerned. For instance, it is not possible

to understand capital without money and money without the commodity, as it is not possible to understand prices of production without labour-values. However, to follow the actual development of the real object does not necessarily mean to follow a chronological order; as Marx explains in "The method of political economy" (*Grundrisse*, 1857), it means, rather, to follow the manner in which the synthesis of its multiple determinations produces the totality: its reconstruction from the more simple and abstract moments to the more complex and complete ones. This is different from the process by which the object comes into being—the logic of theorising and the logic of history do not form an immediate identity (Hall, 2003). In Marx's (1986, p. 38) words:

The method of advancing from the abstract to the concrete is simply the way in which thinking assimilates the concrete and reproduces it as a mental concrete. This is, however, by no means the process by which the concrete itself originates. For example, the simplest economic category, e.g. exchange value, presupposes population, population which produces under definite conditions, as well as a distinct type of family, or community, or State, etc. Exchange value cannot exist except in an abstract, one-sided relation of an already existing concrete living whole.

Thus, although money existed in history before capitalism, it was only with the advent of capitalism that it could evolve into capital, i.e., into the aspects that the more concrete category expresses. "To that extent, the course of abstract thinking which advances from the elementary to the combined corresponds to the actual historical process." (Marx, 1986, p. 39) On the other hand, it may also occur that a category which is simple in the most developed stage, even though previously present, existed only in an isolated manner. It has required a higher social development to become general, to become an abstraction. This is the case of labour. The notion of labour has been present in all historical forms of society; yet, "considered economically in this simplicity, 'labour' is just as modern a category as the relations which give rise to this simple abstraction." (Marx, 1986, p. 40) An immense development was needed for labour in general, and not as a particular activity (e.g., agriculture), to become the source of wealth, and its result to become product-in-general, i.e., the form of wealth instead of money. Such stage was reached with capitalism, wherein freedom and juridical equality for all could be proclaimed and wage-labour could emerge.

The simplest abstraction which plays the key role in modern [political] economy, and which expresses an ancient relation existing in all forms of society, appears to be true in practice in this abstract form only as a category of the most modern society… The example of labour strikingly demonstrates that even the most abstract categories, despite their being valid—precisely because they are abstractions—for all epochs, are, in the determinateness of their abstraction, just as much a product of historical conditions and retain their full validity only for and within these conditions. (Marx, 1986, pp. 41-42)

In this way, the last stage of development provides the key to understanding previous stages (e.g., ground-rent and tribute), but this does not mean that the historical differences, the particular social forms, have to be overlooked. The fact that the notion of labour existed before capitalism does not imply that it has to be conceived as a suprahistorical category when trying to understand the working of the capitalist economy, for then that understanding would be impossible: all forms of production would appear—as with the classical economists—as capitalist forms. From such perspective, the previous stages to the capitalist society seem to be mere phases of its development, and the capitalist society, to be the complete and natural form of social production. Because it is one-sided and generally incapable of self-criticism, this ahistorical view leads to the conception of capitalism as a form of society which, although perfectible, is always equal to itself (Marx, 1986).

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This explains why the capitalist forms appeared to the classical economists not only as dominant but also as historically primary. While the latter conception was the result of their ahistorical method and therefore incorrect, the former was scientifically correct. When criticising Rodbertus' theory, Marx observed that the objection that this author raised against Ricardo's exclusion of rent from the definition of value was mistaken precisely on that account. Ricardo's consideration of the division of value into wages and profits as the original one—based on the consideration of the capitalist property as historically prior to landed property—was not only logical but accurate: it obeyed the standpoint of the capitalist production, where landownership has a secondary, derived, rank.[8] Because the dominant relation of production in the capitalist economy is the relation between capital and labour, capitalists and wage-labourers are its sole functionaries. The conditions under which the capitalists have to share part of the surplus-labour they have extracted with the landowners (non-working persons) are of subordinate importance. Capitalist production may take place without landowners—on the condition that landed property is kept out of reach of the workers, e.g., if it belongs to the State—, their existence as economic agents is not essential. To the extent that the capitalist economy is given both in reality and in thought—and not because it is the natural form of production—, the social relation that defines it has theoretical primacy over the rest: it subordinates them and determines their specific gravity within the totality.

It would therefore be inexpedient and wrong to present the economic categories successively in the order in which they played the determining role in history. Their order of succession is determined rather by their mutual relation in modern bourgeois society, and this is quite the reverse of what appears to be their natural relation or corresponds to the sequence of historical development. The point at issue is not the place the economic relations took relative to each other in the succession of various forms of society in the course of history; even less is it their sequence 'in the Idea' (*Proudhon*) (a nebulous notion of the historical process), but their position within modern bourgeois society. (Marx, 1986, pp. 43-44)

This hierarchical organisation of the categories in agreement with the structure of the capitalist economy is an element of the materialist dialectic method and not something alien or in opposition to it. The genesis-of-the-thing is not synonymous with chronology, while a purely structuralist approach cannot answer the question of the genesis of the thing and may lead to one-sided readings.[9] That genesis and structure are one and the same method

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8   "Far from being an error on the part of Ricardo, etc., this reduction of the classes participating directly in production, hence also in the value produced and then in the products in which this value is embodied, to *capitalist and wage labourers*, and the *exclusion of the landowners* (who only enter *post festum*, as a result of conditions of ownership of natural forces that have not *grown out* of the capitalist mode of production but have been *passed on* to it), is rooted in the nature of the *capitalist mode of production*—as distinct from the feudal, ancient, etc. This reduction is an adequate theoretical expression of the capitalist mode of production, and reveals its *differentia specifica*…. What Rodbertus regards as a 'deviation', is, therefore, the right path, which however he does not understand because he is still engrossed in views that originated from the pre-capitalist mode of production… From the standpoint of capitalist production, *capital property* does in fact appear as the 'original' because capitalist production is based on this sort of property and it is a factor of and fulfils a function *in capitalist production*; this does not hold good for landed property. The latter *appears* as derivative, because modern landed property is in fact *feudal* property, but transformed by the action of capital upon it; in its form as modern landed property it is therefore *derived from*, and the result of capitalist production. That Ricardo considers the position as it is and appears in modern society to be also the *historically* original situation… is a delusion from which the bourgeois economists suffer in respect of all bourgeois economic laws. They appear to them as 'natural laws' and hence also as historically 'primary'." (Marx, 1989a, pp. 379-380)

9   According to Kosik (1976, p. 31), structuralism conceives social reality "as a sum or a totality of autonomous structures influencing one another. The subject vanishes, or more precisely, the place of the real subject, i.e. of man as an objective-practical subject, is taken by a subject that has been mythologised, reified and fetishized… Materialistically conceived totality is formed by man's social production, while for structuralism, totality arises from the interaction of autonomous series of structures. In 'bad totality'… the fruit of human activity is divorced from the activity itself." See also Rubin, [1928] 1973, p. 32.

implies that the study of the process of emergence and development of the thing is carried out within a definite historical totality: that the thing, the capitalist mode of production, is a totality.[10] It is the reconstruction of this structure what constitutes the goal, the arrival point, of the theoretical apprehension of reality—even if it is the concrete reality the starting point of observation and perception (cf. "Afterword to the second German edition" of *Capital* Vol. 1). In some cases, such reconstruction parallels the actual historical development; in some others, it does not (Hall, 2003). But the fact that the categories are socially and historically determined remains, and so does the movement of history. Tracing the development of a particular reality through its contradictions and their solutions makes evident its limits, its historical, alterable, character; and consequently, the need of change, the role of human praxis.

Closing Remarks

Two ideas should be emphasised:

First. It is worth recalling that Marx's method is not only different from Hegel's method but is its direct opposite (Marx, 1996). In Hegel's dialectics, the entire system of categories originates from the self-development of the basic concept regardless of what happens in reality. The movement through contradictions, which are solved into higher and more complex forms, is not the property of the objective reality but of the Idea from which the world results. The Idea is the premise, the source of the real, the motor of history. In Marx's dialectics, categories and abstractions are transitory products. Only if they are regarded "as distinct from man and his material activity" is that they appear as "immortal, immutable, impassive" (Marx & Engels, 1982, p. 102), i.e., as endowed with a life of their own, moving independently of time and space. In such case, they are unable to explain reality. Marx had criticised the mysticism of Hegelian dialectics as early as 1844 (*Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*), rejecting then the whole method. But his further study of history, political economy and philosophy, and his greater clarity about materialism, led him not only to reconsider it but also to develop it in an unprecedented manner: our knowledge of the world, he said, is not the result of a self-developing Idea which moves outside and above the practice of concrete, socio-historically determined, human beings, but the result of that very practice. Marx's method is the transcendence of Hegel's method.[11] With it, the philosophical problem of the dichotomy between spirit and matter, theory and practice, idealism and materialism, was, for the first time, correctly posed and solved: it is human practice, the activity of individuals whose brains are forged under specific material conditions and social relations, what answers the contradiction into which metaphysical (contemplative) materialism falls when

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10 According to Hall (2003, p. 138): "In the face of such evidence from the *Grundrisse*, and later from *Capital*, it cannot be seriously maintained for long that, with his brief remarks on the 'succession of the categories' in the 1857 *Introduction*, Marx wholly relinquishes the 'historical' method for an essential synchronic, structuralist one (in the normal sense). Marx clearly is sometimes unrepentantly concerned, precisely, with the most delicate reconstruction of the *genesis* of certain key categories and relations of bourgeois society. We must distinguish these from the 'anatomical' analysis of the structure of the capitalist mode, where the 'present historic organization of production' is resumed, analytically and theoretically, as an ongoing 'structure of production', a combination of productive modes. In the latter, 'anatomical' method, history and structure have been decisively reconstructed. The methodological requirement laid on his readers is to maintain these two modes of theoretical analysis—a view eloquently endorsed in the Afterword to *Capital* I. This injunction constitutes both the comprehensiveness, and the peculiar difficulty, of his dialectical method. But the temptation to bury one side of the method in favour of the other—whether the historical at the expense of the structural, or vice versa—is, at best, an evasion of the theoretical difficulty Marx's own work proposes." See also Pilling, 1980, Ch. 4.

11 "The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell." (Marx, 1996, p. 19)

faced with the question of the isolated goal-directed activity of the abstract human being (cf. Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982). It is the concrete individuals, and not the abstract ideas, who make history.

Materialist dialectics held thus a double significance: on the one hand, that of being a novel method of cognition; and on the other hand, that of being an activity directed at transforming the reality. In its mystified form, dialectics had served the exact opposite goal: it had been an instrument of apology and maintenance of the established order. In its rational form, however, it points to "its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature no less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary." (Marx, 1996, p. 20)

Since the essence is not immediately given, the materialist dialectic method moves not only from the abstract to the concrete, but also from appearance to essence. The everyday, fragmentary, individual practice tends to express the contradictions as external conflicts, as struggles between seemingly autonomous and non-contradictory things. As previously said, materialist dialectics consists in discerning the things' inner contradictions and in exposing "their fictitious independence by demonstrating their mediatedness." (Kosik, 1976, p. 6)[12] Precisely because reality moves through contradictions, "any attempt to formulate the ban on contradiction as an absolutely unquestionable formal rule (that is, a rule formulated irrespective of the concrete content of the utterances) is doomed to failure." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) If contradictions are forbidden, real contradictions are rejected together with logical contradictions, making scientific comprehension problematic—if not impossible. In opposition to this metaphysical stance, materialist dialectics admits the presence of contradictions in definitions and tries to determine their character and place within the totality under study. If it is found that the contradiction is the expression of a real conflict, then it is treated as a "springboard for a decisive leap forward in concrete investigation." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) But if it is found that it is a logical contradiction, then it is eliminated through the application of the rules of formal logic. This means that formal logic is not rejected but confined to its role, viz.: that of arranging the knowledge already attained—while new knowledge is an attribution of concrete logic. Materialist dialectics "is not a replacement, an abolition of formal logic, but its transcension." (Elden, 2004, p. 32)

Second. Owing to his one-sided analytical method, Ricardo failed in his endeavour to construct the entire building of political economy on the basis of one single abstract principle: labour-value. Given that, in addition, he attempted to make theoretical propositions correspond with reality, his theory appeared as a system of conflicts and contradictions. Marx saw the disintegration of the Ricardian school in Ricardo's followers' efforts to save their master's theory by reformulating it: it was a self-defeating task, a fertile ground for the vulgarisation of political economy (cf. Marx, 1989b, pp. 504-506). Conversely, the materialist dialectic method enabled Marx to deal with the problem of expressing (real) contradictions in definitions and to find their solutions. Thus, the contradiction between the law of value and the general rate of profit led him to discover the divergence between values and prices of production. But because this solution defied the rules of formal logic, the dominant metaphysical thought did not delay in transforming it into 'the' problem. The transformation problem was thereby redefined, distorted, and from being a problem in Ricardo's theory it became a problem in Marx's theory. Evidently, behind this turn

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12 "Marx proceeds from an external manifestation of a contradiction to establishing the inner basis of this contradiction, *from the appearance to the essence* of this contradiction, whereas the metaphysician always tries to act in a precisely reverse manner, refuting the theoretical expression of the essence of a thing from the standpoint of external appearance, which he believes to be the only reality." (Ilyenkov, [1960] 1982) "The mark of dialectical thinking is the ability to distinguish the essential from the apparent process of reality and to grasp their relation." (Marcuse, 1955, p. 146) See also Marx & Engels, 1987, p. 390.

of events was the vulgarising tendency, the need of presenting the capitalist economy as harmonious and eternal. As Marx himself stated:

The vulgar economist has not the slightest idea that the actual, everyday exchange relations and the value magnitudes *cannot be directly identical.* The point of bourgeois society is precisely that, *a priori,* no conscious social regulation of production takes place. What is reasonable and necessary by nature asserts itself only as a blindly operating average. The vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, faced with the disclosure of the intrinsic interconnection, he insists that things look different in appearance. In fact, he prides himself in his clinging to appearances and believing them to be the ultimate. Why then have science at all? But there is also something else behind it. Once interconnection has been revealed, all theoretical belief in the perpetual necessity of the existing conditions collapses, even before the collapse takes place in practice. Here, therefore, it is completely in the interests of the ruling classes to perpetuate the unthinking confusion. (Marx & Engels, 1988, p. 69)

The discussion that started with Ricardo and which Marx intended to answer was, after Marx, duplicated. As before, the apologists of the *status quo* (the nascent neoclassical school) demanded the desertion of the labour theory of value; while the economists holding Ricardian views (the nascent neo-Ricardian school), forgetting Ricardo's own contradictions, sought to correct Marx by means of Ricardo. But instead of a defence, their models turned out to be an even more effective attack against the labour theory of value, the continuation of the vulgarisation process. The final result was the disintegration of political economy as a whole: the definite accommodation of the economic science to the defence of capitalism. This suggests that the history of the transformation problem is an echo, a reflection, of the history of economic thought.

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AB GEÇİŞ EKONOMİLERİNDE BİLİŞİM TEKNOLOJİLERİNDEKİ BÜYÜME (BİT, ICT): ÖNEMSİZ OLMANIN ÖNEMİ

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Mehmet Şişman**

Özet

Dünya ekonomisinde 2000 li yılların başından itibaren geçiş ekonomileri açısından bilişim sektörüne çok büyük bir iktisadi ilgi gözlenmektedir. Erişkin nüfusun içinde eğitimli ve yetenekli insan sayısı yüksek olan bu ülkeler piyasa ekonomisine geçiş sürecinde, kendilerinde mevcut nitelikli emek potansiyelini bilişim sektörüne yönlendirmektedirler. Avrupa Birliği içinde ölçek ekonomileri ve fiyat belirleme avantajı bulunan ülkelerle gümrük birliği ve serbest dolaşım ilişkisi olan Geçiş Ekonomileri "önemsiz olmanın önemi" avantajını kullanmaktadır. AB Geçiş Ekonomilerinden Polonya, Bulgaristan, Estonya, Slovakya, Macaristan, Çek Cumhuriyeti, Letonya, Slovenya, Romanya, Hırvatistan ve Litvanya bilişim Teknolojileri (ICT) harcamalarının GSYİH ya oranı 2000'li yıllarda %5 lere yaklaşmaktadır (Eurostat). Adı geçen ülkelerden Slovakya ve Macaristan da bilişim sektörünün net dış ticareti bu ülkelerin GSYİH larına göre fazla vermesi dikkati çekmektedir. Avrupa'daki diğer geçiş ekonomilerinde de benzer eğilimlerin ortaya çıktığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bununla bağlantılı olarak AB Komisyonu 2016 raporuna göre, 2020'ye kadar bilişim teknolojilerinde çalıştırılacak profesyonel emekçilere 825 bin iş potansiyeli yaratılması beklenmektedir. Bu çerçevede geçiş ekonomilerinde bilişim sektörüne nitelikli işgücü yetiştirmek için eğitim planlaması yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Dünya Ekonomisinde korumacılık eğilimlerinin güçlendiği yaşadığımız dönemde AB geçiş ekonomileri, büyük ölçekli ülkelerle artan getiriye dayalı maliyet avantajını kullanma fırsatı yakalamaktadırlar.

Abstract

From the beginning of the 2000s on the world economy, a great economic interest has been observed in the information sector in terms of transition economies. These countries, which have a high number of educated and talented people in the adult population, direct their potential skilled labor to the information sector in the process of transition to the market economy. Cross-border economies, which have a scale economy and a price-fixing advantage within the European Union, are using the advantage of "importance of being unimportant", a customs union and a free movement relationship. The ratio of ICT spending to GDP in Bulgaria, Estonia, Slovakia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Latvia, Slovenia, Romania, Croatia and Lithuania is approaching 5 per cent in 2000 years (Eurostat). It is noteworthy that in Slovakia and Hungary the net foreign trade of the information sector is given more than the GDP of these countries. Similar trends have emerged in other transition economies in Europe. In connection with this, according to EU Commission 2016 report, it is expected that professional skilled labour to be employed in IT technologies until 2020 will be created with a potential of 825 thousand jobs. It is understood that in the transition economies in this framework, education planning has been made to train qualified sector in the information sector. In the period when we are experiencing strong protectionism trends in the World Economy, EU transition economies have the opportunity to capitalize on the increasing cost-based cost advantage of large-scale economies.

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I. " Önemsiz Olmanın Önemi Kavramı" (What is the Importance of Being Unimportance?)

İktisat literatüründe üretim fonksiyonu içinde emek ve sermaye paylarındaki değişimin türev faktör talebi esnekliğini belirlemesi pek çok çalışmaya konu olmuştur. Önce Alfred Marshall (1920), sonra J. R. Hicks (1932) ve R.G.D. Allen (1938), daha sonra M. Bronfenbrenner (1961) ve G.J. Stigler (1966) çalışmalarında türev faktör talebi esnekliğini belirleyen nedenleri dört ünlü kurala bağladılar. Bu kurallara genel olarak Marshall Rules denmektedir. Marshall-Hicks'in ilk iki kuralı; üretimde faktör ikamesi esnekliği kolaylaştıkça yani aynı miktar malı üretmek için kullanılan emek miktarının sermaye ile ikamesi kolaylaştıkça, nihai mal talep esnekliğinin artmasıyla bağlantılı olarak, sözkonusu malın türev talep esnekliği artmaktadır. Bununla birlikte ilk iki kuralın tersi de geçerlidir (Hoffman, 2009). Özetle mallarda kullanılan emek miktarı sermaye ile ikame edilemedikçe ya da faktör ikame esnekliği azaldıkça, nihai malın talep esnekliğinin düşmesine bağlı olarak türev talep esnekliği de düşmektedir. Dördüncü kural aynı durumun arz esnekliği açısından geçerli olduğu savındadır. Yani arz esnekliğindeki pozitif etki faktörlerin esnekliğiyle bağlantılıdır.

Konumuz, yani bilgi iletişim teknolojilerinin AB deki geçiş ülkelerine etkisini anlamak açısından önemli taşıyan üçüncü Marshal Kuralı göre ise; türev talep esnekliğini toplam maliyetteki emek payıyla ilişkilendirmektedir. Marshall'a göre emek talebi, toplam maliyetlerdeki emek payı küçüldükçe daha fazla inelastikleşmektedir. Bu argümanın altında yatan temel düşünce; ücretlerdeki herhangi bir artış ortalama maliyetleri üçüncü kurala göre, daha fazla etkileyecektir (Hoffman, 2009). Bir başka deyişle, malın fiyatı ortaya çıkarken, emek girdisi payı düştükçe (önemsiz) emek maliyetleri, daha fazla inelastik taleple (önemli) karşılaşıldığından daha önemli hale gelecektir. Büyük ülke (önemli ülke) ile dış ticaret hadlerini etkileyemeyen küçük ülke (önemsiz ülke) arasındaki ticaret açısından bakılırsa, küçük ya da "önemsiz" ülkedeki nitelikli işgücünün maliyeti büyük ya da "önemli" ülke seviyesine ulaşacaktır. Sonuç olarak karşılıklı ticaret, nitelikli emek yoğun faktör talebine göre üretim yapan bilişim (ICT) sektörü açısından değerlendirildiğinde; önemsiz ülkeyi önemli bir aktör konumuna getirmektedir.

Bilindiği üzere, üretim fonksiyonu etkin girdi çıktı bileşimlerini gösterse de, hangi bileşimin girişimcinin karını maksimize edeceğini göstermez. Bu anlamda ele aldığımız bilşim sektörü açısından kullanılan teknolojiyi de gözönünde bulundurmamız gerekir. Dolayısıyla kullanılan teknolojinin ölçeğe göre getirisi ve ikame esnekliği önem arzetmektedir. Bilişim sektöründe daha sonra yapılan çalışmalara atıfla belirteceğimiz gibi, ölçeğe göre artan getirinin gerçekleştiği bir sektördür. Çünkü ölçek büyüdükçe, uzmanlaşma ve verimliliğin artması beklenir. Ardından maliyetlerde önemli bir düşüş gözlenir ki, özellikle bilişim gibi sektörlerde kullanılan sermaye mallarında bu eğilim daha güçlü gerçekleşmektedir. Ayrıca bilişim sektörü (ICT) dışsallığı fazla olduğu için, diğer sektörler için türev talep yaratma olasılığı yüksektir. Teknolojiyi niteleyen diğer bir konu da ikame esnekliğidir. İkame esnekliği girdilerin birbirleri yerine kullanılmasını faktör fiyatlarıyla ilişkilendirir. Bu anlamda iki ülke arasındaki ticaret ve yatırım ilişkilerinde, büyük ülkedeki emek maliyetleri küçük ülkeye göre önemli, küçük ülkedeki emek maliyetleri büyük ülkeye göre önemsizdir. Dolayısıyla küçük ülke emek maliyetleri büyük ülkedeki emek maliyetleri açısından değerlendirilmektedir (Perloff, 2013).

Analizimizde figure 1 da gözlendiği üzere, farklı emek ve sermaye bileşimlerine göre, aynı eş maliyet doğrusu üzerinde üretim yaptıklarını varsayalım. Bu durumda, büyük ülkede (B) bilişim sektöründe emek payını belirleyen ücretler yükselince, firmalar A ülkesiyle ticaret ve yatırım ilişkisine girmezlerse; düşük ikame esnekliği içeren ve eş maliyet

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doğrusunu kesen B noktasına göre daha yüksek eş maliyet doğrusu içeren B' noktasını tercih etmek zorundadır. Öte yandan, figure 1 de küçük ülke büyük ülke ile yatırım ve ticaret ilişkisine girmeden önce A noktasında, aynı eşmaliyet doğrusu üzerinde *aynı ikame esnekliğine sahip daha yüksek emek talebi daha düşük sermaye talebi bileşimini tercih edebilmektedir.* Bu durumda küçük ülkenin sermaye maliyeti emek maliyetine göre çok yüksek kalmaktadır (Hoffman, 2009).
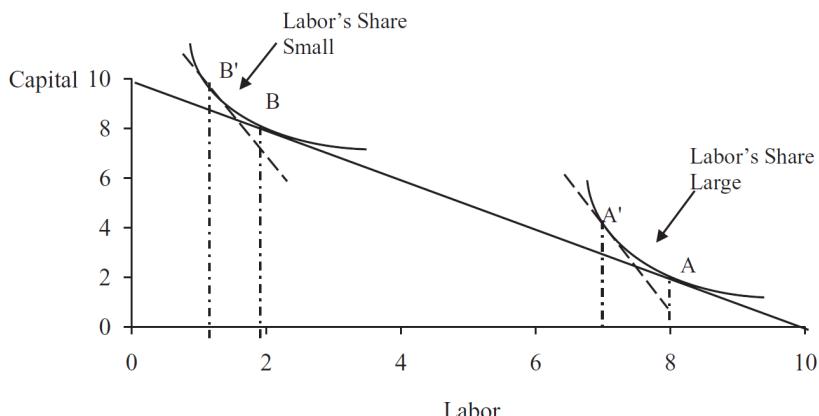
FIGURE 1. Input adjustments to a change in factor prices when the share of labor in total costs differs.

Özetle ticaret öncesi küçük ülkenin sermaye maliyeti yüksek olduğundan emek talebi daha fazladır. Emek talebin fazla küçük ülkede büyük ülkeye göre ücret artış eğilimini yükseltmektedir. Küçük ülke ile büyük ülke ticaret ve yatırım ilişkisine girdikten sonra, küçük ülkede ücretlerin yükselmesi sonucu oluşan yüksek ikame esnekliği gereği, figure 1 de gözlendiği gibi sermayenin maliyeti düştüğü için emeğe göre daha fazla sermaye kullanımı ortaya çıkacaktır. Dolayısıyla küçük ülkede ücretlerdeki yükselmeye rağmen sermaye maliyeti daha fazla düştüğünden, ikame esnekliği ticaret sonrasına göre büyük ülkeden çok daha fazladır. Çünkü bu durum Avrupa Birliği içindeki düşük ücretli, yüksek nitelikli emeğe sahip küçük ülkeyle (önemsiz olmanın) büyük ülke ya da önemli ülke arasındaki ticaret mantığını açıklamaktadır. Küçük ülke ise nitelikli emek arzını büyük ülkenin ucuz sermayesiyle birleştirmektedir. Figure1 de aynı eş maliyet doğrusu üzerinde ticaret sonrası B noktasından A noktasına geçişle de mümkün olan bu olgu, daha sonra detaylandıracağımız gibi bilişim sektörü üzerinden AB içindeki hem büyüme oranlarındaki eşgüdümü, hem de Birliğin entegrasyonuna katkı sağlamaktadır. Yapılan çalışmalara göre, AB içinde yer alan büyüme oranlarındaki yakınsama AB büyüme oranını daha olumlu etkilemektedir. Gelişmiş ülkeler açısından Bilişim teknolojileri alanında gerçekleşen her %10'luk artış, büyüme oranını ortalama %0,5-0,6 oranında artırmaktadır. Gelişmekte olan ülkelerde bilişim sektörünün genel ekonomik büyümeye etkisi çok daha fazladır. Türkiye'nin de dahil olduğu gelişmekte olan ülkelerde bilişim sektöründeki %10 luk büyümenin genel büyümeye etkisi %1'e kadar çıkabilmektedir (İmamoğlu, Soybilen; 2014)

Avrupa Birliğindeki büyük (önemli) ya da küçük (önemsiz) ülke analizi toplam faktör verimliliği (TFV) açısından değerlendirildiğinde TVF bileşenleri ticaretin sürmesi açısından önem kazanmaktadır. Çünkü özellikle bilişim sektöründe ölçek ekonomisi işlemektedir, yani ölçeğe göre artan verimler geçerlidir. TFV bileşenleri nitelikli

işgücü, AR-GE faaliyetleri, ticari dışa açıklık ve ileri teknolojik ürün ithalatı olarak belirlenirse (Gömleksiz, Şahbaz, Mercan; 2017, 67-68) bu bileşenlerin küçük ülke ve büyük ülke arasındaki dağılımı önem arzetmektedir. Son yıllarda Avrupa Birliğinin düşen büyüme performansını, eski doğu blokundan kopan geçiş ülkelerindeki nitelikli işgücünden yararlanarak yükseltmeye çalıştığı gözlenmektedir. Bu olgu da bilişim sektörü özelinde ülkeler arasındaki verimlilik farklarını azaltma trendini sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışma AB içindeki geçiş ülkelerinin bilişim sektörüne doğru yönlendirilmesinin arkasındaki iktisadi nedenselliği ortaya koymaya çalışacaktır.

II. A. Bilişim Teknolojilerindeki Gelişmeler: Uluslararası Bilgi İletişim Teknolojileri Gelişim endeksi (ICT)

Bilişim Teknolojilerinin 1990 larda ortaya çıkmasının önemli nedenleri vardır kuşkusuz. İki kutuplu dünyanın yıkılmasına da denk gelen bu süreçte, daha önceki çalışmalar meyvesini vermiş ve 1992'de internetin geliştirilmesi ve yaygınlaştırılması sonucu okyanuslararası bilişim altyapısının temelleri atılmıştır. Bilgisayar teknolojisindeki gelişme 1950 li yıllara dayanmaktadır. Bilgi işlem teknolojisinin temel alt yapısını oluşturan mikro çipler 1958 yılında ABD'de geliştirildikten sonra, koca bir odaya zor sığan bilgisayarların küçük boyutlara ulaşmasını ve mobil telefonlarla birlikte hayatımızın vazgeçilmez iletişim ve bilgi işleme araçları haline gelmesini sağlamıştır. Donanım ve iletişim birbirlerine eklemelenirken yazılım ya da işletim sisteminin olağaüstü etkisi tartışılmaz. Günümüz teknoloji şirketlerinin esas değer kaynağı da yazılımın gelişmesiyle ortaya çıkmaktadır. Özellikle kamusal alanda Açık Kaynak Kodlu özgür yazılım lisanslarının artması Bilgi İşlem Teknolojilerinin tüm dünyanın katkısıyla geliştirilebilmesinin önünü açmaktadır. Böylece donanım üretecek gücü ve sermaye birikimi olmasa da bilgi işlem teknolojilerinden yaralanmak isteyen ülkeler yazılımı geliştirerek, işletim sistemi ve programlamada gelişme olanağı elde etmek isteyecekler, ayrıca iletişim ağına bir biçimde dahil olacaklardır.

United Nations International Telecommunication Union (Birleşmiş Milletler Uluslararası Telekomünikasyon Birliği- ITU) tarafından üye ülkelerin talepleri doğrultusunda bilgi işlem teknolojilerindeki (BİT, ICT) gelişmeleri karşılaştırmak amacıyla 2008 yılında bir index hazırlanmıştır. 11 farklı göstergeden oluşan bileşik endeks, ilk kez 2009 yılında yayımlanmıştır. 2016 dan itibaren yöntemsel değişikliğe gidilen endeksde, yine 11 gösterge ve 3 alt endeks üzerinden 176 ülkenin BİT verilerini karşılaştırmamıza olanak sağlamaktadır. Tablodan da izleneceği gibi 3 alt endeksin içinde öncelikle BİT erişimi, daha sonra Bit kullanımı önemsenmektedir. BİT erişimi aslında dünyada hızla artan mobil telefon, bilgisayar ve internet kullanımı için mevcut altyapının aboneliğini hem sabit telefon aboneliğiyle karşılaştırma hem de Bit teknolojilerine erişebilen potansiyel kitleyi karşılaştırma olanağı da vermektedir. BİT kullanımı ise internet, sabit ve kablosuz geniş bant internet aboneliğini veri olarak almakta ve bu alandaki olağünüstü gelişmeyi alt indekse yansıtmaktadır. Alt endeksin son verisi BİT kullanan insanların eğitim süreleri orta ve yüksek öğretimde okullaşma oranlarını belirleyerek, eğitim üzerinden yetenek analizi yapma olnağı sağlamaktadır. Böylece üç alt endeksin 11 göstergesinden oluşan BİT endeksi 176 BM üyesi ülkenin temel BİT erişim, kullanım ve yetenek göstergelerini ağırlıklandırarak endekslemekte ve karşılaştırmaktadır.

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Tablo 1:Alt endeksler, göstergeler ve ağırlıkları

BİT Erişimi	%	
1. 100 kişi başına **düşen** sabit telefon aboneliği	20	% 40
2. 100 kişi başına **düşen** mobil telefon aboneliği	20	
3. İnternet kullanıcısı başına **düşen** uluslararası internet bant genişliği (bit/s)	20	
4. Bilgisayar kullanılan hane oranı **(%)**	20	
5. İnternet erişimine sahip hane oranı **(%)**	20	

BİT Kullanımı	%	
6. İnternet kullanan birey oranı **(%)**	33	% 40
7. 100 kişi başına **düşen** sabit genişbant internet aboneliği	33	
8. 100 kişi başına **düşen** kablosuz genişbant internet aboneliği	33	

BİT Yetenekleri	%	
9. Ortalama okullaşma yılı **(Referans değer 15 yıl)**	33	% 20
10. Ortaöğretimde brüt okullaşma oranı **(%)**	33	
11. Yükseköğretimde brüt okullaşma oranı **(%)**	33	

Tablo 2'de ICT Development index' e göre AB içindeki geçiş ülkelerinden 17. sıradaki Estonya'yı daha sonra Slovenya, Litvanya, Hırvatistan ve ardından Çekya, Macaristan, Polonya ve Bulgaristan sırlamada üst kendilerine yer bulmuşlardır. Index rakamlarında 2017'de 2016'ya göre daha yüksek eğilimler gözlenmektedir. Indeksin alt endeksleri de kapsadığı düşünülürse, bu geçiş ülkeleri için büyüme açısından olanaklı kılmaktadır. Büyüme olanaklarının doğrudan yatırımlar açısından cazibe merkezi olan yatırımlarda yoğunlaştığı düşünüldüğünde, belirttiğimiz olgu AB doğrudan yatırımlarını da etkileyebilecek potansiyeli içinde barındırmaktadır (lszewski, 2009)

Bilişim sektöründe (ICT) kullanılan donanım gereçlerinin üretimi açısından bakıldığında, AB geçiş ülkelerinden hiç birinin ne üretimde ne de ithalatta yer aldığını gözlemliyoruz. Afrika (Zambiya), Uzak Asya, Latin Amerika ve Avusturalya'dan gelişmekte olan ülkelerin topraklarındaki yeraltı kaynaklarının etkisiyle üretimde söz sahibi olduğu kobalt, palladyum, tin gibi bazı metallerin; hard disk, dizüstü bilgisayar gibi bilişim gereçlerinde kullanılması ve bunun başta Çin olmak üzere bir çok ülkede ithalatının yapılageldiği bilinmektedir (Fuchs, 2014, 171). Bu hammadde, ve yarı mamul üretim zincirinde olmayan AB geçiş ülkelerinin bilişim içinde yazılım ve işletim sisteminde varolmaktan başka seçeneği yoktur.

AB GEÇİŞ EKONOMİLERİNDE BİLİŞİM TEKNOLOJİLERİNDEKİ BÜYÜME (BİT, ICT): ÖNEMSİZ OLMANIN ÖNEMİ

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Table 2.2: IDI rankings and values, 2017 and 2016

Economy	Rank 2017	IDI 2017	Rank 2016	IDI 2016	Economy	Rank 2017	IDI 2017	Rank 2016	IDI 2016
Iceland	1	8.98	2	8.78	Albania	89	5.14	89	4.90
Korea (Rep.)	2	8.85	1	8.80	Seychelles	90	5.03	92	4.80
Switzerland	3	8.74	4	8.66	Mongolia	91	4.96	87	4.91
Denmark	4	8.71	3	8.68	South Africa	92	4.96	88	4.91
United Kingdom	5	8.65	5	8.53	Cape Verde	93	4.92	91	4.83
Hong Kong, China	6	8.61	6	8.47	Panama	94	4.91	93	4.80
Netherlands	7	8.49	10	8.40	Uzbekistan	95	4.90	103	4.48
Norway	8	8.47	7	8.45	Peru	96	4.85	97	4.61
Luxembourg	9	8.47	9	8.40	Ecuador	97	4.84	101	4.52
Japan	10	8.43	11	8.32	Jamaica	98	4.84	96	4.63
Sweden	11	8.41	8	8.41	Tunisia	99	4.82	95	4.70
Germany	12	8.39	13	8.20	Morocco	100	4.77	98	4.57
New Zealand	13	8.33	12	8.23	Philippines	101	4.67	100	4.52
Australia	14	8.24	16	8.08	Algeria	102	4.67	106	4.32
France	15	8.24	17	8.05	Egypt	103	4.63	104	4.44
United States	16	8.18	15	8.13	St. Lucia	104	4.63	99	4.53
Estonia	17	8.14	14	8.16	Botswana	105	4.59	102	4.51
Singapore	18	8.05	20	7.85	Dominican Rep.	106	4.51	107	4.26
Monaco	19	8.05	18	8.03	Fiji	107	4.49	105	4.34
Ireland	20	8.02	19	7.90	Viet Nam	108	4.43	108	4.18
Austria	21	8.02	24	7.70	Kyrgyzstan	109	4.37	110	4.06
Finland	22	7.88	21	7.83	Tonga	110	4.34	109	4.13
Israel	23	7.88	22	7.71	Indonesia	111	4.33	114	3.85
Malta	24	7.86	25	7.65	Bolivia	112	4.31	115	3.84
Belgium	25	7.81	23	7.70	Paraguay	113	4.18	111	4.02
Macao, China	26	7.80	29	7.55	Gabon	114	4.11	118	3.62
Spain	27	7.79	27	7.61	Libya	115	4.11	112	3.93
Cyprus	28	7.77	31	7.30	Ghana	116	4.05	113	3.88
Canada	29	7.77	26	7.64	Sri Lanka	117	3.91	116	3.77
Andorra	30	7.71	28	7.58	Namibia	118	3.89	123	3.33
Bahrain	31	7.60	30	7.46	El Salvador	119	3.82	117	3.62
Belarus	32	7.55	32	7.29	Belize	120	3.71	120	3.54
Slovenia	33	7.38	33	7.20	Bhutan	121	3.69	119	3.58
Barbados	34	7.31	37	7.11	Timor-Leste	122	3.57	127	3.11
Latvia	35	7.26	40	7.05	Palestine	123	3.55	122	3.42
Croatia	36	7.24	42	6.96	Guyana	124	3.44	121	3.44
St. Kitts and Nevis	37	7.24	35	7.18	Guatemala	125	3.35	125	3.19
Greece	38	7.23	38	7.08	Syria	126	3.34	124	3.32
Qatar	39	7.21	36	7.12	Samoa	127	3.30	129	2.95
United Arab Emirates	40	7.21	34	7.18	Cambodia	128	3.28	128	3.04
Lithuania	41	7.19	41	6.97	Honduras	129	3.28	126	3.14
Uruguay	42	7.16	48	6.75	Nicaragua	130	3.27	132	2.85
Czech Republic	43	7.16	39	7.06	Côte d'Ivoire	131	3.14	134	2.84
Portugal	44	7.13	44	6.88	S. Tomé & Principe	132	3.09	131	2.91
Russian Federation	45	7.07	43	6.91	Lesotho	133	3.04	130	2.94
Slovakia	46	7.06	47	6.84	India	134	3.03	138	2.65
Italy	47	7.04	46	6.84	Myanmar	135	3.00	140	2.59
Hungary	48	6.93	49	6.74	Zimbabwe	136	2.92	133	2.85
Poland	49	6.89	50	6.73	Cuba	137	2.91	135	2.80
Bulgaria	50	6.86	53	6.66	Kenya	138	2.91	137	2.67
Argentina	51	6.79	52	6.68	Lao P.D.R.	139	2.91	144	2.43
Kazakhstan	52	6.79	51	6.72	Nepal	140	2.88	139	2.60
Brunei Darussalam	53	6.75	54	6.56	Vanuatu	141	2.81	136	2.75
Saudi Arabia	54	6.67	45	6.87	Senegal	142	2.66	142	2.48
Serbia	55	6.61	55	6.51	Nigeria	143	2.60	143	2.44
Chile	56	6.57	59	6.28	Gambia	144	2.59	145	2.43
Bahamas	57	6.51	58	6.29	Sudan	145	2.55	141	2.56
Romania	58	6.48	61	6.23	Zambia	146	2.54	149	2.19
Moldova	59	6.45	63	6.21	Bangladesh	147	2.53	146	2.37
Costa Rica	60	6.44	57	6.29	Pakistan	148	2.42	148	2.21
Montenegro	61	6.44	56	6.30	Cameroon	149	2.38	150	2.14
Oman	62	6.43	64	6.14	Mozambique	150	2.32	147	2.23
Malaysia	63	6.38	62	6.22	Mauritania	151	2.26	152	2.08
Lebanon	64	6.30	65	6.09	Uganda	152	2.19	158	1.90
Azerbaijan	65	6.20	60	6.25	Rwanda	153	2.18	151	2.10
Brazil	66	6.12	67	5.89	Kiribati	154	2.17	155	2.04
Turkey	67	6.08	72	5.66	Mali	155	2.16	153	2.05
Trinidad & Tobago	68	6.04	71	5.71	Togo	156	2.15	159	1.86
TFYR Macedonia	69	6.01	68	5.88	Solomon Islands	157	2.11	154	2.04
Jordan	70	6.00	66	5.97	Djibouti	158	1.98	161	1.80
Kuwait	71	5.98	70	5.75	Afghanistan	159	1.95	165	1.71
Mauritius	72	5.88	75	5.51	Angola	160	1.94	156	2.00
Grenada	73	5.80	77	5.39	Benin	161	1.94	157	1.92
Georgia	74	5.79	73	5.59	Burkina Faso	162	1.90	163	1.74
Armenia	75	5.76	74	5.56	Equatorial Guinea	163	1.86	160	1.82
Antigua & Barbuda	76	5.71	76	5.48	Comoros	164	1.82	162	1.78
Dominica	77	5.69	69	5.76	Tanzania	165	1.81	164	1.73
Thailand	78	5.67	79	5.31	Guinea	166	1.78	166	1.71
Ukraine	79	5.62	78	5.31	Malawi	167	1.74	169	1.58
China	80	5.60	83	5.17	Haiti	168	1.72	168	1.63
Iran (I.R.)	81	5.58	85	5.04	Madagascar	169	1.68	167	1.70
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	82	5.54	80	5.27	Ethiopia	170	1.65	171	1.42
Bosnia and Herzegovina	83	5.39	81	5.23	Congo (Dem. Rep.)	171	1.55	170	1.48
Colombia	84	5.36	84	5.12	Burundi	172	1.48	172	1.39
Maldives	85	5.25	86	4.97	Guinea-Bissau	173	1.48	173	1.38
Venezuela	86	5.17	82	5.22	Chad	174	1.27	174	1.06
Mexico	87	5.16	90	4.87	Central African Rep.	175	1.04	176	0.89
Suriname	88	5.15	94	4.77	Eritrea	176	0.96	175	0.96

Note: Palestine is not an ITU member State; the status of Palestine in ITU is the subject of Resolution 99 (rev. Busan, 2014) of the ITU Plenipotentiary Conference.

Source: ITU.

II.B. Bilişim Teknolojilerindeki Gelişmeler: Geçiş Ekonomilerinin Konumu:

Vincenzo Spiezia'nın AB KLEMS Veri Tabanı'na dayanarak yaptığı çalışmada, 1995-2007 yılları arasında 18 OECD ülkesindeki 26 endüstride (tüm iş sektörü) üç tip BİT yatırımlarının (donanım, yazılım ve iletişim) katkısını tahmin amacıyla ekonometrik bir yaklaşım kullanmaktadır. BİT yatırımlarının iş sektöründe katma değer artışına tahmini katkısı, Avustralya'daki yılda % 1,0'dan Japonya'da % 0.4'e kadar değişmektedir. Göz önüne alınan ülkelerin üçte birinde, BİT yatırımlarının katkısı BİT dışı yatırımların katkısına eşit ya da büyüktü. Bir çok ülkede, bilgi işlem ekipmanı en büyük katkıyı sağladı ve genel BT katkısının % 50'sinden fazlasını oluşturdu. Bunun tek istisnası, haberleşme teçhizatına yapılan yatırımların bilgisayar donanımına yapılan yatırımları aştığı Finlandiya ve BİT yazılım yatırımlarının en dinamik bileşeni olduğu Japonya'dır. **BİT üreten endüstriler, Almanya, Slovenya ve Birleşik Krallık'ta toplam faktör verimliliğinin (TFP) en az üçte ikisini oluştururken,** Birleşik Devletler'de yaklaşık% 60 ve Fransa ve Hollanda'da % 50'nin biraz altındadır. Danimarka, **Çek Cumhuriyeti** ve İtalya'da **TFP, BİT üreten sektörlerde artış gösterirken, toplam iş sektörü için azalmıştır** (Spiezia, 2013)**.** Bu çalışmada dikkati çeken nokta Slovenya ve Çekya gibi geçiş ülkelerinde BİT yatırımlarındaki TVF nin artışı, ABD, Fransa ve Hollanda'nın üstüne çıkmaktadır.

Analizimize AB geçiş ülkeleri açısından baktığımızda Letonya, Macaristan, Hırvatistan, Çekya, Slovakya, Estonya, Bulgaristan, Polonya, Romanya, Slovenya ve Litvanya'daki BİT (ICT) gelişme özetleri aşağıdadır.

Letonya : Letonya'da 2004 yılında telekomünikasyon piyasasının liberalleşmesi, 2003 yılında üyelik için bir ön koşul olarak getiren Avrupa Birliği'ne katılması ile başlamıştır. Letonya, BİT konusunda AB direktiflerini kabul etmiş ve 2020 için DAE (Digital Agent for Europe) hedefleri doğrultusunda genişbant geliştirilmesine yönelik hedefler koymuştur. Letonya Avrupa ortalamasının hemen altında, yüksek mobil ve sabit penetrasyon (yayılma) oranlarına sahip gelişmiş bir bilişim pazarına sahiptir. Letonya'da sabit genişbant ağı Avrupa'da en hızlılar arasında yer alırken, ICT tarafından yetersiz hizmet verilen ülkenin kentsel ve kırsal kesimleri arasında önemli bir dijital uçurum vardır. Letonya, ulusal ve AB politikalarının sağladığı telekomünikasyon pazarının dönüşümünü görmüştür. Ülkenin kırsal bölgelerini etkileyen dijital uçurumun üstesinden gelinmesi amacıyla, hükümet yetersiz alanlara bağlanmak için NGA (Next Generation Access) ağlarına yatırım yapmaktadır. **BİT endüstrisi, Letonya'nın toplam GSYİH'sinin yaklaşık% 4.8'ini oluşturmaktadır. Letonya'da BİT sektöründeki beş bini aşkın firma faaliyet göstermekte olup, 2014** yılında 26.500 ü aşkın çalışanı istihdam etmektedir (CSB, 2016). Letonya'daki şirketlerin % 99'u küçük ve orta ölçekli olarak tanımlanabilir. Araştırmacılar, küçük ve orta ölçekli işletmelerin (KOBİ) öncelikle servet, ekonomik büyüme için sorumlu olduklarını ileri sürmektedirler (Mareš D., Dlasková G., 2016). BİT endüstrisinde çalışan firma sayısında ve istihdam edilen kişi sayısındaki değişiklikleri göstermektedir. Endüstrinin gelişimi son yıllarda giderek artan bir dinamiğe sahiptir Endüstrinin çok sayıdaki şirketi, BİT servis alt sektöründe - bilgisayar programlama ve danışmanlık alanlarında faaliyet göstermektedir. 2008'den 2014'e kadar bu alt sektörün şirket sayısı neredeyse üçe katlandı ve bu şirketlerin BİT sektöründen aldığı pay % 41'den % 54'e çıkmıştır. Ulusal genişbant stratejisi 2013-2020 arasında yürütülmektedir ve 30 Mbit / s ve yüzde 50 ile yüzde 100'lük bir kapsam sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu hedeflere ulaşmak için geniş bantın Letonya'nın kırsal bölgelerine uzatılması gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, Avrupa fonlarından destek alan hükümet, müşterilere son milleri teslim eden özel sağlayıcılar ile karasal alanlarda ve fiber optik erişim noktaları kurmaktadır (ITU, 2016).

Macaristan: Macaristan, 2007'de AB'ye üye olmuş ve AB'ye katılımla birlikte, hükümet tarafından telekomünikasyon sektörünün AB politikaları doğrultusunda liberalleşmesi için önlemler alınmıştır. 2004'te Macaristan'ın Elektronik Haberleşme Yasası, AB standartlarına dayanan düzenlemeler getirmiştir. Temel amacı telekomünikasyon piyasasında

etkin rekabet koşullarını ortaya koymaktır. Macaristan, yüksek bir mobil hücresel kullanım yaygınlığı ile iyi geliştirilmiş bir mobil altyapıya sahiptir. Mobil genişbant (broadband) neredeyse bütün nüfus kapsama alınmışken, abone sayısı Avrupa komşularının seviyesine ulaşmaktadır. Sabit piyasa, yerleşik işletmeci tarafından yönetilmektedir, ancak sabit genişbant sektöründe rekabet artmaktadır ve penetrasyon oranları AB ortalamasına yakındır. Macaristan'da, canlı ve rekabetçi bir telekomünikasyon pazarı gelişmiştir. Avrupa için Dijital Gündem'in (DAE) bir parçası olarak, Macaristan bu gelişmeyi ilerletmek ve NGA altyapısının dağıtımını arttırmak için iddialı hedefler belirledi. AB üyesi bir devlet olarak Macaristan'ın altyapısı, geniş bant geliştirme hedefleri Avrupa için Dijital Gündem ile uyumludur. Macaristan, 2020 yılına kadar en az 30 Mbit / s ve yüzde 50 kapsama alanı ile en geniş kapsamlı kapsama alanı sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Ulusal Bilgi ve İletişim Stratejisi 2014-2020, ulusal omurga ağının inşasında hükümetin eylem planını kapsamaktadır. Tüm devlet kurumları, Macaristan'ın kırsal bölgelerindeki kamu kurumlarına özel bir odaklanma ile yüksek hızlı İnternet ile bağlantılı olması beklenmektedir (ITU, 2016).

Hırvatistan: Tüm Balkan ülkelerinin ve Avrupa ortalamasının en yüksek BİT penetrasyon oranlarına sahiptir. Telekomünikasyon piyasası, Hırvatistan'ın 2013 yılında Avrupa Birliği'ne katılımından büyük ölçüde etkilenmiş ve piyasa liberalizasyonunu ve AB çerçevesine uygun bir düzenleyici çerçeve oluşturulmasını güçlendirmiştir. Hırvatistan'ın gelişmiş bir telekomünikasyon altyapısı ve devlet aktörleri vardır, ayrıca özel sektör modernleşmesine yatırım yapmaya devam etmektedir. BİT penetrasyonu hanehalkı açısından nispeten yüksektir ve interneti kullanan kişi sayısı artmaktadır. "Hırvatistan Cumhuriyeti'nde 2012-2015 için Genişbant Geliştirme Stratejisi", telekomünikasyon sektöründe rekabeti sağlamayı, geniş bant erişimini artırmayı ve hizmet talebini teşvik etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Geniş bant erişiminin eksik olduğu yerlerde, strateji mobil geniş bantın kullanılmasını önermiştir. Hırvatistan'ın hedefleri Avrupa için Dijital Gündem ile uyumludur (2020'de 100 Mbit / s için yüzde 30, 30 Mbit / s ve yüzde 50'lik bir artış oranı hedeflenmektedir). Bu doğrultuda, düzenleyici HAKOM, geniş bant erişiminin kullanılabilirliğini ve dağıtım ve bant genişliği hızları hakkındaki bilgileri gösteren etkileşimli bir GIS portalı oluşturmuştur. Ulusal hükümet, dağlık bölgeler ve adalar da dahil olmak üzere "özel devlet kaygı alanlarına" temel geniş bant erişimini sağlamak için yaklaşık 6,5 milyon Avroluk bir bütçe finanse etmektedir. Ayrıca, 712 milyon Avro bütçeli "yatırımlar için ticari çıkarları olmayan alanlarda genişbant altyapısının geliştirilmesine yönelik ulusal çerçeve programı" hükümet ve özel sektörün ortakları tarafından oluşturulmaktadır. AB de Hırvatistan'a yatırım yapıyor ve Avrupa Bölgesel Kalkınma Fonu kapsamında geniş bantlı NGN ağları geliştirmek için bir projeyi onayladı (ITU, 2016).

Çekya: Çek Cumhuriyeti, yüksek penetrasyon oranlarına sahip gelişmiş bir BİT pazarına sahiptir. Telekomünikasyon piyasası rekabetçi ve geçtiğimiz yıllarda pan-Avrupa ve yerel aktörler tarafından önemli kazanımlar yaşamıştır. Çek Cumhuriyeti'nde internet kullanımı çok yüksek ve nüfusun büyük çoğunluğu çevrimiçidir. Ulusal genişbant stratejisi ile Çek Cumhuriyeti, BİT gelişimini daha da ileriye götürme hedeflenmektedir. Telekomünikasyon Dairesi (CTU) Çekoslovakya'nın Çek Cumhuriyeti ve Slovakya'nın egemen devletlerine bölünmesinin ardından 1993 yılında kuruldu. 2000 yılında telekomünikasyon pazarının serbestleştirilmesi süreci başlamıştır. Çek Cumhuriyeti, Avrupa Birliği'ne 2004 yılında katıldı ve BİT sektörü üzerinde muazzam bir etki yaratmıştır. Liberalleşme ve rekabet güçlendirilmiş ve Avrupa çerçevesi ile uyumlu düzenleyici önlemler alınmıştır. AB Dijital Tek Pazarın bir parçası olarak, Çek Cumhuriyeti genişbant gelişimi için iddialı hedefler belirlemiştir. Ulusal genişbant stratejisi - Dijital Çek Cumhuriyeti v.2.0 - 2013 yılında kabul edilmiş ve 2020 yılına kadar tüm haneler için en az 30 Mbit / s ve 2020 yılına kadar hanelerin yüzde 50'si için 100 Mbit / s geniş bant erişim sağlamayı taahhüt etmiştir. Yeni strateji, Národní plan rozvoje sítí nové generace (NPRSNG) 2016 yılında kabul edilmiştir.160 Haziran 2015'te

hükümet tarafından kabul edilen Radyo Spektrum Yönetimi Stratejisi, yüksek hızlı mobil genişbantın geliştirilmesi için özellikle önemlidir (ITU, 2016).

Slovakya: Mobil-hücresel ve mobil-geniş bant hizmetleri için uygun fiyatlarla, son derece rekabetçi bir mobil pazara sahiptir. Sabit SES ( ) piyasası hala büyük ölçüde işletmeci tarafından yönetilmektedir ve penetrasyon oranları nispeten düşüktür.

Nüfusun çoğu interneti kullanmaktadır ve mobil pazarlardaki rekabeti daha da artırmayı ve geniş bant ağlarına erişmeyi ve bunları kullanmayı amaçlayan politikalar yürürlüktedir. Slovakya'daki telekom operatörleri, özellikle 2016 yılından beri LTE ( ) ağının şu anda nüfusun yüzde 87'sinden fazlasını kapsadığı için kendi ağlarında geniş çaplı yatırımlar üstlenmektedirler.

Bilişim sektörünün liberalleşmesi, Slovakya politikasının diğer birçok yönü olarak, 2004 yılında Avrupa Birliği'ne katılımla şekillenmiştir. Telekomünikasyon piyasası liberalleştirilmiş, rekabet yoğunlaşmış ve Avrupa Birliği ile uyumlu düzenleyici tedbirler alınmıştır. Slovakya'nın Ulusal Genişbant Stratejisi ve Dijital Büyüme ve Yeni Nesil Erişim Altyapısı için Stratejik Belge 2014-2020'de genişbant gelişimi ile ilgili olarak ICT gündeminin merkezi bulunmaktadır. Strateji, tüm hanehalklarının 30 Mbit / sn yüksek hızlı İnternet ile çalışmasını amaçlamaktadır. Rekabetin artması ve yatırımların karlılığının sağlanması için hükümet, BİT ağlarının oluşturulmasını kolaylaştırmış, inşaat ve düzenlenmiş fiyatların yanı sıra ağlara erişimi koordine etmiştir(ITU, 2016) .

Estonya: Bilişim hizmetleri için **uygun fiyatlarla ve yeni teknolojilere** uyum sağlayabilecek bir nüfusla Estonya, özellikle mobil **genişbant hizmetleriyle ilgili olarak BİT gelişiminin ön saflarında yer almaktadır.** Estonya Hükümetinin çabaları Estonya'yı Avrupa ve dünyadaki en bağlantılı ülkelerden birine dönüştürmüştür. **İnternet kullanımı ve evsel BİT bağlantısı oldukça yüksektir.** Hükümetin, yeni nesil ağlara yatırım yapmak için özel işletmecilere en iyi koşulları sağlamayı taahhüt ettiği BİT gelişiminin devam etmesi bekleniyor. Hükümet politikası olan **Estonya telekomünikasyon politikası "sektörde rekabeti ve açıklığı sağlamak" amacını taşımaktadır.** Sektör, 2001 yılının Ocak ayında, Estonya Telefon Şirketinin tekelini sona erdirerek tamamen serbest bırakılmıştır. **Avrupa Birliği'ne 2004 yılında girilmesi**, sektör üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahipti ve rekabet gücünü artırdı. Bugün, AB politikaları ile BİT alanında ulusal hükümetin çabaları **genişbant** geliştirmeye odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, **Estonya'nın Dijital Gündemi 2020, 2013 yılında kabul edilmiştir** (ITU, 2013). Geniş bant kullanımının başlıca nedenlerinden biri, Estonya Hükümeti ve sekiz özel işletmeci tarafından 2009 yılında başlatılan Estwin projesidir. Amaçları, hanelerin yüzde 98'ini kapsayan bir elyaf ağı kurmak ve böylece genişbantları kırsal alanlara taşımaktır.

Bulgaristan: Özellikle mobil genişbant hizmetleri için yüksek penetrasyon oranlarına sahip rekabetçi bir mobil pazara sahiptir. Telekomünikasyon pazarının serbestleştirilmesi ve sektördeki ilerlemeler ile birlikte, Bulgaristan gittikçe artan bir ülke haline geliyor. Bulgaristan'ın geniş bantlı erişim ve kullanım için iddialı hedefleri, bu gelişmeyi ilerletme hedeflerinin altını çiziyor. Bulgaristan, 2007 yılında Avrupa Birliği'ne üye oldu. AB'ye katılım, telekomünikasyon sektörü üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahipti. AB politikaları doğrultusunda sektör serbestleştirildi ve rekabeti arttırmaya yönelik düzenleyici tedbirler uygulamaya devam ediyor. Bulgaristan, Avrupa Dijital Pazarının ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır ve böylece, bağlantıyı ve dijital hizmetlerin kullanımını ilerletmek için bir dizi iddialı hedef belirlemiştir. Bulgaristan'ın Genişbant Erişiminin Geliştirilmesine Yönelik Ulusal Stratejisi ilk olarak 2009 yılında onaylanmış ve 2012 yılında güncellenmiştir. Strateji, 2014 yılında en az 30 Mbit ile yüzde 100 genişbant kapsama alanı sağlamayı amaçlayan Ulusal Genişbant Altyapı Altyapı Planı tarafından takip edilmiştir. / 2020 ve 100 Mbit / s için yüzde 50 alma oranı. Bulgaristan'ın uzak ve seyrek nüfuslu bölgelerine bağlanmaya özel önem verilmektedir. Bu hedeflere ulaşmak için AB fonlarının yanı sıra özel ve devlet yatırımları güvence altına

alınmaktadır. Artan rekabet, basitleştirilmiş izin prosedürleri ve geniş bant piyasasının faaliyet gösterdiği kurallar gibi düzenleyici önlemler de uygulanmaktadır (ITU, 2016).

Polonya: 38 milyon nüfusuyla Avrupa'nın en büyük pazarlarından bir tanesidir. Ülke, Avrupa Birliği tarafından belirlenen ilkeler doğrultusunda rekabetçi bir telekomünikasyon pazarına sahiptir. Polonya'nın telekomünikasyon sektörü geçtiğimiz on yılda önemli değişimlere uğradı ve rekabetin artmasına neden oldu. Avrupa için Dijital Gündem doğrultusunda, ülke genişbant gelişimi için iddialı hedefler belirledi ve böylece BİT gelişimini teşvik etme konusundaki kararlılığının altını çizdi. Bu, 2011 yılında İdare ve Sayısallaştırma Bakanlığı'nın oluşturulmasına daha sonra yansımıştır ve bunu 2015 yılında kurulan Dijital İşler Bakanlığı takip etmiştir. Avrupa Birliği'ne katılımın bir parçası olarak, 2000 yılında Ulusal Düzenleme Otoritesi kuruldu. AB üye devletlerinin genişbant geliştirmeye odaklanmasıyla Polonya, Avrupa Hedefleri için Dijital Gündem'e yönelik iddialı hedefler belirledi. Ulusal genişbant planı 2014 yılında kabul edilmiş ve 2020 yılında 30 Mbit / s'de% 100 internet ve 100 Mbit / s ile yüzde 50 kapsama alanı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Genişbant altyapısına yatırımlar AB tarafından yapılmakta, Hükümet ve özel yatırımcılar. "Polonya'nın gelişmesi için dijital bir destek oluşturmak" amacıyla, İdare ve Sayısallaştırma Bakanlığı 2011 yılında hükümet tarafından oluşturuldu ve ardından 2015 yılında kurulan Dijital İşler Bakanlığı tarafından takip edildi. İnternet erişimini arttırmak, web içeriklerini ve hizmetlerini geliştirmek ve dijital becerileri teşvik etmektir (ITU, 2016).

Romanya, uygun fiyatlara ve yüksek penetrasyon oranlarına sahip rekabetçi bir mobil pazara sahiptir. Ülkenin AB'ye 2007 yılında katılımı rekabeti teşvik etti ve AB müktesebatıyla uyumlu düzenleyici reformlar başlattı. Sabit genişbant piyasasında rekabet altyapıya dayalıdır ve fiber en popüler seçenek olup, Romanya'yı en yüksek ortalama geniş bant hızına sahip Avrupa ülkeleri haline getirmektedir. Avrupa Birliği'ne katılım, telekomünikasyon pazarını şekillendirdi. Romanya, özellikle kırsal ve dezavantajlı bölgelerde, erişimi artırmak için BİT pazarını geliştirmeye ve genişbant altyapısına yatırım yapmaya ve yatırım yapmaya devam etmektedir. Romanya, 2007 yılında Avrupa Birliği'ne katıldı. Katılımdan önce ve sonra, Avrupa yönetmelikleri ve direktifleri telekomünikasyon piyasası üzerinde doğrudan bir etkiye sahipti. Son yıllarda hükümetin odak noktası dijitalleşme ve genişbant gelişimi üzerinedir. Romanya Dijital Gündemi 2020 Ulusal Stratejisi, bu konuda hükümet çabalarını göstermektedir. Avrupa hedefleri doğrultusunda, Romanya 2020 yılına kadar sabit genişbant kapsamına sahip yüzde 100 hanehalkı, 30 Mbit / s geniş bant kapsama alanı olan hanelerin yüzde 80'ini ve 100 Mbit / s kapsama alanı ile yüzde 45 hane halkı elde etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kırsal ve dezavantajlı bölgelerde genişbant gelişimine özel önem verilmektedir. Rekabeti teşvik etmek ve mobil genişbant erişimini teşvik etmek de büyümenin ana unsurları olarak tanımlanmıştır. 371 Dezavantajlı bölgelerde genişbant altyapısı inşa etme projesi olan Ro-NET, 2015 yılında İletişim ve Bilgi Toplumu tarafından başlatılmıştır. Romanya genelinde 3 000 km'yi aşan optik fiber backhaul altyapısının sahibi (ITU, 2016) .
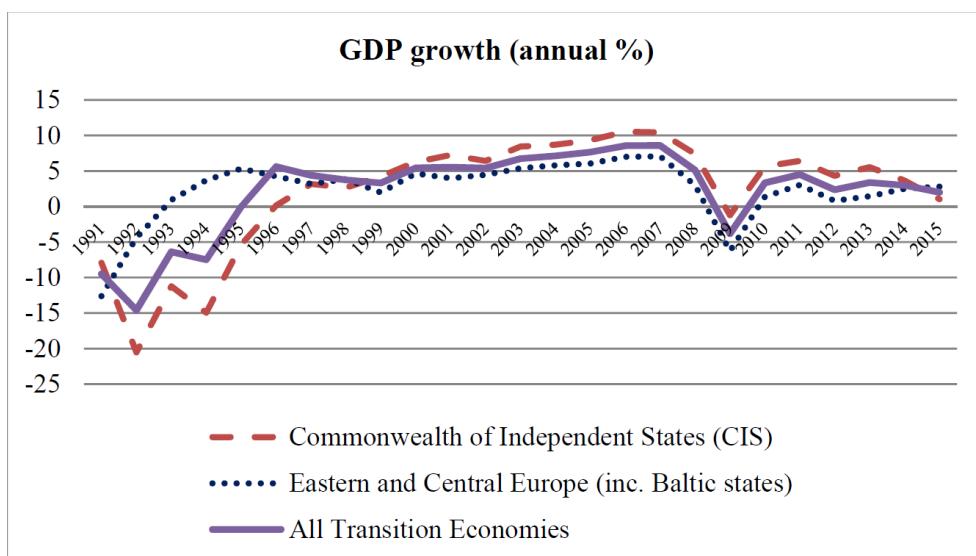
Slovenya'nın sabit piyasası, yerleşik işletmeci tarafından yönetilirken, diğer Orta Avrupa ülkeleriyle karşılaştırıldığında nispeten yüksek penetrasyon oranlarına sahiptir. Aynı zamanda, ülkede geniş bant hizmetlerinde yakınsama güçlü olmuştur ve mobil genişbant abonelikleri artmaktadır. AB politikaları ve düzenlemeleri, Slovenya telekomünikasyon pazarını şekillendirmiş ve son on yılda sektördeki büyümeye katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu gelişmeye hükümetin daha fazla nüfusunun bağlanması için genişbant geliştirmeye ağırlık veren hükümet politikaları devam etmektedir. 2001 Telekomünikasyon Yasası, Slovenya'nın telekomünikasyon pazarını AB ile uyumlu hale getirdi. Piyasa liberalleşti ve Telekom Slovenya'nın tekeli sona erdi. Genişbant gelişmesi açısından, Slovenya'nın AB'ye girişi, hükümet politikaları üzerinde de önemli bir etkiye sahipti. 2016 yılında hükümet, "Bilgi Toplumu için 2020'ye kadar Kalkınma Stratejisi - Dijital Slovenya 2020" yi kabul etti. Strateji, 2020 yılına kadar en az 100 Mbit / s hıza sahip Slovenyalı hanelerin yüzde 96'sını ve kalan en az yüzde 4'ünü en az 30 Mbit / s ile sağlamayı amaçlıyor.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

Slovenya hükümeti, ayrıntılı haritalama ve kapsama analizleri, açık ihale ağları ve açık erişim ağlarını ve mevcut altyapının kullanımını sağlayan düzenleyici önlemler gibi maliyet azaltma yöntemlerini uygulayarak geniş bant ağlarının genişlemesini desteklemektedir. 2016 yılı sonunda Bakanlık, 100 Mbit / s hız bağlantısı sunan ağların kapsamadığı alanlarda ve devlet yardımına konu olacak beyaz noktaların ticari ilgisini sormuştur (ITU, 2016).

Litvanya, müşterileri için yüksek penetrasyon oranları ve uygun fiyatlar ile canlı ve gelişmiş bir telekomünikasyon pazarına sahiptir. 3 milyondan az nüfusu olan küçük Baltık ülkesi, Avrupa ve dünyadaki elyaf ihracatında önde gelen ülkelerden bir tanesidir. Litvanya Hükümeti'nin önderlik ettiği AB üyeliği, Litvanya'yı çok gelişmiş bir BİT ülkesine dönüştürdü. Litvanya'nın dijital gündemi, NGA ağlarının genişletilmesine odaklanıyor ve kentsel ve kırsal alanlar arasındaki dijital uçurumun kapatılmasını hedefliyor. Litvanya, 2004 yılında bir telekomünikasyon sektörünün yürürlüğe girmesi yasasının yürürlüğe girmesinden bir yıl önce AB üyesi oldu. AB üyeliği, telekomünikasyon politikaları ve Litvanya'daki düzenleyici ortam üzerinde belirleyici bir etkiye sahipti. AB politikasına uygun olarak, hükümetin odak noktası genişbant gelişimi üzerinedir. Ülkenin Dijital Gündemi, özel operatörlerin geniş bant yatırımlarına teşvik sağlamaya odaklanıyor. Özel yatırımların düşük karlılık içeren bilişim sektöründe, hükümet, NGA altyapısını ülkenin kırsal alanlarına genişletmek için çeşitli kalkınma projelerini tamamladı. Litvanya'nın stratejisi, aynı zamanda, ICT'leri (BİT) kullanmak için ilgili içeriğin ve becerilerin geliştirilmesi yoluyla teşvik etmeyi amaçladığı talep tarafına da bakıyor. Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı'na ait bir kamu kuruluşu olan Geniş Bant İnternet, ulusal geniş bant stratejisinin uygulanmasından sorumludur ve çok sayıda kamu ve özel kuruluşu birbirine bağlayan bir kamu destek ağı işletmektedir ve ayrıca özel sağlayıcılara açık erişim hizmetleri sağlar (ITU, 2016).

Geçiş Ülkelerinin tümünde büyüme oranları 1990 lı ve 2000 li yıllarda birbirine paralel olarak %5 lerin üzerine seyretmekle birlikte, 2009 Küresel Krizinin etkileri bu ülke gruplarına da grafik 1 de gözleneceği gibi yansımıştır. Ülke analizleri açısından yukarda belirttiğimiz gibi, mavi noktalı olarak gözüken AB geçiş ülkelerindeki bilişim sektörünün hızlı büyüme eğilimi aslında bu ülkelerdeki genel büyüme oranlarına da pozitif olarak yansımaktadır.

Grafik 1: Geçiş Ülkelerinde Yıllık (%) Büyüme Oranları

(Çınar Y., Tuzcu S.E.; 2016, 25)

Fahmani, İsmail ve Fooladi'nin 2000-2009 arasında 159 ülkede Bilişim sektöründeki yatırımların büyümeye etkilerini (BİT; Information and Communication Technology, ICT) sorgulayan ekonometrik çalışmaya göre, bir önceki yıl ICT endeksindeki %1'lik bir artış daha sonra kişi başına GSYİH'yı %0,09 artırmaktadır (Fahmani, İsmail, Fooladi, 2012).

II. C . Avrupa 2020 Hedefleri ve Bilişim Sektörü

15-16 Haziran 2001 yılında Göteburgda yapılan AB zirvesinde Lizbon Stratejisi bilgi toplumuna yönelik hedefler içermektedir. Bu hedefler ile birlik içinde;

- Elektronik ve iletişime yönelik yasal çerçevenin belirlenmesi
- BİT kullanımının yaygınlaştırılması
- E-ticaret uygulamalarının
- Mobil iletişim AB liderliğinin desteklenmesi
- Bilimsel araştırma payının %3 e çıkarılması gibi öncelikler taşımaktadır.

Ancak kriz dönemi bu hedeflere ulaşılmasını engellemiştir. Kriz öncesi AB de 18 milyon yeni iş imkanı yaratılmışsa da işsizlik %10 u geçmiştir. Litvanya da %13.3 Letonya %14.9 Solvakya %14 İspanya %25 olduğu görülmektedir. Bu süreçte üye ülke sayısı 15 iken 28 e yükselmiştir. Avro alanı ülke sayısı ise 12 den 18 e yükselmiştir.

Lizbon Stratejisinin hedeflerine ulaşamamasına rağmen yine de hedefler açısından önem taşımaktadır. Avrupada yaşanan borç krizi ve mali sorunlar nedeniyle kamuya yönelik harcamaların kısılması hedeflere ulaşmada sorunların yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. 2008 yılı itibariyle AB de ARGE'nin GSYİH içinde payı % 1,92 iken ABD de bu pay %2,79 ve Japonya da ise %3,45 seviyesindedir.

Lizbon stratejisinde uygulamaları hayal kırıklığı yaratsa da belirlenen hedefler yeni küresel konjonktür gözönüne alınarak kapsayıcı ve akıllı büyüme amacına yönelik yeni stratejiler Avrupa 2020 adlı yeni strateji ile belirlenmiştir. AB Konseyi tarafından 17 Haziran 2010 tarihinde kabul edilmiştir. Bu stratejiler şöyle özetlenebilir:

- AB de bilgiye ve yenilikçiliğe dayalı,
- kaynakları verimli kullanan,
- yüksek istihdam içeren,
- sosyal ve bölgesel uyumlu çevreci rekabetçi kapsayıcı büyüme hedefine yönelik stratejileri içermektedir.

Avrupa 2020 stratejisi Lizbon Stratejisinin eksiklerini gidermeyi ve üye ülkeler arasındaki mevcut ekonomik farklılıkları ortadan kaldırmayı hedeflemektedir.Bu strateji ile üye ülkelerin çabaları önem taşımaktadır. Ülkelerin borç krizleri ve bu çerçevede küresel ekonomik ve mali krizin üstesinden gelinmesi mali sorunların atlatılması amaçlanmıştır.

Avrupa 2020 stratejisinin hedefleri genel olarak;

- istihdam alanında 20-64 yaş arası nüfusun %75'nin istihdam edilmesi,
- AB ülkelerinde GSYİH'nin %3 ünün ARGE harcamalarına ayrılması,
- eğitim alanında okulu terketme oranı %10 seviyesine düşürülmesi ve yüksek öğretime katkının %40'a çıkarılması,
- genç işsizlik oranının düşürülmesi için gençlerin işgücü pazarına geçiş şartlarının iyileştirilmesi,

yönündeki hedefler bilişim sektörü açısından da önem taşıyan hedefler olmuştur.

Özellikle bu çerçevede; genç işsizliğe yönelik "Hareket Halinde Gençlik" ile yüksek öğretim kalitesinin yükseltilmesi, bilgiye dayalı ekonomide gençlerin daha başarılı olmaları ve istihdamın arttırılması için altyapı yatırımlarının artırılması amaçlanmaktadır.

18-20 haziran 2010 AB Telekomünikasyon Bakanları toplantısında "Granada Deklarasyonu" AB 2020 ile uyumlu olarak;

- yüksek hızlı internet erişiminde yatırımları arttırmak,
- tek dijital piyasa oluşturulması,
- dijital becerilerin artırılması,
- internete güvensizlik ve dijital suçların azaltılması,
- araştırma ve yenilikçiliği artıran yatırımların teşviği,
- cihazlar ve sistemler arası işlerliğin artırılması,
- lisanslama işlemlerinin kolaylaştırılması,
- dijital becerilerin arttırılması ve online hizmetlerin geliştirilmesi hedeflerine ulaşılması amaçları taşımaktadır.

Sonuç

AB geçiş ekonomilerinin, özellikle 2000 li yıllarla birlikte genişleyen bilişim sektörü üretiminin önemli bir parçası haline geldikleri gözlenmektedir.Bu genişlemedeki dikkati çeken unsurlar çalışmanın temel hipotezini destekleyen yönde olduğunu belirtebiliriz. Öncelikle ticaretteki önemi küçük (önemsiz), ama Bilişim Teknolojilerindeki payı açısından önemli sayılabilecek bu ülkelerdeki nitelikli emek yapısı dikkati çekmektedir. Çalışmada önemsiz olmanın önemi olarak özetlenen ve ikame esnekliğine uygun olarak gelişen bu bilişim entegrasyonun iktisadi mantığını sorguladık. Burada bilişim sektöründeki emek payının düşürelemediği durumlarda ücret maliyetlerin sektörün nitelikli emeğin bol olduğu geçiş ülkelerine kaymasının analizi yapılmıştır. BİT endeksinin yapısı incelendiğinde daha çok bilginin tüketiminin ve yazılımın yaygınlaşmasının önemi açısından ele aldığımız ülke gruplarındaki başarı ve AB'ye uyum süreci çarpıcıdır. Ayrıca, bu ülkelerdeki genel büyüme artışında bilişim sektörünün önemli bir payı olduğu, yapılan çalışmalara atıfla vurgulanmıştır. Son olarak önemsiz olmanın önemi kavramı açısından da değerli bulduğumuz AB hedeflerinde dijital yapının geliştirilmesinde geçiş ekonomilerinin genç ve yüksek nitelikli emek yapısıyla önemli bir konumda olduğunu saptamış bulunuyoruz.

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THE IDEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENTALISM AND THE TURKISH LEFT

Erkan Doğan*

Abstract

In this study, the focus will be on the ideology of national developmentalism as it was understood by the Turkish left in the 1960s. National developmentalism became a very popular discourse at the periphery of the world after 1945 preaching an autonomous and national development strategy for underdeveloped countries of the Third World. In the post-war era, national liberation was not only seen as a political liberation but also as a struggle for national economic independence, aiming at eliminating economic subordination to the centers of the world economy system. The programs of many national liberation movements of the post-colonial era were characterized by a radical economic nationalism, with its emphasis on state-led national development and import-substitution industrialization. Likewise, Turkish left of the 1960s endorsed a similar type of economic nationalism, offering its own understanding of national development with a strong emphasis on industrialization and growing control of the state over national economy.

Keywords: Developmentalism, Turkish Left, Post-Second World War Era

Introduction

Developmentalism became an orthodoxy among the radical intellectuals and politicians of the Third World after the Second World War. The economic development strategy of the most of the Third World socialisms in this period was to follow a 'non-capitalist' and national development model for rapid industrialization. This strategy was understood within the conceptual matrix composed of notions such as 'statism', 'industrialism' and 'protectionism'. In this definition, development and industrialization appeared as the ultimate goals of the nation. The common belief was that these goals in the Third World could only be achieved by breaking all ties with the world capitalist system, fostering political independence by economic emancipation, and implementing a state-led, independent and national development strategy. The Turkish socialists of the 1960s were not an exception in this sense.

After the military intervention of 27 May 1960, socialism became a publicly visible ideological and political current of thought and attracted many people in Turkey. In a new political atmosphere that followed the intervention and the making of a new constitution, one of the most interesting political developments of the period was the growth of radical left groups. There were various but similar definitions of "Turkish socialism" in the 1960s which were based on the principles of anti-imperialism, nationalism, political and economic independence. Socialism was understood and introduced primarily as a development strategy to achieve rapid economic development and social justice; and was equated with central planning and state ownership.

It was argued that Turkey's economic and social development could only be achieved by being against western imperialism, especially the US imperialism, and protecting the country's political and economic independence. They launched political campaigns against the country's dependence on the West, primarily on the US, and likened

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their efforts to the war of liberation under Atatürk, calling it "second National Liberation War". It was in this decade that a 'leftist' variant of Kemalism became a hegemonic discourse within the ranks of the Turkish left. In this period, Turkish left re-invented Kemalism as a progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and developmentalist outlook. In this study, I would like to focus on the idea of developmentalsim as it was understood by the Turkish left in the 1960s and analyze the primary features of the development strategy offered by the leading figures and factions of the movement.

The Ideology of National Developmentalism

The 1960 military coup was welcomed by Turkish bureaucratic and intellectual elite as the signal of the beginning of a new period of economic planning, industrialization and development (see, Keyder, 1987a, p.146). The military takeover was considered to mark a change from the free market oriented economic program of the DP to a state-led development strategy based on a new policy of planning and coordination of the sources in the service of the rapid national development. The new strategy was supported by a coalition of the army, the intelligentsia, and the industrial bourgeoisie (see, Keyder, 1987a, pp.142-3; Keyder, 1987b, pp.45-7; Owen & Pamuk, 1998, p. 111).

After 1960, the victors and supporters of the military coup and their representatives in the civil-military and intellectual elite offered "a new model of accumulation with its social policy, political balances and administrative mechanisms" (Keyder, 1987a, p.144). The new model of economic regulation which was followed in Turkey in the 60s and 70s was the strategy of import substituting industrialization (ISI), which was considered as a successful economic growth model in combining the diverging interests of different social classes around the project of inward-oriented national development. The establishment of the State Planning Organization (SPO) in September 1960 was the first serious official attempt at the realization of this new model of economic growth.[1]

It was in this context that the Turkish left made developmentalism an issue of public debate. Development was understood in deeply nationalist terms oriented to achieving economic independence. The aim was to create a unified national economy and to reduce nation's dependence on Western imperialist powers. In that intellectual world, the idea of development was elevated to a virtue, an ultimate goal that should be reached up as rapidly as possible; it was considered to be the basic criterion for comparing nations.

The rise of the idea of national developmentalism in Turkey should be understood in a more general increasing trend of developmentalist discourse becoming very popular, especially, at the periphery of the world after 1945. In the post-war era, national liberation became also a struggle for national economic independence, a movement which aimed at eliminating economic subordination to the world economy. The program of national liberation in the post-1945 period was characterized by a radical economic nationalism, with its emphasis on state-led national development and import-substitution industrialization.

The common sense of the radical intelligentsia of the period was explaining the root cause of underdevelopment in terms of the dependence on Western imperialist centers. This explanation was one of the basic creeds of the Third Worldist ethos of the post-colonial era (for Third Worlism see, Doğan, 2017). It found sympathizers not only among intellectuals of the Third World but also in the academic circles of the Western universities. The dependency literature was providing the more sophisticated versions of this explanation (for dependency theory see,

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[1] For the implementation of the ISI strategy and the establishment and role of the SPO see, Keyder, 1987; Owen & Pamuk, 1998; Aydın, 2005; Eralp, 1994.

Preston, 1996; Leys, 1996; Roxborough, 1979; Spybey, 1992). In this approach, dependency was interpreted as a relation of subordination to international capitalist system. In this illustration, development and underdevelopment constituted each other through a relational process; the one was defined by reference to the other. It was the hierarchical and unequal structure of the world capitalist system that was re-producing underdevelopment on the periphery and development at the center of the system. In that unequal relationship, the center was determining the terms of the exchange through which the developed were getting more developed, whereas the underdeveloped were destined to eternal backwardness. For this approach, the diffusion of the foreign capital through economic and military aids to the underdeveloped countries and the growing economic, diplomatic and military ties with the imperialist centers did not lead to the development of the underdeveloped, but only increased their level of subordination to the Western imperialist powers.

The same Third Worldist credo also preached that there was still a way out of underdevelopment, or if we put it another way, to save the Third World nations from the wretchedness of underdevelopment. Delinking from the world capitalist system was the only solution for the question of backwardness. The major obstacle to autonomous national development was the capitalist system and the remedy was to delink. For the proponents of this solution, it was possible to break with the world capitalist system and to initiate an autonomous development strategy at the national level.[2]

Strategy for National Development

Turkey was described by the Turkish left as an underdeveloped country. For them, when its economic, social and political structures were considered, Turkey, like other developing countries, was a dependent country in the world imperialist system and exploited by the same order, from its raw materials and mineral resources to its foreign trade, politics and culture. It was argued that Turkey was brought into a close contact with the Western powers through foreign economic and military aids and was turned into a mere satellite of Western imperialism by the Turkish governments of the post-Second World War period. The attempts at developing Turkey through foreign capital, aids or loans were considered by all the main factions and leading intellectuals of the left in the sixties to be useless and destined to fail.[3] The real reason behind the foreign economic and military assistance to Turkey was to penetrate into the country, to undermine its national independence and sovereignty, and to takeover its economy. Dependency relationship with imperialism was hindering social and economic progress and producing underdevelopment in the country.

For the Turkish left, there was only one way to save the country from its social, economic, political and cultural backwardness: to delink all ties with Western imperialist powers. It was impossible for Turkey to develop within the world capitalist system and through capitalist path of development. After delinking the dependency ties with imperialism, Turkey should adopt a new autonomous and national development strategy, neither socialist, nor capitalist, but oriented to socialism. This new strategy would endorse the principles of economic nationalism; it

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2   There were also internal sources of the nationalist developmentalist ideology of the Turkish left in the 1960s, the origins of which can be found in the early Republican Turkey. In the writings of the prominent figures of the *Kadro* (Cadre) movement of the early thirties, which tried to develop a new interpretation of the 'Kemalist Revolution' and provide the new regime with an ideological content through which the regime could legitimize itself, we can find the first formulations of the national developmentalist ideology. For the *Kadro* movement see, Gülalp,1987; Türkeş, 1999.

3   By main factions of the Turkish left in the 1960s, I specifically mean the *Yön* group, the Workers Party of Turkey (WPT), and the national democratic revolution (NDR) movement.

would reject Turkey's dependent role in the world capitalist system and aim at implementing a non-capitalist, independent and rapid development strategy.

But, what was development? Development, according to the *Yön* group, was an effort that aimed to liquidate pre-capitalist social-economic system and comprador classes in order to create a unified and independent national economy and to implement a rapid modernization that would elevate the country to the level of Western civilization (Avcıoğlu, 1962c). The proponents of the national-democratic revolution (NDR) were of the same opinion. The national goal of the NDR strategy was to put an end to the domination of imperialism and comprador classes over the national economy and domestic politics (Belli, 1970, pp.220-221, 226). Comprador classes composed of exporters, importers, big land owners, foreign trade agents, domestic partners of foreign companies, and their representatives and salaried men were all self-seeking; they were not nationalist. Comprador classes were, in fact, against a real, national development and industrialization. They were portrayed as the strata pursuing their class interests in harmony with the Western imperialist powers, turning Turkey into a rental real estate and putting Turkish nation under the vestige of imperialist centers (Selçuk, 1965).

The second main dimension of the economic program of the NDR strategy was about implementing a fully-fledged land reform which was supposed to dismantle feudal social and economic structures and relations, confiscate the lands of big land owners to landless people, and so, terminate the social, political and cultural hegemony of the landlords over the landless and poor peasants. Destroying feudal relations was considered as a big step in the way to the establishment of a real unified national economy which was assumed to be necessary for an independent and rapid national economic development (Belli, 1970, pp.221-222). Other major leftist factions also put their emphasis on the issue of the reform in landholding. They all advocated a fully-fledged land and agrarian reform which would root up the economic bases of land lords, the backbone of the reactionarism in Turkey and the rural partners of the alliance with Western imperialism.

The ultimate aim was described by the Turkish left as catching up with the contemporary civilization as quickly as possible. The task of bringing Turkey to the level of Western civilization, even above it, could only be achieved through rapid economic development. It was assumed that rapid development would change everything from social structure, institutions, behaviors, to health and education systems. Development in general was seen as a transition from agrarian society to industrial one. The corollary of this proposition was that development was possible only through industrialization (Aren, 1962b). It was the industrialization process after all which led to the emergence of new ideas, new institutions and a new life style (Avcıoğlu, 1965). Reaching to the level of contemporary civilization was identified with achieving social and economic development, the backbone of which would be heavy industrialization (Avcıoğlu, 1962b). Kemalist goals of Westernization, attainment of the level of contemporary civilization could only be achieved through economic development, through the rise of productivity rate.

Turkish left understood socialism simply as a method of rapid development. Turkey as a backward country could achieve a development based on social justice only by adopting a development strategy prone to socialism (Avcıoğlu, 1962b). Socialism in this picture was reduced to the notion of national development and identified with nationalization of key sectors of economy, statism and central and compulsory planning.

Avcıoğlu (1969, p.619) pointed to three distinct and alternative paths of development that Third World countries could choose for putting an end to their old aged backwardness. These were the communist path, the American (capitalist) path, and the statist or national-revolutionary path. The first path was out of the question, because

of the brutality of the method it suggested (Avcıoğlu, 1963a). Capitalist path was also not an option for the underdeveloped countries of the Third World in the 20th century, in the age of imperialism. Turkey and other underdeveloped countries had not had a strong progressive national bourgeoisie. Capitalism was imported to these countries from outside. Capitalist classes of the Third World were dependent on Western capitalism. These classes were not mature, powerful and national enough to take the responsibility of liquidating pre-capitalist classes and structures and to lead a national industrialization strategy, and so, to pave the way for social and economic progress. On the contrary, it was inclined to collaborate with reactionary feudal forces and imperialism (Avcıoğlu, 1963b).

The national-revolutionary path, on the other hand, was characterized by a new type of statism, in which the state sector would have the dominant role in the economy. In this path of development which was called new statism or progressive statism, the strategic branches and mechanisms of the Turkish economy would be under the state management. The state would control foreign capital inflow and its operations in the country as well as the activities of the indigenous private capital (Avcıoğlu, 1969, p.671). Statism was described by the *Yön* writers as a social economic and political regime which encompasses not only state's intervention into economy, but covers all other important realms of national life. State, as the sole representative of the interests of the whole nation and the protector of the nation's permanence, would regulate economic, social and political orders of the country (Avcıoğlu, 1962e; Aydemir, 1962).

The idea of statism as a strategy for industrialization and development was advocated by all different sections of the Turkish left in the 1960s. State was illustrated as the motor of national development and industrialization. They denied the policy that the national economy should be led by the private enterprise. Private sector was thought to be weak and unable to offer a rapid development strategy that Turkey needed; a rapid national development strategy could only be carried out under the guidance of the state (see, Aren, 1961; Aren, 1962a). The state should takeover the basic industries, the major part of the means of production and should control the mechanisms of production, circulation and distribution.

Not only statism, but also a central, compulsory and rational planning accepting state's dominant role in the economy and oriented to the construction of heavy industry was considered to be necessary for the rapid national development. Planning was seen as an effective instrument that would enable large scale changes in social, economic, political and cultural realms (see, for instance, Avcıoğlu, 1962c; Avcıoğlu, 1963b). Planning would be complemented with nationalization. The economic programs of the major leftist movements and organizations of the sixties was calling for nationalization of foreign companies, foreign trade, banking, credit institutions, insurance companies, and some large enterprises in heavy industry, transport, and mining (see, for instance, Aybar, 1968, pp.663-665; Belli, 1970, pp.220-221; Boran, 1968, pp.258-259, 268).

Conclusion

So far, I have focused on the ideology of national developmentalism as it was understood by the Turkish left in the 1960s. Developmentalism preaching an autonomous and national development strategy was one of the basic characteristics of the left in Turkey. The common belief was that a dependent and underdeveloped country could only develop by delinking from world capitalist system, breaking all ties with the Western imperialism and adopting a development strategy composed of state ownership, industrialization and central, compulsory and state-led planning. This strategy was thought to elevate Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization.

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DETERMINATION OF CITIZEN'S PERCEPTION ON PUBLIC SECURITY – FREEDOM RELATIONSHIP

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Abstract

The question "if security is a prerequisite for freedom, can freedom be sacrificed for the sake of security" is one of the main questions of security studies recently. A state is supposed to produce policies aiming to provide public security for their citizens to enjoy their freedom. However, it is the dilemma of securitization policies that limits freedoms.

As for Turkey, it has been dealing with several serious security problems both inside and outside at the present day so public security policies are felt by everyone. The incumbent government has been responding these security issues with different policies ranging from military operations to state of emergency. At this point, how these policies are taken by citizens, what kind of threats they posed in the context of freedom are the questions addressed in this study. Questionnaires aiming to find the answers of these questions will be carried out nationwide and evaluated in the light of empiric data.

Keywords: Public Security, security- freedom, Turkey

1. Introduction

Public security stands out as a problematic issue in constitutional states in which freedom is essential and restrictions are tolerated in theory, for the sake of some exceptional and significant freedoms. Public security is a phenomenon which takes place in many areas of law and can be decisive in some settings (Arslan, 2006: 121-136). However, the problem is that the measure that determines this decisiveness, shows historical, geographical and even conjunctural changes. One of the causes of the worrisome consequences of this situation in constitutional applications is that there might exist a phenomenon that the public safety is completely left to the initiative of either the government or the judicial body, which would restrict the fundamental rights. In this case the following question arises: On what criteria does a freedom be regulated, registered and would sanctions be imposed when that freedom gets abused? Roughly, this answer can be given: The primary measure is to ensure that the relevant freedom is used in accordance with its purpose. The use of a freedom (direct or indirect) may lead to different purposes such as, contributing to social development by guaranteeing fundamental rights and contributing to public development in order to serve the public interest. Whichever comes out, it is essential to take a "balance" between personal expectation and public interest (Güzelsarı, 2003: 17-34). Freedoms are organized according their limitation and enforcement. Therefore, a sanction is predicted according to the violated value after a freedom gets abused. In this respect, "public security" can be taken as a criterion (Çetindağ, 2004: 7-9).

The reason why the government takes public security measures is usually associated with the public order (Waltz, 1986: 243). The concept of public order is the provision of security and peaceful life for individuals in legally open public places (Odyakmaz et al., 2009: 501). The ambiguity of this individual - based definition creates the

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risk of giving the government the right to enforce unlawful actions/ policies for the protection and maintenance of public order. In order to minimize this risk, it is necessary to significantly define what is public order.

The existence of social life depends on ensuring internal order and law enforcement activities which serve this purpose. Individual rights and freedoms are restricted within law enforcement activities by the virtue of public benefit, which is the sum of non- personal benefits (Buzan, 1997: 11-23). Law enforcement limits the rights and freedoms of people, to the extent that the legislative body determines, for ensuring social order. Law enforcement is an activity which focuses on the prevention of issues, which adversely affect the public order, by the provision, maintenance and restoration of public order and, if necessary, by the use of force (Ayhan, 2006: 108). Security measures and practices within the scope of law enforcement is an important issue that must be discussed in the context of security-freedom, as it creates a restrictive effect on personal freedoms.

Undoubtedly, governments have the authority to restrain certain freedoms in order to ensure public safety, but this authority should not be at a level that limits the fundamental rights and freedoms such as unfairly detaining the individuals or creating common anxiety (Polat, 2010: 32). Security and freedom are concepts that are independent of each other, but they are complementary elements. At this point, the most rational choice for societies is not to choose security over freedoms, but to provide a continuous balance between the two concepts (Yılmaz et al., 2016: 132-146).

Therefore, this study investigates the impact of individuals' perceptions of public security, on fundamental rights and freedoms in Turkey. This study also examines the psychological factors shaping the perception of security-freedom and the effects of the public order relations between the individuals and the government on the perception of freedom. In this context, the reflections of public security regulations on individuals are analyzed.

2. The Balance of Security- Freedom and the Government

Freedom is among the most basic human values, while public order is vital for social life. Of course, people can only feel free and act freely in a safe environment. People need to be safe (in a safe environment) so that they can act freely and use their basic rights (Boukalas, 2016: 41-66). However, this fact does not mean that freedom and security for human existence have equal values. Although security is necessary for social existence, it is still not a value in itself, but an instrumental quality for freedom and other values (Schmitt, 2005: 122). The fact that security is not an independent value can also be explained by it being an inherent origin of freedom. In other words, where freedom and fundamental rights are secured, public security is already achieved to a great extent. It is doubtful that security is a value in itself, apart from serving freedom, human rights and social peace (Erdoğan, 2013: 23).

The security- freedom dilemma has recently been discussed in countries that have existed since the birth of the state contract and have become similar units that resemble each other in globalization. It is a dilemma because a game of zero sum between security and freedom occurs when one chooses one to the other and the gain of one is regarded as the loss of the other (Küçüksolak, 2012: 15-31).

The idea that public order can often be achieved at the expense of freedom, causes the government to suppress the civil society by imposing pressures on security measures, restricting fundamental rights and freedoms, and using these measures as a mean of oppression to maintain its power. In other words, human rights provide an assurance against the repressive tendencies of the government. The easiest and understandable reason for legitimizing this

tendency is to improve safety. A statist approach which is against rights and freedom, is the approach of having pure safety (Erdoğan, 2013: 24-27).

According to this approach, everything concerning the daily life of individuals has now become an object of the government. The most important function of this type of governments is to encompass all aspects of life, and their primary duty is to manage citizen's life (Hardt and Negri 2003: 48). Neocleus (2013) describes this as the construction of social order. Neocleous (2013) defines the utterance of public order as an element which is often resorted in the use of power and as a method of obtaining power. Public order is a legitimating ammunition used by the government to both ease the construction of a liberal order and constantly reshape the politics and society. Thus, the government shapes our lives and our thinking by making public order the main justification and creates subjects- citizens who are always ready to support the use of violence for the sake of protecting the current regime. The result of this is to create a "wall of security" against even the smallest request of freedom (Neocleous 2013: 15-23).

"State of exception", is an example of a statist approach for maintaining public order. The state of exception, which expresses extraordinary situations, has been a method that governments have applied to protect themselves since the Roman Republic. The state of emergency and similar practices, which can be defined as exceptional forms of administration in case the state encounters an extraordinary situation that does not allow it to deal with ordinary judiciary rules and practices, are not arbitrary regimes (Tekinsoy, 2011: 66-79). Even in such unusual circumstances, it is not possible to take and implement any measures that the legislative and executive authorities want in the face of a threat or danger to the existence of a democratic regime. That is why in modern democracies there are regimes, which are founded by constitution and laws, under the state of emergency (Behçet 2014: 1).

Especially after the September 11 attacks, the question of how freedom and human rights should be linked to security has become even more of a global concern. In the United States, legislative and administrative arrangements, especially the Patriot Act, entrust the government and the judiciary with a wide range of monitoring, surveillance and research authority (Tomz and Van Houweling, 2008: 303-318). This law, gives the authority to define any political group as a "terrorist" organization, restricts judicial supervision, authorizes uninformed searches on houses and workplaces, allow entry to individuals' education, health and finance records, prevents phone calls and internet access if necessary (Urbinati and Warren, 2008: 387-412). Again, this law criminalizes certain forms of expressions that are considered as terrorist incentives. This law also allows defendants, who are not American citizens, to be detained without any charge and remain in custody for a long time without trial (Erdoğan, 2013: 22). More examples can be given, but it can be said that the tendency towards the "security state" has increased in the neo-liberal period after 2000.

3. Security Policies in Turkey

Turkey has been dealing with both internal security issues and chronic security problems in its region, since its emergence as a nation state (Haspolat, 2010: 78). The dominant paradigm that determines its security policies in recent years is the same paradigm that emerged after 9/11, which removes the internal/ external distinction in the issue of security. In other words, "the war strategy against terrorism" has stopped to be an internal issue of the state and has begun to be evaluated on the international scale (Özkazanç, 2005: 132). Hence, while the dilemma of security- freedom is being discussed, the effect of this paradigm on Turkey should be taken into consideration.

The government's security policy was agreed upon and carried out by a single source up until the multiparty era (Uzgel, 2006: 7-18). However, after the transition to the multiparty era, political parties have been differed by their security policies and included these policies in their party programs (Bayramoğlu, 2005: 102). Therefore, every party's approach to the government's security policy have been differed from each other because of these factors: Their position on the political level, mass of voters, and ideological background. Besides, security issues of Turkey have changed and diversified over time, and therefore, the area allocated for freedom has been affected by this change. Recently (the internal issues were internationalized), Turkey has faced some security issues such as PKK, ISIS, Syrian civil war and events of July 15. At this point, methods like military operations, security measures and the state of emergency are used to protect the security of the country. In particular, the state of emergency is a policy which directly affects the individuals and inevitably the freedom. It is important to know the reflection of this situation on individuals in terms of determining the relation between freedom and policies that concern security.

4. Study's Methodology

This field study analyzes the effect of individuals' perceptions of public security policies to their fundamental rights and freedoms in Turkey. It also examines the psychological factors that shape the perception of security-freedom and the effects of public order relations between the individuals and the government on the perception of freedom. In this context, this study has tried to reveal the reflections of public safety applications on individuals.

The research population is Turkey in general. The main axis for this empirical study made on this population has been selected as the Statistical Region Units Classification (IBBS) made by TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute). Based on Level 1 and Level 2, a total of 12 regions, 26 provinces and the sample selected from people aged 18 years or older for each province according to the number of registered voters in these provinces were examined. In this framework, a comprehensive literature search for the purpose and scope of the empirical application of the first study was made and a conceptual infrastructure for empirical research was prepared in a detailed way and the research was put into practice in the context of the study. The following method has been used to reach the subjects in all regions: The all city and town centers included in the survey are divided into two general groups according to their socio-economic status and population structure as "business districts" and "dwellings". According to the same criteria, the dwellings are divided into three sub-categories: low, middle and high-income groups. A neighborhood was selected from both the high and low- income groups and two neighborhoods were selected from the middle- income group, and a questionnaire was made on these neighborhoods. Approximately 30% of the sample of the research were made up of workplaces and 70% were made up of dwellings. Both in workplaces and in dwellings the questionnaire was applied by using systematic random sampling method.

In this study, a close- ended written questionnaire prepared and information obtained from the literature were used for gathering data and information. The distribution of the questionnaire forms and the collection process took place in between March 1, 2018 and March 31, 2018. The rate of participation of the survey has been in such level as to reflect the general thought of the research population. 9870 of the 10000 questionnaire forms were taken into consideration.

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Table 1. Socio- Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Gender	Frequency	%	Education	Frequency	%
Male	5481	55,5	Only literate	403	4,1
			Primary School	1317	13,3
Female	4389	44,5	Secondary School	1377	14
			High School	2940	29,8
			University +	3833	38,8
Marital Status			**Level of Income**		
Married	4775	48,4	100-1000 TL	1858	18,8
Single	4334	43,9	1001-3000 TL	5278	53,5
Widow/er	411	4,2	3001-5000 TL	1477	15
Divorced	350	3,5	5001 +	401	4,1
			No income	856	8,7
Age			**Occupation**		
18-24	3411	34,6	State official	1737	17,6
			Self- employment	1099	11,1
25-34	2363	23,9	Farmer	964	9,8
			Tradesmen	1513	15,3
35-44	2084	21,1	Worker	1505	15,2
			Employer	265	2,7
45-54	1303	13,2	Retired	398	4
			Housewife	1145	11,6
55+	709	7,2	Student	712	7,2
			Unemployed	532	5,4
Total	**9870**	**100**	**Total**	**9870**	**100**

5. Analysis and Findings

This study has been conducted to detect what factors are influencing individuals' older than 18 years (voters) perceptions on freedom and security, and to analyze the relationship between these factors. The analysis of the data and the findings obtained are as follows.

5.1. Thoughts on the Balance of Public Security and Freedom

Public security is a standardized justification for the restriction of rights and freedoms (Held, 1987: 89). Even the European Convention of Human Rights allows the contracting countries to temporarily violate the certain provisions of the contract during an emergency that threatens public safety. However, the definition of public security can be abused when put under the responsibility of public authorities (Ergül, 2012: 20-45). Turkish society does not consider public security as a threat to their freedom.

The following tables contain levels of participation towards the public security-freedom balance.

Table 2. Which concept is more important for you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Freedom	4064	41.2	41.2	41.2
	Equality	1839	18.6	18.6	59.8
	Solidarity	1204	12.2	12.2	72.0
	Welfare	484	4.9	4.9	76.9
	Security	2113	21.4	21.4	98.3
	No idea	166	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

There is common perception about Turkish society giving more importance to the values that serve the common interest of the community, however the results have shown that the society cares more about the value of **personal freedom**. Freedom is seen as the most important value among the values such as equality, solidarity, welfare and security with a rate of 41.2% when the subjects are asked "which concept is more important for you?". One-fourth of the participants consider the concept of "equality" as the most important value. The following concept is "security". Its degree of validation is 21.4%.

Table 3. Living in a democratic country is how important for you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	7209	68.3	68.3	68.3
	Important	1093	11.1	11.1	79,4
	Not Important	649	6.6	6.6	86.0
	Not important at all	919	9.3	9.3	95.3
	No idea	465	4.7	4.7	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

There is a general consensus about the importance of living in a democratic government. A small fraction of the participants considers living in a democratic country to be insignificant. Although it differs in the way it is defined and implemented, it is important that the democratic administration is important for the society in general. Therefore, this shows that democracy is a necessary element of legitimacy for all the governments in Turkey.

Table 4. To what extent Turkey has a democratic administration today?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Full democracy	1936	19.6	19.6	19.6
	Partly democracy	4246	43.0	43.0	62.6
	No democracy	3096	31.4	31.4	94.0
	No idea	592	6.0	6.0	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

Participants are not pessimistic about the democratic nature of the regime in Turkey. 19,6% of the subjects describes the regime as full democracy and 43% think that the regime is half (partly) democracy. Democracy is a way to describe the nature of the political regime in Turkey, but this is not mature for the vast majority of cases. Moreover, 31.4% of the participants claim that the country is not democratic at all.

Table 5. Which type of ideas should be restricted to be expressed by the government?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Violence prone thoughts	2330	23.6	23.6	23.6
	Racist thoughts	2802	28.4	28.4	52.0
	Thoughts against the government	370	7.1	7.1	59.1
	Thoughts which criticizes religious values	1697	17.2	17.2	76.3
	No thought should be restricted	2671	23.7	23.7	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

Even though there is a consensus on freedom of expression, there are some exceptions to this stance. 28.4% of the respondents think that the government should ban the racist thoughts. In addition, 23.6% choose violent prone thoughts, 17.2% choose thoughts criticizing religious values and 7.1% choose thoughts against the government. Nonetheless, 23.7% of respondents think that freedom of expression should not be restricted under any circumstances. When this questionnaire was prepared in different way which includes main issues coming into question from time to time, the percentage of answers were collected as follows: 32% of the participants choose "Turkey's territorial integrity", 24% choose "national unity", 14% choose religious values, 5% choose Ataturk and 2% choose secularism as main issues for restricting freedom of expression. However, similarly %23 of the participants think that the freedom of expression cannot be restricted in any way.

Table 6. Do you agree with the following opinions on the laws and rules made by the government concerning your private life?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	There are more laws and rules than necessary that restrict my private life	2959	30.0	30.0	30.0
	The amount of laws and rules is necessary	4021	40.9	40.9	70.9
	There are not enough laws and rules to direct my private life	2890	29.1	29.1	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

Participants cannot be said to be uncomfortable with the regulatory role of the government. Only 30% of the respondents' state that there are too many legislations that restrict their private lives, while 40.9% think that this number is necessary. 29.1% of the participants complain that there are not enough regulations to create an authority to regulate their private lives.

Table 7. Can the government restrict the freedom of thought for the sake of public security?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3043	30.8	30.8	30.8
	No	5848	59.1	59.1	89.9
	No idea	979	10.1	10.1	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

Public security is a standardized justification for the restraint of rights and freedoms. Even the European Convention on Human Rights allows the contracting countries to temporarily violate certain provisions of the contract in an emergency that threatens public safety. However, the definition of public safety can be abused if left to public authorities. Turkish society does not consider public security as a threat to their freedoms. 59.1% of the participants believe that the government should not restrict freedom of expression.

Table 8. Which of the following is the government's top priority task?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	To maintain public order of the country	3908	41.4	41.4	41.4
	To ensure the freedom and rights of the individuals	4129	43.8	43.8	85.2
	No idea	1395	14.8	14.8	100.0
	Total	9432	100.0	100.0	

Participants seem to be divided between the search for security or freedom. According to 43.8% of the participants, the main duty of the government is to protect the rights and freedoms of its citizens. The safety and order are considered as the main duty of the government by 41.4% of the subjects.

Table 9. What do you think about obedience to the government?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I obey the government's rules	3679	37.3	37.3	37.3
	I do not obey the rules of the government that are not right for me	2093	21.2	21.2	58.5
	I respect the rules of the government that are not right for me, but I also criticize them	3222	32.6	32.6	91.1
	No idea	876	8.9	8.9	100.0
	Total	9870	100.0	100.0	

The idea of the government is believed to be stronger in Turkey and the Turkish people tend not to fall opposite with the authorities. It is useful at this point to understand to what extent people are ready to bow to the government and to comply with the rule of law. A one third of the participants said that they would obey any rules that would be imposed by the government. Another one third says they will follow the rules they do not approve but

will continue to criticize them. 21.2% say they will not comply with the rules they do not approve. It seems that society looks at the government more critically than estimated.

6. Conclusion

The security- freedom dilemma is examined in terms of the individuals in Turkey. The individuals' ideas about this dilemma has been tried to be determined especially in these times when the diversification of Turkey's security problems increased both internally and regionally. It is important to analyze public safety policies to assess security and freedom at a time when there are shocking events in the region and in the country. At the same time, to find out what is wrong with the measures taken for these problems holds a crucial importance.

Socio-demographic and socio-economic variables such as gender, marital status, age, educational status, occupation and income status were determined. In order to understand the relationship between these socio-demographic and socio-economic variables and public security perceptions, the participants were asked to answer the question "Can the Government restrict the freedom of thought for the sake of public security?".

There was no significant difference between gender variable and the participants' public security perceptions. In other words, at the point of forgoing the freedom of speech for public safety in Turkey, there is no difference in individuals' attitudes whether they are male or female. The same applies to the marital status variable. The marital status is not a determinant factor for the public security perception. Singles mostly support the fact that freedom of thought should not be restricted for the sake of public security. However, it should be noted that the number of the "yes" do not outnumber the number of the answer "no" in any subgroup of this variable.

There was a significant relationship between age variable and the public security perception. While young people tend to not give up their freedom of thought for the sake of public security, the importance given to the freedom of thought falls as the age average exceeds 35. It can be stated that while young people see their future in their freedom of thought, people above the age 35 see their future in their safety. While young people are not afraid of freedom of thought, people over 35 develop a more conservative and security-based attitude as their age increases. At this point it is worth investigating the perspective differences of those aged between 18-25 and over 35 years in Turkey. Understanding what these differences are and what are the factors that influence these different attitudes of these two groups, will serve to understand the gap between generations in terms of political and freedom attitudes.

The findings clearly show that the educational situation should be viewed as another variable that affects view of public safety. As the education rate increases, the importance given to the freedom of thought increases and it is not considered as an obstacle to public security. The majority of those who are literate and primary school graduates think that freedom of thought can be restricted for the sake of public safety. As the level of education increases, the importance attributed to freedom of thought increases. This situation is even more evident when the level of education is analyzed together with the data on occupation. For example, housewives have the highest percentage who claim that the government may restrict freedom of thought for the sake of public safety, on the other hand students and state officials have the lowest percentage regarding this point. Another interesting data on occupation data is that employers, or bosses, support the freedom of thought with a high percentage. Employers support the freedom of thought by recognizing that economically developed countries are also the most comfortable countries in terms of freedom of thought. In general, employers are in favor of the fact that public safety policies should not limit the freedom of thought, status quo.

Governments legitimize the laws that restrict freedoms in order to control the social structure and win the electorate ranks. Especially after September 11, the policy, "there would be no freedom without security" were spread all over the world. This idea is constantly processed at the point where the society consents to the security policies of the authority. The importance of safety is always emphasized the slogan, "the supremacy of the country", and politics keep getting developed in this direction. The purpose behind "perpetuity" discourse can be addressed in two basic frameworks. First, there is a framework that ensures the security of the government, which represents the liberal point of view. For that view, the key is to protect the individual and the society. According to this view security policies and practices are necessary and should not be questioned. Second, there is a view that represents a critical perspective on security and argues that the government aims to regenerate its power under the pretext of security and maintains its position. Security applications such as, taking control of society, increasing social oversight, the state of emergency etc. can be given as examples to this view.

It is understandable that security and freedom have been portrayed as two opposed poles in this study, due to the fact that Turkey have been through harsh and still continuing security problems at the time of the research. It could be stated that, the increasing public polarization and surveillance application during the state of emergency, have played a significant role in this situation.

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RECESSIONARY DEBT ACCELERATOR AND POSSIBLE EFFECT OF THE INFLATION TARGETING ON FINANCIAL BUBBLE IN 2008 CRISIS

George V. Perendia*

Abstract

This research is posting a hypothesis to the likely existence of an, to our knowledge, overlooked, "positive" (accelerating) channel. This additional channel may have even further suppressed consumption demand due to cash-flow difficulties caused initially by rises of existing, floating loan interest rates in heavily indebted economies.

Consequently, this channel potentially contributed to both, recessionary trends and the prolonged depression in both the 1929 and 2008 crises. This paper introduces new derived variable, the total real cost of borrowings, or, the real credit revenue factor. Rather than using just a real rate of return as the cost of borrowing, we can observe the total amount of the real return on the borrowing based on real rate of return inflation-adjusted credit revenue. This real credit revenue that is in great part eliminated from the real economy would constitute probably the main factor in triggering the Minsky Effect for 2007 crisis.

Keywords: Economic Crisis, Inflation Targeting, Credit Money

1 Introduction

To be able to understand better my comments in analysis of the existing literature on the causes of two major recessions the earlier described 1930s and the 2007, I would like at this stage to introduce a theory of potentially novel or, at least a possibly neglected channel for interest rate affecting economy – a **recessionary debt accelerator** (initially discussed as part of Perendia (2010) that can probably be also referred to as the **household demand recessionary debt accelerator,** a likely root for the **Minsky point**. The aim of this research is to explore a hypothesis and show that this channel may have significantly contributed to the recent 2007-08 financial and economic crisis known as the Great Recession, but very likely, to the earlier ones including Great Depression too.

We are here showing how a combination of factors such as inflation targeting, investment globalisation and an almost forgotten and factor, that the banks are creators of credit money, rather than just intermediaries of loanable funds (Jilek and Matousek 2010 and Jakab and Kumhof 2015), contributed to the recent crisis.

2 Seeds of the Great Recession and Globalisation

2.1 Inflation Targeting

A lot has been written on inflation targeting (IT) within the mainstream, central-bank's and NK synthesis academic literature (e.g. see the original Taylor (1993), the inflation forecast-based rules in Batini and Pearlman 2002, or the inflation forecast targeting rules in Svensson and Woodford 2003, Jonas and Mishkin 2005).

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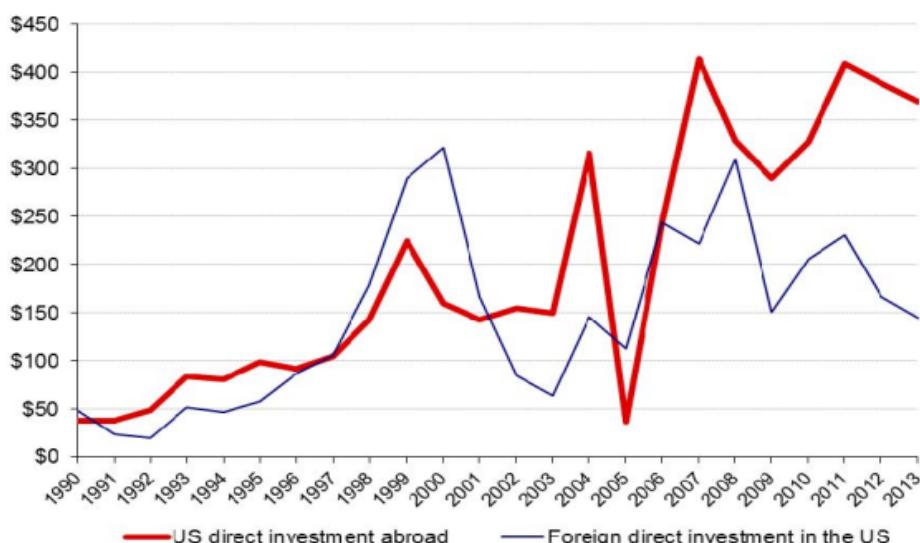
George V. Perendia

On the side of heterodox and PK, there was a lot of discussion and divisions: some authors rejecting IT, others accepting it with modifications. Some early woks are by Lavoie and Seccareccia (1998) and Lavoie (1999). More recently, Rochon and Rossi (2005) show correlation between introduction of IT in countries that adopted it and reduction of wage-share in income comparing with non-adopting countries. Setterfield (2006) develops a PK model for IT and Lima and Setterfield (2008) build upon it and analyse if there are real stabilisation benefits from implementing IT.

2.2 Foreign Direct Investment Abroad and Globalisation

Whilst many authors focused on the collapse of mortgage based securities and their derivatives (MBS) as the trigger for 2007/8 crisis (e.g. Kamin and DeMarco, 2010), and the subsequent international contagion of the financial crisis once it started, only a few other research papers have been dedicated to the background relation between the Great Recession on one, and, the international trade and globalisation on the other end. These two aspects have however been analysed in relative isolation from the international financial economics sector. Whilst the financial globalisation boom accompanied by the flow of relatively large-scale private investment, in great part directly from the developed countries into the emerging and developing ones has been widely discussed and analysed, the resulting domestic under-investment and its effects have been largely neglected. The actual FDI flow and their cumulative values are difficult to track down.

Figure 2.1: Foreign Direct Investment into the United States and U.S. Direct Investment Abroad, Annual Flows, 1990-2012 (in billions of dollars) showing that outflow outpaced inflows in the years preceding and the after the recent crisis.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Note: The drop in U.S. direct investment abroad in 2005 reflects actions by U.S. parent firms to reduce the amount of reinvested earnings going to their foreign affiliates for distribution to the U.S. parent firms in order to take advantage of one-time tax provisions in the American Jobs Creation Act of 2004 (P.L. 108-357).
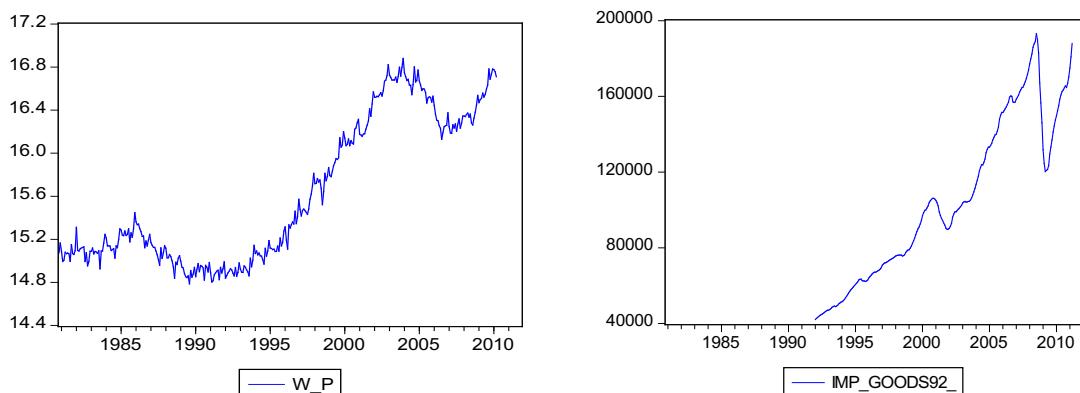
(Reproduced from Jackson (2012))

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

Drawing on Ricardian principles of comparative advantage, economists of all backgrounds were hoping for the better overall output and welfare outcome for both of the worlds. Jackson (2012) for example claims that there is no conclusive evidence of actual job shifting abroad and that majority (cca. 70%) of the US FDI abroad went into the developed, mainly EU countries with similar wages.

However, in addition to corporate FDI, there are other flows of investment funds. A Post-Keynesian economist, Paul Davidson (2011) pointed-out, the Ricardian law of comparative advantage expects that both capital and labour are confined to their countries. Davidson points out that, whilst the labour (and some other endowment factors) was mainly confined, the capital was not, and so, the resulting flow of foreign direct investment into developing countries lead to outsourcing of the industrial production and services, and invalidated the original Ricardian law.

Krugman (1997b) was aware of the dangers of capital outflow to the developing countries but his view at the time was that the outflows (contemporary at the time), were too small to be able to affect the local wages. Leamer (1996) however, shows that consumer prices of tradable goods and salaries even in 1970s by about 30% and by a 40% respectively for unskilled worker. The author also performs a component analysis and shows that the globalisation was the dominant factor over technological advance, which is usually perceived to be the main factor for such wage decline. The two graphs below do show a striking coincidence of declining real hourly wages (deflated using GDP deflator) from mid-2003 to mid-2006 and a sharp rise of imported goods over the same period.

Figure 2.2: US real hourly wages (USD) and Figure 2.3: US Import


Davidson (2011) also claims that the resulting higher overall output by all involved countries was not automatically matched and absorbed by the sufficient rise in the demand for those tradable goods and services across the globalised world.
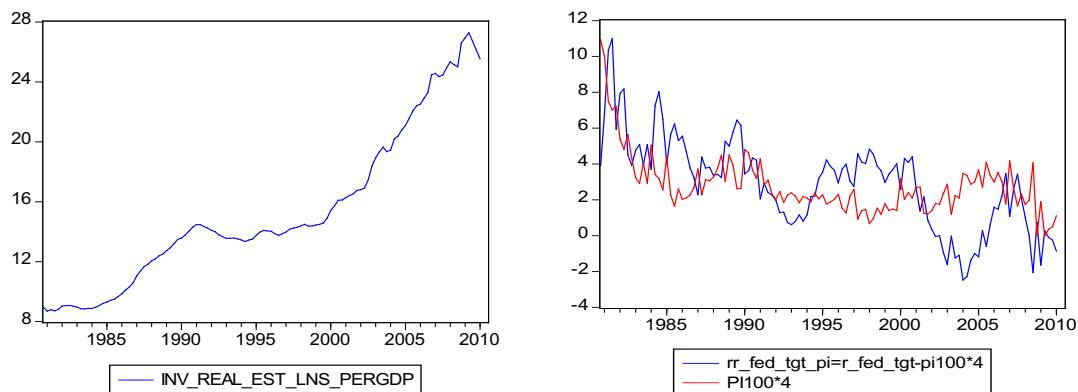
2.2 Introduction to Interest Rate Triggered Recessionary Debt Accelerator

This research is posting a hypothesis of existence of another, not explicitly investigated, "positive" (accelerating) feedback factor that could have suppressed consumption demand due to cash-flow difficulties caused initially by rises of existing, floating loan interest rates in heavily indebted economies, triggering both, recessionary trends and the prolonged depression in a way that has not been explored so far. Namely, we question if it is likely that the central bank's contractionary policy at that time of high level of both, private (mainly real-estate) and public debt, may have contributed more directly and with a higher accelerating effect to the severe demand downturns in both durable and non-durable sectors (Mishkin 1978). Here is introduced a possibly neglected channel for interest rate affecting economy – a **recessionary debt accelerator** (Perendia 2010) that may have significantly contributed to both, the recent 2007-08 financial and economic crisis known as the Great Recession, and very likely, the earlier Great Depression.

Figures 2.4: Real estate investment loans as % of GDP and 2.5: the US Fed policy target "real"
rate (blue) showing its substantial rise from 2004 to 2007 compared to inflation (red):

A monetary tightening (e.g. an interest rate rise) at a time of high levels of both household and corporate debt triggered a remaining cash-flow crisis and then debt-accelerated demand-cutting positive feedback (i.e. spiralling decelerator) effect. This accelerator's positive feedback affected the cash-flows, demand for both the (every-day) non-durable, and even more for the (usually) debt-financed durable goods and services and triggered bankruptcies as early as 2005 at the rise of Fed rate, their 2nd wave and unemployment later and, in whole 2006-8 period, the multitude of foreclosures.
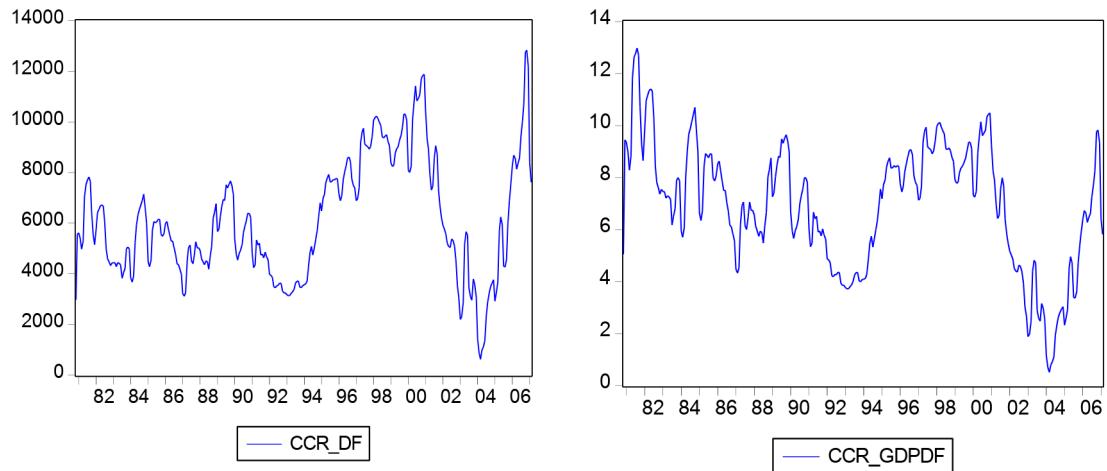
2.3 The Total Real Cost of Borrowings – The Real Credit Revenue Minsky Factor

Rather than using just a real rate of return as the cost of borrowing, we can observe the total amount of the real return on the borrowing based on real rate of return (rr) multiplied by the inflation-adjusted (deflated) total credit borrowing, or **real credit revenue:**

ccr_df= total_credit_deflated * rr   (2.1)

This **real credit revenue** that is eliminated from the real economy would constitute the real, and probably the main factor in triggering the Minsky Effect.

Figures 2.3.1 and 2.3.2: total real return on credit and its level in relation to
GDP using monthly US data 1980-2007.

We can notice that, with some variations, the total amount of borrowing return, main income of retail baking is rather stationary, especially before 1995 deregulations, and steadily increasing in its value and variance.
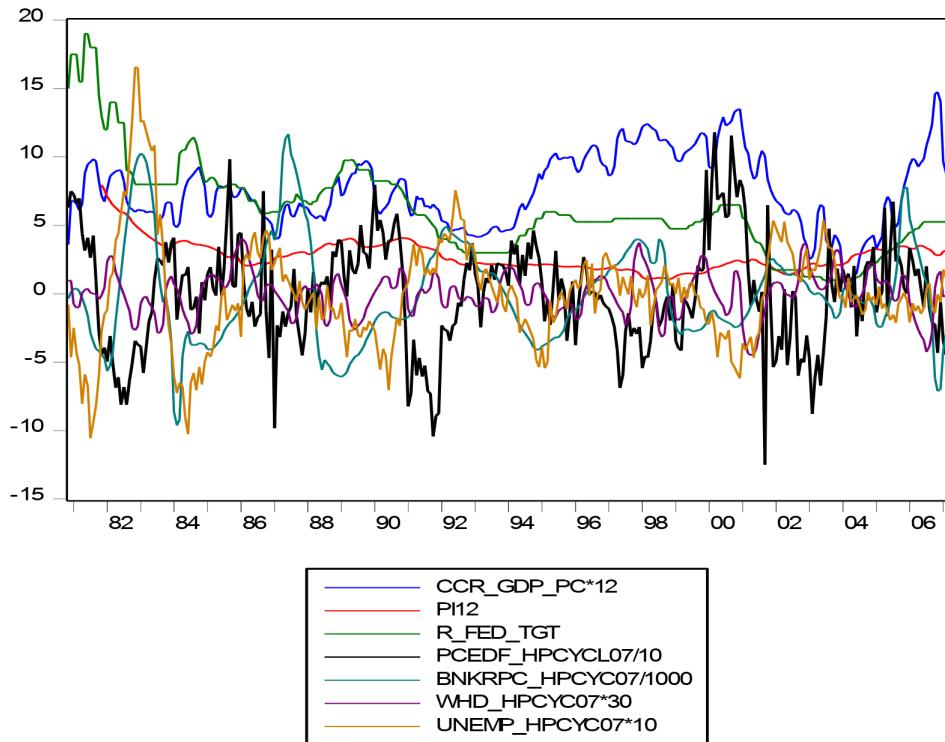
2.4 VAR Estimation Data – Preparation and Inspection

In this section for later econometric analysis we use a set of US monthly data downloaded from US Fed from Nov. 1989 to Feb. 2007, mostly HP detrended and then normalised (except for the Fed policy rate and inflation) and, also, had added a derived total return on credit/loans as per above section. This work was done in Eviews.

Figure 2.4.1: Combined, overlapping graphs of major measures or their HP cycles, normalised to fit the illustration and allow easier comparison (See Appendix A.1 Figure A1.1.1 for the individual data graphs)

Where: CCR- Consumer credit real rate return (blue) per GDP: CCR = CC *rr /GDP
where rr = real interest rate: rr = prime_rate - inflation

PI12 – Annualised inflation

R_FED_TGT – US Federal Reserve policy target rate.

PCEDF HPCYCL07 – HP filter cycle component of deflated personal consumption

BNKRPC_HPCYC – HP filter cycle component of bankruptcies

WHD_HPCYC – HP filter cycle component of hourly wage

UNEMP_HPCYC -HP filter cycle component of unemployment rate (however, in the VAR analysis we will be using more reliable and informative employment data:

EMP_HPCYC - HP filter cycle component of employment hours

The above figure shows overlapping graphs of major measures or their HP cycles, normalised to allow easier inspection of their correlation and timings (See Appendix A.1 Figure A1.1.1 for individual data graphs). We can see that credit return payment increased 6 fold from 2003 to 2006, boosting banking revenues and profits and depleting households' and SMEs' liquidity and consumption demand ability. The consumption demand level

continued to increase but its growth declined sharply from the growing trend from 2005 (this being the case until late 2007 when the Fed and the real return interest rates started falling).

2.4.1 Further Data Analysis and Tests Discussion

In this section, econometric methods are applied to the set of US data downloaded from US Fed and HP detrended[1].

In Appendix A 1, Table A.1.1: VAR estimation measures of R^2 we can observe that the variable least explainable by others is private consumption demand with its R^2 0.69 comparing with most of other being above 0.95. This is because, the lifestyle rigidity (including habit) drives the rigidity (or the "stickiness") of private consumption demand so that even increased income from e.g. interest rate revenue, does not immediately find its way in increased consumption demand by the savers as expected by the classic macro models, but, as explained earlier, to great part probably goes into re-investment.[2] In fact, the consumption demand level continued to increase but declined sharply from such its trend from 2005 coinciding with the rise in the interest rates and the credit revenues.

2.4.2 VAR Estimations and Comparison with Standard DSGE IRFs

Using same data downloaded from US Fed, an unrestricted VAR(12) was estimated using more reliable and informative employment data (EMP_HPCYC - HP filter cycle component of employment hours) instead unemployment statistics. (For details please see Appendix 6.1). Here are presented fur sets of one standard deviation innovation impulse response functions (IRFs) with two standard deviation confidence ranges. The shocks analysed were to bankruptcies, consumption, employment, and finally, to the un-observed, derived variable private credit (loan debt) real interest revenue levels. (See Appendix 6.1, Fig. A.1.2 to A1.5 respectively).

The first three figures are illustrative of system reactions to shocks to observed variables and how the VAR responds usually pretty well along the lines of expected theory and stylised facts.

In figure A.1.2, unstructured VAR(12) for 60-month-(5 year) period response functions (with two standard deviations certainty range) to one standard deviation shock rise in bankruptcies indicates, as expected, that it is resulting in significantly long initial drops in consumption, wage and employment. It was as well generating increased volatility to credit interest return and its underlying real rate of interest.

In Fig A1.3 and A.1.4 we can see very similar (though opposite) effects from the one SD shocks to consumption demand and employment respectively on to the other respective endogenous variables including drops in bankruptcies. Note however that the visible "positive" effects to reducing bankruptcies and unemployment and rising wage to positive impulse to consumption demand should be imagined working in opposite if the shock was negative to consumption demand or employment driving economy downward.

Finally, but most importantly for this research, in figure A.1.5 we can see unstructured VAR(12), 60-month-(5 year) period response functions with two standard deviations certainty range to one SD shock rise in the newly derived variable, the private credit (loan debt) real interest revenue returns (D(CCR…) – i.e. we will use its first

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1 This initial and the later, VAR data analysis was done using Eviews.
2 And, for those with possibly decreased income, it will motivate loan borrowing and debt accumulation up to the level allowed by the banks.

difference (D(*)) due to unit root presence in the level data). It is resulting initially in some 15 month of substantial rise in bankruptcies and drop in wages (bottom left). It also triggers a rather volatile, and small rises, over some 15 initial month-periods in consumption demand and some 25 in employment, and, as well, volatile increases to the interest rates (however, the real rate of interest rr is one of its components anyway).

2.4.4 Discussion on Results

Whilst the above, first three IRF responses results are not overly surprising or new, the new and so far unexplored factor (un-observed but derived variable) there is the derived credit revenue per GDP and this is just a preliminary analysis. The responses to the credit return rise appear to have "positive" effects by increasing employment (which is unexpected) but, expectedly "negative" on increasing bankruptcies and lowering wage, which are likely triggers for a spiralling down-ward trend through their impact on consumption demand.

We also need to bear in mind that effects presented by IRFs are to one-off, one period increases whilst US economy was exposed to prolonged "shock" if not trend of policy and commercial interest rates increase over two years, 2005-2007.

3 Discussion: Debt Accelerator in Crises

3.1 The Bursts of the Economic and Financial System Bubbles
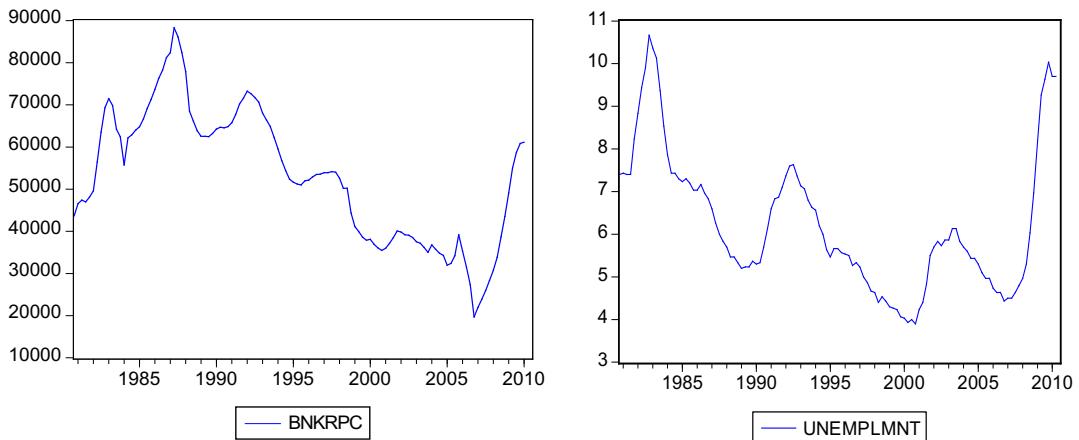
This research therefore, proposes that the interest rate rise induced "debt-accelerator" channel contributed to triggering the recent "Great Recession" of 2007 shortly preceded by a form of monetary tightening taking place in two periods of highly indebted private sector of US economy.

Many articles discuss the causes of the sub-prime mortgage based securities (SMBS) bubble and show how, after their collapse, the contagion of the resulting sub-prime bubble collapse spread beyond the borders of US and caused recession (e.g. Kamin and DeMarco 2010, Mishkin 2010, Kolb 2011 and Brender and Pisani 2010). Many of them also points to the drop in demand caused by the financial crash acting as the cause for the economic crisis that, according to their analysis, followed the financial crash, not explaining it.

However, during the time of the bubble bursting, corporate finance structures changed in favour of bank loan debt over equity. This made many businesses much more vulnerable to bankruptcy or liquidity problems when interest rates started rising between 2004 and 2006, thus accelerating the recessionary trend beyond that which historical data based model estimations would have predicted. For example, the foreclosures on sub-prime but adjustable rate mortgages (ARMs) exceeded foreclosures on any other type mortgage type. The cumulative rise since Q2 2006 also exceeds the fixed rate, either sub-prime or prime mortgage foreclosures, the number of which did not show much of a rise with the interest rate rise (Murphy 2009 and USGAO 2009).

Such an increased debt-to-equity ratio however, also accelerated the valuation downturn of both the corporate debt (bonds, if issued) and of the company shares as the risk premia shot up in the wake of increased bankruptcy risk. Again these moves were disproportionate to the historical data estimates, this in turn spiralling the corporate liquidity problems and bankruptcies of the small firms rising from late 2006 and, as well unemployment rising as early as Q1 2007 (see below figures).

Also, number of foreclosures[3] decreased in the period 2002-05 and started increasing again in 2006 slowly but not substantially until Q2 of 2007. That 2007 rise coincides if not follows the rise of unemployment and bankruptcies which started in Q1 2007 (fig. 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 below). **Figures 3.1.1 and 3.1.2: Second wave of bankruptcies and unemployment respectively, both start rising in 2007:**

The point we need to make here is that the rise in foreclosures seems to be more of a result of, or an accompanying (non-trivially) parallel, dynamically correlated channel with the two other major movements contributing to an overall recessionary trend – bankruptcies and unemployment - rather than their main cause. In addition, whilst there is no strong direct causal link from the rise of foreclosures to a major recession at this stage, there is definitely a direct causal link other way around, from the stagnation and minor recessionary trend to the increasing number of foreclosures.
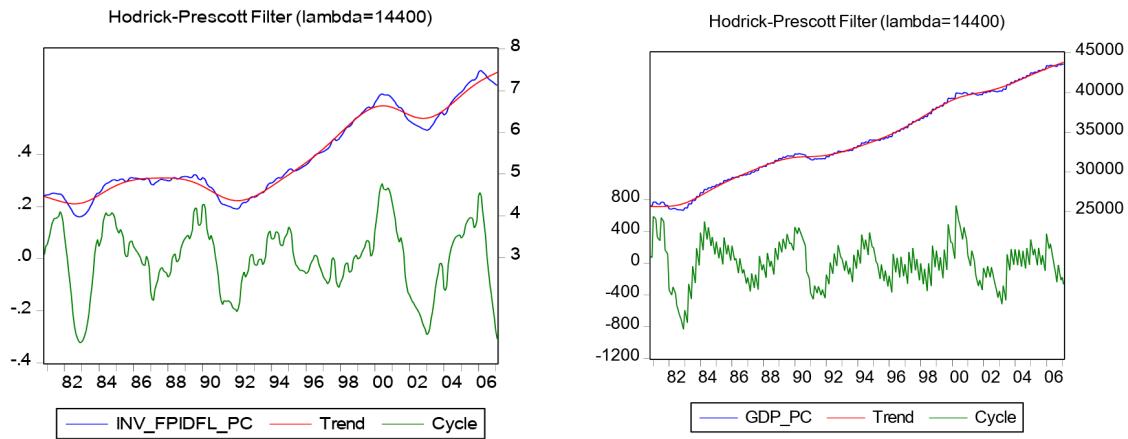
On the other hand, increase in foreclosures is likely to reduce credit-worthiness of the market and banks inclination to provide further credit, thus in turn facilitating further bankruptcies, unemployment and foreclosures. Schelkle (2011) analyses mortgage default theories and their fit to the US 2007 crisis defaults and identifies that a double problem, such as the occurrence of both, the negative equity and the unemployment, fits the US 2007 crisis data the best. Also, from the graphs below one can see that, though house prices peaked in Q2 2007 and started to decline in Q3 2007, their inflation started slowing as early as Q1 2005, and, thus, creating a pretext for occurrence of negative equity as early as mid-2006. This was the same quarter that private investment per-capita peaked and started its downward trend (see graph later below) and the overall GDP per capita slowing its growth below its mid-term trend, thus, both signalling slowdown though not yet a clear turn to a recessionary trend.

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3   Foreclosures 1999-2011 as % of loan customers per the US state have been the highest in Nevada (NV), Arizona (AZ), Florida (FL) and California (CA) (Source - N.Y. Fed)
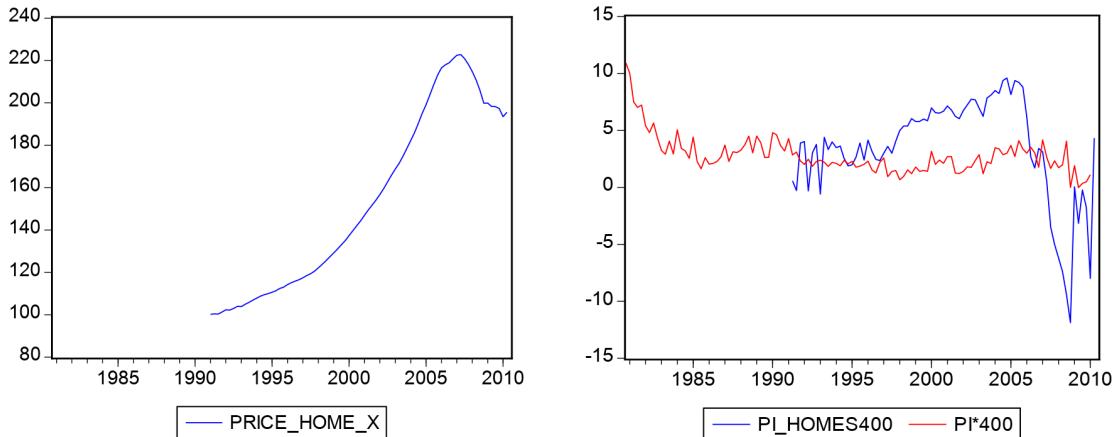
Figures 3.2.1: private investment per-capita (left) and 3.2.2: the overall GDP per capita and their HP filtered trends and deviations (right) respectively.

The increase in unemployment in early 2007 (fig. 5.1.2) then added the second necessary ingredient needed to accelerate the already started foreclosures, trigger the second wave of bankruptcies and finally, the financial crisis that further spiralled the economy along the now well-known path.

Fig. 3.1.6 Average US Home prices (left), and Fig. 3.1.7 (right): Annualised average US home, (blue) and consumer price (red) inflation.

But, as central banks, (e.g. US Fed) planners may appear not to have considered trends and changes in housing inflation or possibly even the level of overall debt, the impact of the increasing unemployment and foreclosures to became a threat to the economy to a sufficient extent, it continued raising the target base rate in Q3 2006 to 5.25%. They subsequently kept the rate at that high level until Q3 2007, two quarters after the unemployment

and bankruptcies had started rising rapidly, thus, apparently, fuelling the recession and the foreclosure trends (and the resulting financial crisis) even further.

Also, in the earlier figure 2.4.1, we can see that credit return payment increased 6 fold from 2003 to 2005, boosting banking profits and depleting households' and SMEs' liquidity and consumption demand ability. The consumption demand level declined from their trend in late 2007 when the central bank and the real return interest rates started falling. Real hourly wages declined in levels and potentially accelerated slowdown in consumption demand which seem to have been sticky due to lifestyle rigidity and whose fall was counteracted mainly by further increasing credit. However, this was only up to a time limit when further credit was not feasible due to fall in housing assets prices. Unemployment started eventually rising too which appears to have finally prompted lowering of the US Federal Reserve policy and the real interest rates later in 2007. These events are all however, leading towards the financial crisis and the crash: the collapses of the major banks and other financial institutions throughout 2008 and this research therefore concludes that it was the economic stagnation and a minor recessionary trend starting in late 2006 and early 2007 that contributed to, if not triggered, both the recession and, later, the financial crisis of the 2008, not the other way around as it is, often, I believe incorrectly, assumed. This is also in line with arguments of Goodhart and Hoffman (2004) who claimed that the two most famous economic disasters - the 1929 Great Depression in US and 1990 crisis in Japan - have both been caused by their respective central banks trying to prick market bubbles. A similar opinion but pertaining the 2007-8 crisis, was also voiced in a very recent blog by Muellbauer (2016). In fact, PK authors Levoie and Seccareccia (1988) show that almost all of situations of real interest rate rises above productivity levels in Canada from 1946 to 1983 resulted in recession. Similarly, almost every Federal Reserve policy interest rate increase over the last sixty years was followed by a recession.

4 Conclusions

This paper:

a) Introduces new derived variable, the total real cost of borrowings, or, the real credit revenue. Rather than using just a real rate of return as the cost of borrowing, we can observe the total amount of the real return on the borrowing based on real rate of return (rr), or **real credit revenue.** This **real credit revenue,** that is mostly eliminated from the real economy in favour for reinvestment or luxury trips abroad, would constitute probably the main factor in triggering the Minsky Effect.

b) poses a hypothesis that there was likely an additional channel that accelerated central banks' contractionary policy at that time of high levels of both private (mainly real-estate) and public debt, a channel that it may have inadvertently significantly contributed more directly and with a higher accelerating effect to the demand downturn effects in case of 2008 as it admittedly did in 1929 crisis, could refer to as the **household demand recessionary debt accelerator** which, author argues, is the source of so-called **Minsky point**.

Based on all of the above analysis, I therefore postulate as a hypothesis , that the rise of the interest rates midst increased debt in period 2004-2007, and hence, increased, income-debt leverage related risk of endogenous defaults (e.g. as in Kumhof et al.(2013)), is likely to have contributed to the mutually accelerated collapses of several of major factors ahead of the 2008 financial crisis: households' and SMEs' liquidity, housing prices and then their credit supply, all of them leading to the mutually accelerated reduction in consumption demand and rises in bankruptcies, foreclosures and, eventually, unemployment. Those then very likely contributed to the downward

spiral of a recessionary trend and triggering of other known decelerators and bursting of the bubble ahead of the financial crisis and, eventually, triggering it. I would refer to this, more neglected and overlooked rather than unknown additional channel as a **recessionary debt accelerator (or household demand Minsky recessionary debt accelerator)**

In addition, contrary to the expectations of classic economic and NK economic modellers who mostly consider US as a large closed economy where liquidity loss in one group of consumers (e.g. banks borrowers) will bring rise in another (i.e. savers) and balance-off the consumption, it happened that large parts of interest rate revenue were retained by banks rather than passed to savers, and some very large sums went into FDI abroad. Thus, a working hypothesis is that high real interest rates in combination with the foreign outflow exceeding the inflow of funds (fig. 2.1) and the new accelerator, then lead to lack of job creation, under-employment and recessionary trend before financial crash. However, additional empirical research is still required to confirm it.

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Appendix 1: VAR Impulse Response Functions' Outcomes

Data:

The original data are monthly, taken from US Federal Reserve FRED database and spanning from 11/1980 to 02/2007, covering the pre-2007/2008 crisis "Great Moderation" period.

Data are pre-processed or derived as follows:

CCR_GDP_PC- Consumer credit CC * real rate return and GDP:

CCR_GDP_PC = CC *rr /GDP*1000

however, due to a unit root, VAR uses its firs difference: D(CCR_GDP_PC)

R_FED_TGT – US Federal Reserve policy target rate.

PCEDF HPCYCL07 – HP filter cycle component of deflated personal consumption

BNKRPC_HPCYC – HP filtered bankruptcies

WHD_HPCYC – HP filtered hourly wage

UNEMP_HPCYC HP cycle of unemployment rate was used in initial trials but

EMP_HPCYC HP cycle of employment hours is used as a more reliable measure
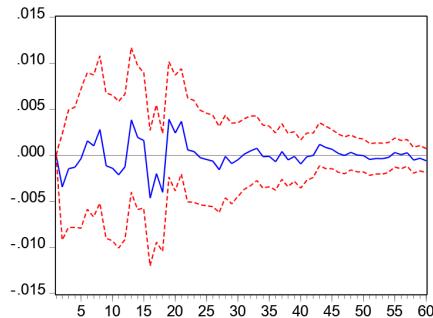
RR – real interest rate: rr = prime_rate – inflation

NOTES: A more comprehensive set of estimation results and IRFs are available on request.

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ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

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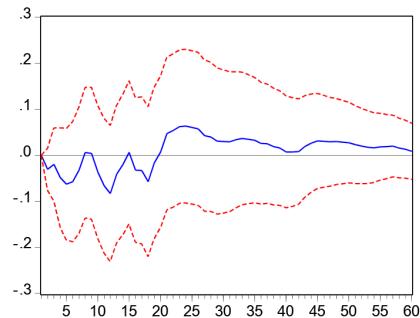
Figures A.1.2: Unstructured VAR(12) 60-month-(5 year) period response functions with two standard deviations certainty range to one SD shock rise in bankruptcies. It is resulting in drops in Consumption (PCEDF…mid-right), wage (bottom- left), employment (bottom right), as well as volatility to credit interest return (top-left) and real rate of interest (top-right):

Response to Nonfactorized One S.D. Innovations ± 2 S.E.
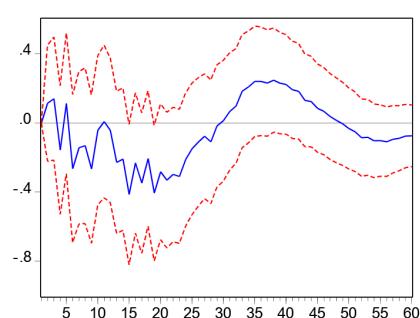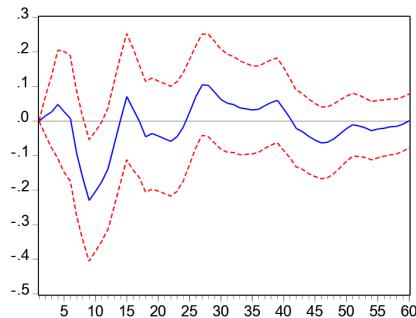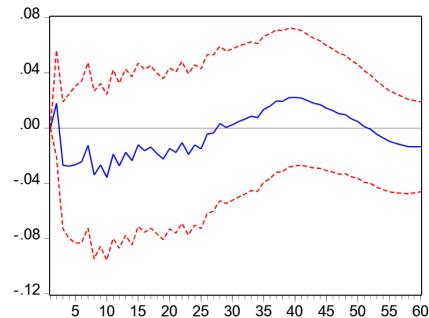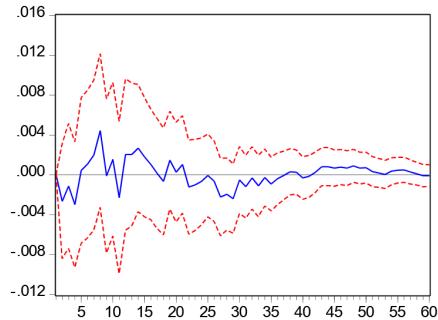
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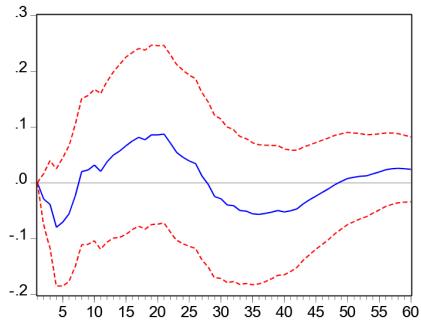
Figures A.1.3: Unstructured VAR(12), 60-month-(5 year) period response functions with two standard deviations certainty range to one SD shock rise in consumption resulting in initial 20 month drop in bankruptcies (mid-right), and rise in employment, both interest rates, and, as well as increased volatility to other variables:

Response to Nonfactorized One S.D. Innovations ± 2 S.E.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
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9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

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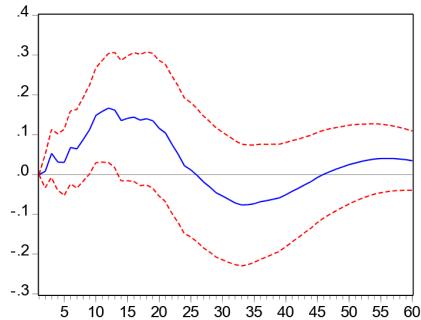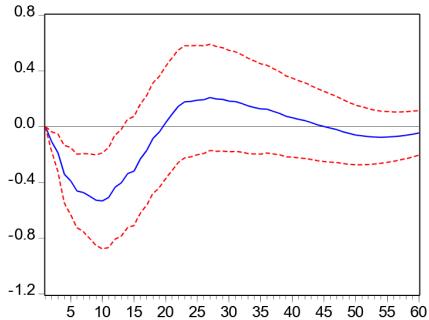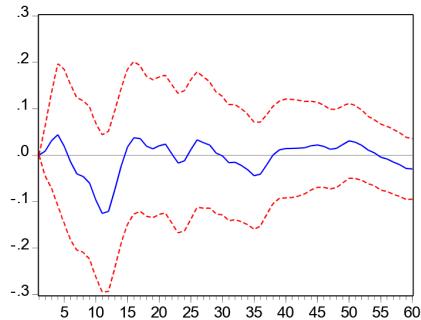
Figures A.1.4: Unstructured VAR(12), 60-month-(5 year) period response functions with two standard deviations certainty range to one SD shock rise in employment resulting in initial 20 month drop in bankruptcies (bottom left), and rise in consumption (PCEDF…mid-right), as well as increased volatility to other variables:

Response to Nonfactorized One S.D. Innovations ± 2 S.E.
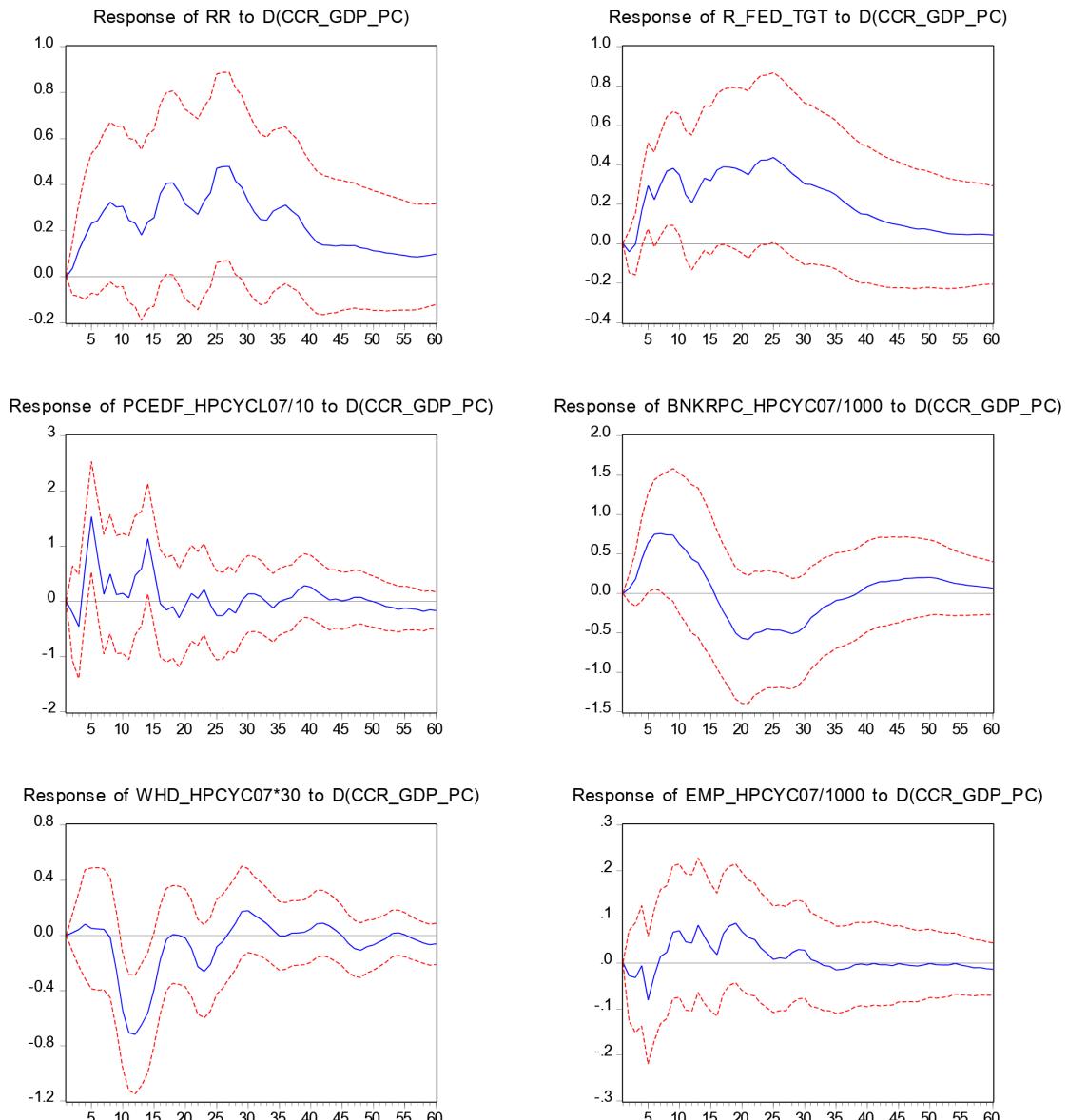
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Figures A.1.5: Unstructured VAR(12), 60-month-(5 year) period response functions with two standard deviations certainty range to one SD shock rise in the first log difference real credit returns (D(CCR…)) resulting in initial 20 month rises in bankruptcies (mid-right), drop in wage (bottom left) and volatile rises in consumption (PCEDF…mid-left) and employment , as well an (volatile) increase to interest rates:

Response to Nonfactorized One S.D. Innovations ± 2 S.E.

CONSTITUTIONS AS TRANSFORMATION OF BUDGET RIGHT IN TURKEY* / TÜRKİYE'DE BÜTÇE HAKKININ ANAYASALAR İTİBARİYLE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

*Gülsema Çetinkaya***

Özet

Bir ülkede kamu kesimi tarafından alınacak olan harcama yapma ve gelir toplama kararları, "Bütçe Hakkı" adı altında halk tarafından parlamentolara verilmiştir. Aynı zamanda parlamento, bütçenin belirlenmesinin yanında onaylanması, yürütülmesi ve denetlenmesinden de sorumludur. Bütçe Anayasa'ya dayanan bir kanun olduğu için bütçenin tanımı, özellikleri, hazırlanması, görüşülmesi hakkında ayrıntılı hükümlere Anayasa'da yer verilmiştir. Ülkede yaşanan gelişmelere göre bu hükümlerde değişiklikler yapılabilmektedir. Parlamentolar bu hükümlere dayanarak Bütçe Hakkı'nı kullanmaktadırlar ve yapılan değişiklikler parlamentoların görev ve sorunluluklarını da değiştirebilmektedir. Bu çalışma ile bütçe hakkının tarihsel gelişimi ile birlikte Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasalarında bütçenin ve bütçe hakkının dönüşümü ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bütçe, Bütçe Hakkı, Anayasa, Türkiye

Abstract

In a country, making expenditure and income collection decisions to be taken by the public sector have been given parliamentary approval by the community under the title of "Budget Right". At the same time, parliament is responsible for the approval, execution and supervision of the budget, as well as the determination of the budget. Since the budget is law based on the Constitution, detailed provisions on the definition, characteristics, preparation and discussion of the budget are included in the Constitution. According to improvements experienced in the country, these provisions can be changed. Parliaments are using the Budget Right based on these provisions and the amendments may change the duties and responsibilities of the parliaments. In this study along with the historical development of the budget right, the transformation of budget and budget right in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey will be discussed.

Keywords: Budget, Budget Rights, Constitution, Turkey

Giriş

Bütçeyi genel anlamda bir devletin gelirlerinin toplanmasına ve harcamaların yapılmasına izin veren bir kanun olarak tanımlamak mümkündür. Yüzyıllardır tek bir hükümdarın elinde olan gelir toplama ve harcama yapmaya karar verme yetkisi olarak tanımlanabilen bütçe hakkı, 1215 tarihli Magna Carta Anlaşması ile parlamentolara geçmiştir.

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Türkiye'de bütçe hakkı 19. yüzyılın sonlarında gelişme göstermiş ve bütçe hakkı ilk kez 1876 Anayasası ile kabul edilmiş, ancak Cumhuriyetin ilanına kadar yeterince uygulanamamıştır. Cumhuriyetin ilanının ardından 1924 Anayasasında bütçe hakkı konusu ayrıntılı bir şekilde ele alınmış ve ardından 1961 ve 1982 Anayasalarında da gerekli güncellemeler yapılarak bütçe hakkı konusu düzenlenmiştir.

Çalışma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır: öncelikle bütçe hakkı, bütçe hakkının tarihsel gelişimi ve Türkiye'de bütçe hakkı açıklanacak, ardından 1924, 1961 ve 1982 Anayasalarında bütçe konuları ele alınacaktır. Son olarak 16 Nisan 2017 tarihinde yapılan Anayasa değişikliğinde bütçe konusu ele alınacak ve sonuçlandırılacaktır.

1. Bütçe ve Bütçe Hakkı

Latince, "para çantası", "kamu kesesi", "küçük deri çanta" anlamında kullanılan bütçe kelimesinin kökü "bulga" kelimesidir. Zamanla Fransızcada "bouge" ya da "bougette" ve İngilizcede "budget" kelimesiyle kullanılmaya ve günümüzdeki biçimiyle anlaşılmaya başlamıştır ve günümüzde "devletin gelecek bir döneme ilişkin gelir ve gider tahminlerinin yer alığı, bunların yürütülüp uygulanması için parlamentonun hükümete yetki ve izin verdiği bir kanun" olarak anlaşılmaktadır (Tüğen, 2017:1).

Ülkemizde, 5018 sayılı Kamu Mali Yönetim ve Kontrol Kanunu'nun 3. maddesinin f fıkrasında bütçe, "Belirli bir dönemdeki gelir ve gider tahminleri ile bunların uygulanmasına ilişkin hususları gösteren ve usulüne uygun olarak yürürlüğe konulan belgeyi ifade eder" şeklinde tanımlanmıştır (KMYKK, 2003).

Bütçe, devletin bir takvim yılı içinde ekonomiye müdahalesinin nasıl olacağının sınırlarını çizen ve belirleyen bir hukuk belgesidir ve siyasi, iktisadi, mali ve toplumsal bakımlardan büyük önem taşıyan bir kanundur ve bir Anayasa kuruluşudur. Bu nedenle Anayasalarımızda, bütçenin tanımı, özellikleri, Meclise gelişi, görüşülmesi, onaylanması ve denetlenmesi hakkında ayrıntılı hükümlere yer verilir. Bütçenin görüşülüp onanması işlemi Meclise verilmiştir. Bu yüzden hükümetçe hazırlanan Bütçe bir kanun tasarısı halinde Meclise sunulur, görüşülür ve kesin şeklini alarak her normal kanun gibi hükümetçe uygulamaya konulur. Özetle Bütçeler, Anayasalarda yer alan kurumlardır. Bütçenin yapımı, görüşülmesi ve kabulü, uygulama ve denetimi yasalara göre yönetilir (Yereli, 2012: 54; Gürsoy,1980: 10).

Bütçe hakkı, kamu gelirleri ve kamu harcamalarının çeşitlerinin ve miktarının belirlenmesi ve uygulanmasına karar verme yetkisine denir ve bütçe hakkı, harcama yapma hakkı, bu harcamaları finanse edecek gelirleri toplama hakkı ve yıllık bütçeyi onama hakkı olarak üç aşamada gerçekleşmektedir (Bağlı, 2012: 46). Genel olarak maliye literatüründe "bütçe hakkı ulusundur" şeklinde bir tanıma yer verilmektedir. Ulusu oluşturan bireyler (seçmenler) bütçe yapma hakkını seçtiği temsilcilere aktarmakta ve bu temsilciler aracılığıyla kullanmaktadırlar (Yereli, 2012: 54).

Kamu harcamalarıyla ortaya çıkan mali yükümlülüklerin kontrol ve denetim altına alınması isteğiyle ortaya çıkan bütçe hakkı, parlamentolara yürütme faaliyetlerini denetleme ve kontrol yetkisi de vermektedir. Parlamentolar bu yetki ile kaynakların öngörülen alanlarda ve miktarlarda, usulüne uygun olarak kullanılıp kullanılmadığını denetleyebilmektedir (Koçak, 2012: 94).

1.1. Bütçe Hakkının Tarihsel Gelişimi

Bütçe hakkı, dünya tarihinde yaklaşık 800 yıllık bir demokrasi mücadelesinin kaydettiği kazanımların bir ürünüdür ve bütçe hakkı ile ilgili gelişmeler de İngiltere'de başlamış, oradan da Avrupa ve Amerika'ya sıçrayarak dünyaya

yayılmıştır. Batı dünyasında "Bütçe Hakkı"na ilişkin ilk yazılı belge 19.06.1215 tarihli Magna Carta (Büyük Ferman) Anlaşmasıdır. Bu ferman ile ülkedeki her türlü verginin ancak Avam Kamarası (Common Council) tarafından konulacağı kabul ve ilan edilmiş ve böylece bütçe hakkının ilk şekli olan vergi koyma hakkı Halk Meclisinin yetkisine bağlanarak kralın vergi koyma yetkisi açık ve kesin bir şekilde sınırlandırılmıştır. 1627 tarihli Haklar Dilekçesi, 1689 tarihli Haklar Yasası ve 1789 tarihli Fransız Büyük İhtilâli tarihsel süreç içerisinde önemli dönüm noktalarını oluşturmaktadır (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 23; Biçer ve Şahin, 2008: 19).

Bütçenin tarihi gelişiminde bütçe hakkı parlamentoların kamu gelirleri ve harcamaları üzerindeki yetkilerinin tanınmasıyla ortaya çıkmış, ülkelerin demokratik ve parlamenter sistemlerine uyum sağlayacak bir şekilde gelişmiştir. Bütçenin tarihi gelişimine baktığımızda, devletlerin karşılaştıkları ekonomik ve mali güçlüklerin bir sonucu ve demokratik toplumun bir ürünü olduğunu söylemek mümkündür(Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 21). Bir meclisin (parlamentonun) bütçe hakkına sahip olabilmesi için (Tüğen, 2017: 5);

- Vergilerin ve diğer gelir kaynaklarının meclis tarafından onaylanması,
- Harcamaların ödenek tahsisi ile meclis tarafından onaylanması,
- Devletin gelir ve harcamalarına ait onay işleminin her yıl meclis tarafından yeniden yapılması, şeklinde üç aşamadan geçerek gerçekleşmesi gerekmektedir.

1.2. Türkiye'de Bütçe Hakkı

İngiltere'de 13. yüzyılda, Fransa'da 14. yüzyılda, ABD'de 18. yüzyılda temelleri atılan bütçe hakkının Türkiye'de (Osmanlı Devleti'nde) gelişimi batıya göre çok daha geç tarihlerde ancak 19. yüzyılın sonlarında mümkün olmuştur oluşmuştur (Çiçek ve Dikmen, 2015: 96). Türkiye'de bütçe hakkının gelişimini, Osmanlı Devleti dönemini de dikkate alarak Tanzimat öncesi dönem, Tanzimat dönemi ve Cumhuriyet dönemi olarak ele almak gerekmektedir.

Tanzimat öncesinde, devlet gelirlerine göre gider yapılır ve toplanan gelirler belirli giderlere tahsis edilerek, gelir ve giderleri ayrıntılı ve titiz bir şeklide kaydedilir ve muhasebe işlemlerinin sağlıklı yürütülmesine önem verilmiştir. Devlet maliyesinin başında "Defterdar" bulunmaktadır ve defterdar, devlet maliyesini yöneterek ve hazinesini idare eder, aynı zamanda devlet hesaplarını da tutar, muhafaza eder ve denetimine imkân sağlamaktadır. Başdefterdar muhasebe kayıtlarından yararlanarak gelir ve gider cetvellerini hazırlayarak başına mukaddimeyi ekler ve Padişahın oluruna sunar, Padişahın onayı ile mukaddime ve cetveller geçerlilik kazanırdı. Ancak bu gelir ve gider cetvelleri bugünkü anlamda bütçe değil, birer kesin hesap niteliğinde birer belge olarak hazırlanmıştır.(Tüğen, 2017: 13-15; Gürsoy, 1980: 80-81; Mutluer, Öner ve Kesik, 2011: 51).

II. Mahmud döneminde, 29 Eylül 1808 tarihinde Sened-i İttifak sözleşmesi imzalanmıştır. Bu sözleşmede vergiler konusunda; Osmanlı vergi düzeninin ülkenin tamamında uygulanacağı, padişaha ait gelirlere âyanların el koymayacakları, vergi miktarının hükümet ve âyan görüşmelerinin ardından belirleneceği karara bağlanmıştır (Tüğen, 2017: 14).

Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayûnun, Sultan Abdülmecit tarafından 3 Kasım 1839'da kabul edilmesiyle Tanzimat Dönemi başlamış, Tanzimat ile birlikte mali konularda çeşitli düzenlemeler yapılmış ancak mali hükümler getirilmekle beraber bütçe hiç söz konusu edilmemiştir. 1855 yılında "Hazine-i Celile Muvazene Defterinin Sureti Tanzimine Dair Nizamname" adıyla çıkarılan tüzük ile bütçenin idari bir belge olarak önemi artırılmıştır. Bu nizamnameye göre her yıl devletin tüm gelir ve giderleri saptanarak "muvazene defteri" hazırlanacak ve padişahın iradesine

sunulacaktır. Yapılan düzenlemeler ile bütçe tekniği esasları getirilmiş olsa da, bütçeyi hazırlama ve onama yetkisi milleti temsil eden bir meclis tarafından değil, tayin edilerek göreve getirilen bir meclise verilmiştir. (Tüğen, 2017: 15-16; Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 32-33).

1856 yılında düzenlenen Islahat-ı Maliye komisyonu tarafından hazırlanan 1863-1864 yılı bütçesi batılı anlamda hazırlanan ilk bütçedir. 1872 yılında kabul edilen "Devlet-i Aliyenin Bütçe Nizamnamesi" ile 1855 tarihli nizamname ile uygulanmayan bütçenin kontrolüne ait hükümler yeniden düzenlenmiştir. 1872 nizamnamesi ile yeni bir bütçe komisyonu oluşturulmuş, bütçe projesi Vekiller Heyetine verilmeden önce Tanzimat Meclisi yerine, yeni kurulan "Bütçe Komisyonu" tarafından incelenmeye başlamıştır (Tüğen, 2017: 16; Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 33).

1876 yılında kabul edilen Kanuni Esasi ile Osmanlı Devleti'nde bütçe hakkı ilk kez yasal temellere oturtulmuştur. 1876 Anayasası'nda kabul edilen bazı hükümler ile vergilerin halkın ödeme gücüne göre ve kanuna dayanılarak alınacağı düzenlenmiştir. Böylelikle vergi ve bütçe hakkına ilişkin hükümler Anayasa'da yer almıştır (Çiçek ve Dikmen, 2015: 96).

1908 yılında İkinci Meşrutiyet ile önemli değişiklikler yapılarak yeniden yürürlüğe konulan 1876 Anayasası ile bugüne kadar uygulana gelen bütçe sisteminin temelini oluşturmuştur. Ülkemizde modern ve gerçek anlamıyla hazırlanan, onaylanan ve uygulamaya konulan ilk çağdaş bütçe de 1909 yılına ait olan bütçedir (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 34). 1910 yılında da Muhasebe-i Umumiye Kanunu kabul edilerek bütçe uygulamaları, devlet harcamalarının yapılması ve gelirlerin toplanmasına ilişkin yeni esaslar getirilmiştir (Tüğen, 2017: 17).

2. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasalarında Bütçe ve Değerlendirilmesi

Cumhuriyetin ilanından önce 23 Nisan 1920 tarihinde kurulan Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 1921 tarihli Teşkilâtı Esasiye Kanununu çıkararak hâkimiyeti millete devretmiştir. Ancak 1920-1923 yıllarının hazırlık ve savaş yılları olması nedeniyle 1921 tarihli Anayasada bütçe ile ilgili ayrıntılı bilgilere yer verilmemiştir. Yalnızca 7. ve 11. maddeleri bütçe gelir ve giderlerine ilişkin genel hükümler içermiştir (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 34).

2.1. 1924 Anayasasında Bütçe

Cumhuriyetin ilanının ardından, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk anayasası olan 1924 tarihli Anayasa, "bütçe hakkı"nı en geniş ve eksiksiz biçimde tesis etmiştir ve Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk bütçesi 1924 yılı bütçesidir. 1924 Anayasasının 84. ve 85. maddesinde vergi ile ilgili şu hükümler yer almaktadır: "Vergi, devlet masraflarına halkın pay vererek katılmasıdır", "Vergiler ancak kanunla salınır ve alınır" (Gürsoy, 1980: 92). Bu hükümler ile vergilemenin kanuniliği ilkesi kabul edilmiştir (Coşkun, 2000: 18).

1924 Anayasasında bütçe ile ilgili, "Bütçeleri ve Kesin Hesap Kanunlarını inceleyip onamak TBMM'nin görevindendir (Madde 26). Cumhurbaşkanı, Meclisin kabul ettiği kanunları on gün içinde ilan eder. Cumhurbaşkanı, uygun bulmadığı kanunları bir daha görüşülmek üzere gene on gün içinde gerekçesi ile birlikte Meclise geri verir. Anayasa ile Bütçe kanunu bu hüküm dışındadır (Madde 35). Devlete ait kaynaklar yıllık bütçelerle bir kullanma düzenine kavuşturulur (Madde 95)[2]. Bütçe dışında hiçbir suretle harcama yapılamaz (Madde 96). Bütçe kanunları yıllık olarak hazırlanır (Madde 97). Kesin Hesap Kanunu, ilişkin olduğu yıl bütçesinin hesap dönemi içinde elde edilen

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2   95. madde 10 Kanun-u Evvel 1931 tarih ve 1893 Sayılı Kanun'la "Bütçe Kanunu tasarısı ve buna bağlı bütçeler ve cetvellerle katma bütçeler Meclise bütçe yılı başından en az üç ay önce sunulur" şeklinde değiştirilmiştir (Yalçın, 1997: 39, çevrimiçi, https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa24.htm, 13.11.2017).

gelirlerle yine o yıl süresi içinde gerçekleşmiş ödemeler tutarını gösteren bir kanundur. Bu kanun, biçim açısından, bölümleri ve maddeleri bakımından, Bütçe Kanunu ile tam bir paralellik taşımalıdır (Madde 98 ve 99). Büyük Millet Meclisine bağlı ve Devletin gelirlerini ve giderlerini özel kanuna göre denetlemekle görevli bir Sayıştay kurulur (Madde 100). Sayıştay genel uygunluk bildirimini ilişkin olduğu kesin hesap kanununun maliyece Büyük Millet Meclisine verilmesi tarihinden başlayarak en geç altı ay içinde Meclise sunar (Madde 101) " hükümleri yer almaktadır (TBMM, 1945).

Bu hükümler ile 1924 Anayasası, TBMM'ye yani Yasama Organına büyük yetki vermiştir. Bütçenin bir kanun olması nedeniyle Devlet başkanı tarafından yayınlanması ve ilan edilmesi kabul edilmiş ancak Devlet başkanının Bütçe Kanunu'nu veto etme yetkisi verilmemiştir. Böylece kararname ile bütçe yetkilerinin Yürütme Organınca kullanılması veya bütçenin devamının sağlanması kabul edilmemiş ve bu yetkiler hükümete verilmemiştir (Coşkun, 2000: 18).

Cumhuriyet döneminin bütçeye ilişkin ilk ve en önemli girişimi, 1910 yılında çıkarılan "Muhasebe-i Umumiye Kanunu"nda bazı değişiklikler yapılarak 1927 yılında yeniden kabul edilmesidir. 1050 sayılı yeni Kanun ile devlet bütçesi ve muhasebesi düzenlenmiştir (Mutluer vd., 2011: 57).

2.2. 1961 Anayasasında Bütçe

1924 Anayasasından sonra 27 Mayıs 1960 ihtilâli sonrasında 9 Temmuz 1961 tarihli ve 334 sayılı yeni Anayasa yürürlüğe girmiştir. Bu Anayasada yer alan hükümler, bütçeyi modern yönetimin etkin bir aracı haline getirmeye çalışmıştır (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 35). Bütçe hakkı 1961 Anayasası'nda da açık bir şekilde düzenlenmiş ve "milli bütçe" gibi yeni kavramlar da Anayasada yer almıştır (Mutluer vd., 2011: 58).

Anayasanın 61. maddesinde (TBMM, 1961) vergilemeye ilişkin, "herkesin kamu giderlerini karşılamak üzere, mali gücüne göre vergi ödemekle yükümlüdür." Hükmü ile vergilemede ödeme gücü (iktidar) ilkesi benimsenmiştir (Coşkun, 2000: 18). Bütçeye ilişkin hükümler ise 94, 126 ve 128. maddelerde açıkça yer almıştır. 1961 Anayasasının bütçeye getirdiği en önemli yenilikler 94. madde ile getirilmiştir.

Bu madde ile bütçe kanun tasarısının hukuki yapısı, yasama organındaki onaylama yöntemi belirlenmiş, Bakanlar Kurulunca her mali yılbaşından önce TBMM'ye sunulacak bütçe tasarısına bir de "Milli Bütçe" tahminlerinin eklenmesi öngörülmüş ve bütçenin görüşülmesi ve kabulü, gider artırıcı ve gelir azaltıcı teklifler konularında ayrıntılı hükümlere yer verilmiştir. Yine Anayasanın 126. maddesine göre bütçe bir yıllık olmakla beraber kalkınma planları ile ilgili yatırımlar veya bir yıldan daha uzun sürecek iş ve hizmetler için özel süre ve usuller konulabilecektir. Böylece klasik bütçelemeden çağdaş bütçelemeye geçmeye olanak sağlayacak plan ve bütçe ilişkisine ait esaslar getirilmiştir. 128. maddenin "Kesin Hesap Kanun Tasarıları, kanunda daha kısa bir süre kabul edilmemiş ise ilgili oldukları mali yılın sonundan başlamak üzere en geç bir yıl sonra, Bakanlar Kurulu tarafından, TBMM'ye sunulur. Sayıştay'ın genel uygunluk bildirimini, ilişik olduğu Kesin Hesap Kanunu tasarısının verilmesinden itibaren en geç altı ay içinde TBMM'ye sunar" hükmü ile yasama denetimine yer verilmiş ve bütçenin denetlenme süresi daha da kısaltılmış ayrıca ilgili diğer kanunlarla bu sürenin daha da kısaltılabileceği öngörülmüştür (Coşkun, 2000: 19; Tüğen, 2017: 18-19;Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 36).

1961 Anayasası ile ilk defa bütçenin kaynak/harcama dengesi içerisinde hazırlanmasını öngörmüş ve bütçenin planlı kalkınmanın bir gereği olduğu kadar makro mali istikrar aracı olarak kullanılmasını da hedeflemiştir (Bağlı, 2014: 129-130).

2.3. 1982 Anayasasında Bütçe

12 Eylül 1980 Askeri Harekâtı sonrasında 1961 Anayasası yürürlükten kaldırılarak 1982 Anayasası kabul edilmiş ve uygulamaya konulmuştur.7 Kasım 1982 tarihli ve 2709 sayılı 1982 Anayasasıyla, 1961 Anayasasının bütçe ve vergilere ilişkin hükümleri esas itibarıyla korunmakla beraber bir dizi değişiklikler yapılmıştır. Bu değişikliklere göre, Bütçe Kanun tasarısı ve Kesin Hesap Kanun tasarılarının TBMM'ye sunulması ile ilgili süreler kısaltılmıştır. TBMM'deki Bütçe Komisyonu üye sayısı 50'den 40'a düşürülmüştür. 1961 Anayasasına göre Millet Meclisi ve Cumhuriyet Senatosu şeklinde iki meclisten meydana gelen TBMM, tek bir meclis haline getirilmiştir (Tüğen, 2017:19).

1982 Anayasasının 73. maddesi vergi ödevi ayrıntılı bit şekilde ele alınmıştır. Anayasasın dördüncü kısmındaki "Mali ve Ekonomik Hükümler" başlığı altındaki birinci bölümünün "Mali Hükümler" alt başlığındaki 161., 162., 163. ve 164. Maddeleri ise bütçe ile ilgilidir. Bu maddelere göre; "Bütçe Kanununa, bütçe ile ilgili hükümler dışında hiçbir hüküm konulamayacağı" (m.161/4) hükmü aynen benimsenmiştir. Ayrıca "bütçenin görüşülmesi" (m. 162), "bütçelerde değişiklik yapılabilme" (m. 163) ve "kesin hesap" (m. 164) konuları ile ilgili esaslar, yeni düzenlemeler yapılarak 1982 Anayasasında da yer almıştır (Tüğen, 2017: 19;Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 37).

1982 Anayasasının, 1961 Anayasasına göre getirdiği en önemli yenilik "bütçe hakkını" en etkin şekilde kullanma imkânını veren 164. maddedeki hükümlerdir (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 37). Bu madde hükümleri şu şekildedir(TBMM, 1982: md. 164):

Kesin hesap kanunu tasarıları, kanunda daha kısa bir süre kabul edilmemiş ise, ilgili oldukları mali yılın sonundan başlayarak, en geç yedi ay sonra Bakanlar Kurulunca Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine sunulur. Sayıştay, genel uygunluk bildirimini, ilişkin olduğu kesin hesap kanunu tasarısının verilmesinden başlayarak en geç yetmiş beş gün içinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine sunar.

Kesin hesap kanunu tasarısı, yeni yıl bütçe kanunu tasarısıyla birlikte Bütçe Komisyonu gündemine alınır. Bütçe Komisyonu, bütçe kanunu tasarısıyla kesin hesap kanunu tasarısını Genel Kurula birlikte sunar, Genel Kurul, kesin hesap kanunu tasarısını, yeni yıl bütçe kanunu tasarısıyla beraber görüşerek karara bağlar.

Kesin hesap kanunu tasarısı ve genel uygunluk bildiriminin Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine verilmiş olması, ilgili yıla ait Sayıştay'ca sonuçlandırılamamış denetim ve hesap yargılamasını önlemez ve bunların karara bağlandığı anlamına gelmez.

Bu düzenlemeyle, TBMM aracılığı ile bütçe hakkı, fiilen uygulanmaya başlanan bütçenin kesin sonuçları (geçmiş yıl bütçeleri) üzerinde de kullanılabilecek ve denetlenebilecektir (Edizdoğan ve Çetinkaya, 2015: 38).

1982 Anayasasında bütçe ile ilgili meydana gelen önemli gelişmelerden biri de 2003 tarih ve 5018 sayılı Kamu Mali Yönetimi ve Kontrol Kanununun, 1927 yılında yürürlüğe giren 1050 sayılı Muhasebe-i Umumiye Kanununu yürürlükten kaldırmasıdır. Bu kanun anayasadaki ilgili hükümler ile birlikte Türkiye'de bütçe uygulamalarının hukuki çerçevesini ayrıntılı bir şekilde belirlemiştir (Tüğen, 2017:18).

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

3. 16 Nisan 2017 Anayasa Değişikliğinde Bütçe

21.01.2017 tarih ve 6771 sayılı kanunla yapılan ve 16 Nisan 2017 tarihinde referandumla kabul edilen 18 maddelik Anayasa değişikliğinde Anayasanın bütçe ile ilgili hükümlerinde de değişiklikler yapılmıştır. Değişikliğe göre bütçe ile ilgili düzenlemeler Anayasanın "Bütçe ve Kesinhesap" kenar başlığı ile yeniden yazılarak 161. maddede düzenlenmiş ve Anayasanın 162., 163. ve 164. maddeleri metinden çıkarılmıştır. "Tasarı" ibaresi "Teklif" şeklinde değiştirilmiştir.

Anayasa değişikliğindeki 15. maddeye göre önceden Bakanlar Kurulu tarafından hazırlanan bütçe kanun teklifi artık Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından hazırlanacak, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından hazırlanan bütçe kanun teklifi TBMM tarafından görüşülerek kabul edilecektir (Küçük, 2017: 183). Ancak Esen'e göre(2016: 57), Cumhurbaşkanına tanınan bu yetki sert güçler ayrılığı ilkesine aykırıdır. Ayrıca Eğilmez'e göre (2017), bütçenin, parlamento dışında tek bir kişinin karar verebileceği bir çeşit otomatik sisteme bağlanması doğru değildir. Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından hazırlanan bütçe Meclis tarafından onaylanmadığı takdirde, Cumhurbaşkanı önceki yılın bütçesini yeniden değerleme oranına göre artırarak uygulayabilecektir ve bu durum Meclis'in yürütme üzerindeki denetim araçlarından birinin elinden alınması anlamına gelecektir. Başka bir deyişle Meclisin bütçeyi reddetmesinin Cumhurbaşkanı üzerinde hiçbir etkisi olmayacaktır (Coşkun, 2017: 26; Eğilmez, 2017).

Anayasa değişikliğinde bütçe konusunda önemli değişiklikler yapan asıl düzenlemeye aynı maddenin ikinci paragrafındaki "Bütçe kanununun süresinde yürürlüğe konulamaması halinde, geçici bütçe kanunu çıkarılır. Geçici bütçe kanununun da çıkarılamaması durumunda, yeni bütçe kanunu kabul edilinceye kadar bir önceki yılın bütçesi yeniden değerleme oranına göre artırılarak uygulanır" hükmüdür. Bu düzenleme, mevcut kamu hizmetlerinin, bütçe konusunda yaşanan anlaşmazlıklar nedeniyle aksamaması ve yasama ve yürütme arasında çatışmalar yaşanmaması konusuna oldukça etkili bir çözüm olmuştur (Gülener ve Miş, 2017: 17; Alkan, 2017: 475). Ancak bu düzenleme ile Cumhurbaşkanı TBMM'nin onayı olmaksızın harcama yapma olanağına sahip olacaktır ve TBMM Cumhurbaşkanının sunduğu bütçeye onay vermese dahi, Cumhurbaşkanı bütçesiz kalmayacaktır. Bütün parlamentoların en eski ve önemli yetkilerinden biri bütçenin kabulü ve denetimidir. Yani yapılan bu düzenleme ile TBMM'nin en önemli denetim yetkilerinden biri daha etkisiz hale getirilmiştir (Esen, 2016: 58;Anayasa-Der, 2017: 19).

Anayasanın 164. maddesindeki "Kesinhesap kanunu tasarıları, kanunda daha kısa bir süre kabul edilmemiş ise, ilgili oldukları mali yılın sonundan başlayarak, en geç yedi ay sonra Bakanlar Kurulunca Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine sunulur…" hükmü, "Merkezî yönetim kesinhesap kanunu teklifi, ilgili olduğu malî yılın sonundan başlayarak en geç altı ay sonra Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine sunulur…" şeklinde değiştirilmiştir. Kesin hesap kanun teklifinin de Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından yapılacak olması ABD tipi başkanlık sistemindeki güçler ayrılığı ilkesi ile ters düşmektedir (Esen, 2016: 58).

Değişikliğe göre, "kesinhesap kanun teklifi, yeni yıl bütçe kanun teklifiyle birlikte görüşülür ve karara bağlanır." Bununla beraber kesin hesap denetimi, yönetimin, ulusal zenginliğimizi bir yıl boyunca hangi amaçlarla, aşırmadan, peşkeş çekmeden ve liyakat esasına göre kullanıp kullanmadığının denetimidir. Bu bakımdan kesin hesap denetimi süreci vatandaşlar için, mali yönetimi şeffaflaştırma işlevi görmektedir. Yani kesin hesap kanun teklifinin bütçe teklifi ile birlikte görüşülmesi, Merkezi yönetimin harcamalarının TBMM tarafından bütçe kanunundan ayrı olarak, sağlıklı bir biçimde denetlenmesini engellemesine ve kesin hesap denetiminin etkisizleşmesine sebep olabilir (Esen, 2016: 58; Anayasa-Der, 2017: 18-19).

Bütçe hakkı, vergi ve diğer kamu gelirlerinin ve kamu harcamalarının çeşitlerini ve miktarını belirleme ve onama hakkının hükümdardan (tek kişiden) alınarak parlamentoya verilmesidir. Anayasa değişikliğinde ise bu durumun tam tersi bir uygulamanın yapılması söz konusudur (Eğilmez, 2017). Değişiklikle beraber TBMM'ye ait olan bütçe hakkının ortadan kalktığı bir durum ortaya çıkmaktadır ve ortada yasalaşmış bir bütçe kanunu olmaksızın bir bütçe uygulanabilir hale getirilmektedir (Karahanoğulları, 2017: 285).

Anayasa Hukuku Araştırmaları Derneği tarafından, "Önce Demokrasi" insiyatifi çerçevesinde hazırlanan Anayasa Değişikliği Üzerine Rapor'a göre (2017: 19), yapılan değişiklik, Türkiye'yi Açık Bütçe Endeksinde yetersiz kategoride sınıflandırılmaktan kurtaracak hiçbir yenilik getirmemiştir. Örtülü ödeneği sınırlandırmamış ve denetim altına almamıştır. Meclis'e, devlet bütçesini etkin bir şekilde inceleyebilmek için yeterli süreyi vermemiştir. Vatandaşların da mali yönetime katılabilmesini sağlamak için ayrıca hazırlanan sadeleştirilmiş bir "vatandaş bütçesi" uygulamasından bahsetmemiştir. Kuvvetli bir Sayıştay denetiminin önünü açmamıştır ve kamu görevlisinin kusuru ile verdiği zararın halka yüklenmesini engelleyecek bir açılımda bulunmamıştır.

Sonuç

Türkiye'de bütçe hakkı ilk olarak 1876 Kanun-i Esasi ile alınmış ve 1924 Anayasası ile bütçe hakkı konusunda yasama organına yani TBMM'ye geniş yetki tanınmış ve Cumhurbaşkanının bütçeyi veto etme yetkisi elinden alınarak yürütme organının bütçeye karışmasının önüne geçilmiştir.

16 Nisan 2017'de yapılan anayasa değişikliği bazı kesimler tarafından doğru bulunarak kabul edilmesine rağmen birçok kişi ve kurum tarafından ciddi eleştirilere maruz kalmıştır. Yapılan eleştirilerin en büyük odağı ise Cumhurbaşkanına çok fazla yetki verilmesi olmuştur. Ayrıca değişiklikle birlikte "kuvvetler ayrılığı" yerine "kuvvetler birliği" sisteminin getirildiği düşünülmektedir.

Bütçenin Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından hazırlanması, geçici bütçe uygulaması, kesin hesap kanun teklifinin bütçe kanun teklifi ile birlikte görüşülmesi konularında da görüş ayrılıkları ortaya çıkmış ve kesin hesap denetiminin etkinsizleşeceği düşüncesi ile eleştirilmiştir.

Bütçenin Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından hazırlanması, bütçe hakkının Meclis'ten alınarak Cumhurbaşkanına geçmesine sebep olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bütçe kanununun süresinde yerine konulamaması durumunda geçici bütçe kanununun çıkarılması, geçici bütçe kanununun da çıkarılamaması durumunda bir önceki yılın bütçesinin artırılarak yürürlüğe konması hükmü ile Meclis'in bütçe konusundaki söz hakkını azaltmıştır.

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AN EMPİRİCAL ANALYSİS ON CORPORATE TAX REVENUES / KURUMLAR VERGİSİ GELİRLERİ ÜZERİNE AMPİRİK BİR ANALİZ

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Özet

Çalışmamız, 2018-2020 yılları için uygulanacak olan yeni Kurumlar Vergisi oranının, Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirleri üzerindeki etkisini tahmin etmek ve/veya öngörmek amacıyla kaleme alınmıştır. Bunu yaparken, Kurumlar Vergisi oran artışının yanı sıra, Türkiye'nin ekonomik göstergeleri ile siyasi bazı kararlarının da bu gelire etkisi çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Kurumlar Vergisi gelirlerinin, Kurumlar Vergisi oranı, mevduat faizi, vergi affı, seçim, Üretici Fiyat Endeksi (ÜFE), 2008 Küresel Finansal Krizi ile ilişkisi, Kukla Değişkenlerle Regresyon Modeli yoluyla, 1991-2017 periyodundaki yıllık veriler kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda, mevduat faizinin, vergi affının, Kurumlar Vergisi oranının ve 2008 Krizinin Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirleri üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkisinin olduğu gözlenmiş; ÜFE ve seçimlerin ise negatif bir etkisinin olmasına rağmen, istatistiksel olarak anlamlı olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca, modelde kullanılan ve Türkiye ekonomisinin önemli temel sorunları ve/veya gerçekleri mahiyetindeki göstergeler de temel alınarak, yeni kurumlar vergisi oranı artışının ilk neticesinin görüleceği 2018 Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirinin tutarının tahmini yapılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirleri, Kurumlar Vergisi Oranı, Mevduat Faizi, Vergi Affı, Seçim, Üretici Fiyat Endeksi (ÜFE), 2008 Küresel Finansal Krizi

Abstract

The purpose of our study is to estimate and forecast the effect of the new Corporation Tax Rate to be applied for the years 2018-2020 on the Corporation Tax Revenues. In doing so, in addition to the increase in the rate of corporation tax, some of the economic indicators of Turkey and political decisions were also included in the study to examine the effect on revenues. In this context, Institutional Tax Revenues, Corporation Tax Rate, Deposits Interest Rate, Tax Amnesty, Elections, Producer Price Index (PPI), 2008 Global Financial Crisis, by the regression model with dummy variables were analyzed using annual data for the period 1991-2017. As a result of the study, it was observed that the deposit interest rate, the tax amnesty, Corporate Taxe Rate and the 2008 Crisis had a statistically significant effect on Income Tax Revenues; Despite the fact that the PPI and elections had a negative effect, it turned out to be not statistically significant. Moreover, variables used in the model and on the basis of important fundamental problems and/or indicators of the Turkish economy were used to forecast the Corporate Tax Revenues for the year 2018 that will be the first result of the new corporate tax rate increase.

Keywords: Corporate Tax Revenues, Corporate Tax Rate, Interest Rate on Deposits, Tax Amnesty, Elections, Producer Price Index (PPI), 2008 Global Financial Crisis

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I. Giriş

Çalışmamız, Türkiye ekonomik ve siyasi yapısı ve göstergeleri ışığında, alınan ve uygulanacak olan bazı mali kararların, kurumlar vergisi gelirleri açısından nasıl bir değişim yaratacağını tahmin etmek gayesi üzerine kaleme alınmıştır. Buradan hareketle ülkemizin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik, mali ve siyasal karar ve uygulamalardan başlıcalarına ilişkin veriler kullanılmıştır. Bu verilerin nelerden ibaret olabileceği araştırması yapılırken de, yalnızca ekonomik verilerden değil, idari ve siyasi diğer bazı veri ve uygulamalardan da yararlanılmak yolu seçilmiştir. Bunda da, ülkemizin çok sık genel ve yerel seçim ve referandumların yapıldığı ve küresel ve bölgesel boyutta krizlerin yaşandığı, mevduat faizine ve enflasyona ilişkin tartışmaların ve sorunların hep gündemde olduğu, üstelik sıklıkla vergi aflarına olanak tanındığı bir ülke olması etkili olmuş ve bu durumlar da modele dahil edilmek arzulanmıştır. Ayrıca mevcut durumlara ilave olarak, halihazırda %20 olarak uygulanmakta olan Kurumlar Vergisi oranının, Aralık 2017 yılında yayımlanan 7061 sayılı Kanun ile, 2018 yılından itibaren 3 yıl süresince % 22 olarak uygulanması yönünde bir düzenlemeye yer verilmiştir. Çalışmamızda işte bu ekonomik ve siyasi durum ve kararlar ile veriler temelinde, kurumlar vergisi oranındaki söz konusu bu artışın, kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde artış ve/veya azalış yönünde nasıl bir etki yaratacağını tahmin etme çabası hakimdir. Bu açıklamalar bağlamında, yukarıda bahis geçen veriler ve/veya değişkenler ile ilgili kendi sonuç ve tahminlerimize yer vermeden evvel, literatürde bu değişkenler ile genel olarak vergi gelirleri veya özelde kurumlar vergisi gelirleri arasındaki ilişki ve etkileşimlerden bahsetmekte fayda görmekteyiz. Belirtilmesi gerekir ki, çalışmamızın tersine, literatürdeki çalışmalarda bahsi geçen değişkenlerin tümünün etkisini ölçen ya da değerlendiren bir uygulamaya rastlanmamıştır.

Bu bağlamda, vergi afları ile ilgili yapılan ampirik çalışmalarda genel olarak, afların toplam vergi gelirlerine etkisinin incelendiği görülmektedir. Bu noktada belirtilmesinde fayda vardır ki, çalışmamız afların toplam vergi gelirlerine etkisini değil, çalışmamızın çıkış noktasını da teşkil eden kurumlar vergisi gelirleri üzerindeki etkisini ölçmeye odaklanmaktadır. Ancak yine de konu hakkında genel bilgi verilmesi gerektiği kanaatini taşımaktayız. Buna göre, literatürde yer alan çalışmaların genel olarak, vergi oran ve gelirlerinin yüksek olduğu gelişmiş ülkeler temelli olduğu görülmektedir. Vergi aflarının vergi gelirleri üzerindeki etkisini araştıran Kaya (2014)'ya ait çalışmada, literatür geniş bir şekilde incelenmiş olup, kamu finansman ihtiyacının vergi affı olma olasılığını arttırdığı, kısa dönemde vergi aflarının vergi gelirlerini arttırdığı ancak uzun dönemde gelirlere bir etkisinin olmadığı, aksine mükelleflerin vergiye uyumunu azalttığına ilişkin sonuçlara yer verilmiştir. Kaya (2014), Yapısal VAR (SVAR) tekniği kullanılarak yaptığı bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de vergi aflarının vergi gelirlerini olumsuz yönde etkilediği genel sonucunun çıkarılabileceğini ifade etmiştir.

Vergi aflarının vergi gelirlerine etkisini ölçen Alm vd. (2007) çalışmasında, vergi affının vergi gelirlerinde ani yükselişe sebep olduğunu, yönetimde maliyetlerin, yargıda da yükün azaldığını göstermektedirler. Yine Villalba (2017) tarafından yapılan ampirik çalışmada, vergi aflarının kısa dönemde vergi gelirlerini arttırdığı ve vergi tahsilatını hızlandırdığı sonucuna ulaşıldığı görülmektedir.

Seçimlerin vergi gelirlerine etkisinin incelendiği ampirik çalışmalarda farklı çıkarımlara ulaşıldığı görülmektedir. Şöyle ki, Yogo ve Njib (2018) tarafından Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu 89 gelişmekte olan ülkenin yer aldığı çalışmada, siyasal rekabet[1] ile vergi gelirleri arasındaki ilişki ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Dinamik panel veri modeli kullanarak yapılan çalışmada, siyasal rekabetin toplam vergi gelirlerini pozitif bir şekilde anlamlı etkilediği

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[1] Çalışmada "siyasal rekabet", seçimlerde iktidara gelen partinin ve muhalefet partilerinin parlamentoda kazandığı koltuk sayıları olarak tanımlanmaktadır ki, bu tanımlama, siyasal rekabetin seçimler temel alınarak ifade edilmesi bakımından konumuzu ilgilendirmektedir.

ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Fakat mali kuralın (fiscal rules) katı uygulandığı ülkelerde, siyasal rekabetin vergi gelirlerine negatif bir etkisi olduğunu göstermektedirler ve bunun, özellikle dolaysız ve ticari vergiler (trade tax) açısından geçerli olduğunu ifade etmektedirler. Literatürde yer alan Ebeke ve Ölçer (2013) tarafından yapılan başka bir çalışmada ise, sadece parlamenter sisteme sahip, düşük gelirli ülkelerde seçimleri izleyen iki yıl süresince yapılan mali düzenlemelerin, gelir performansını arttırdığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ancak söz konusu çalışmada, seçimler boyunca, kamu harcamalarının ve dolayısıyla mali açıkların artışı ile karşılaşıldığı sonucuna ulaşılmasına rağmen, bu süreçte gelirler hakkında herhangi bir tespit yapılmadığı görülmektedir. Demir ve Berksoy (2017) tarafından Vektör Hata Düzeltme Modeli kullanılarak yapılan çalışmada,1945-2014 yılları arasında Türkiye'de yapılan genel seçimlerin vergi gelirleri üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkisinin olmadığı ortaya çıkarılmaktadır.

Liliana ve Carmen (2014), Avrupa Birliği üyesi ülkelerin verilerini kullanarak yaptıkları korelasyon analizinde, vergi gelirleri ve ekonomik değişkenler arasında ilişkiler incelenmiş olup, kısaca vergi gelirleri ile mevduat faiz oranı arasında bir ilişki olmadığını göstermişlerdir. Yine Avrupa dışı 8 ülkeyi kapsayan başka bir çalışmada ise, para arzının ki, para arzını etkileyen en önemli faktörlerden birisinin faiz olduğu kabul edilirse, kamu gelirleri ile ilişkisinin olmadığı, ancak bunun ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik gösterebileceği ifade edilmektedir (Bunescu v.d.,2011).

Literatürde enflasyon ile vergi gelirleri arasındaki ilişki ise, genel olarak bütçe açıklarına ilişkin veriler baz alınarak izah edildiği görülmektedir. Bu açıdan çalışmalar iki kategoride ele alınmakta olup, bunlardan ilki, bütçe açıklarının enflasyona etkisi yönünde iken, çalışmamızla da ilgili olan diğeri ise, enflasyonun bütçe açıklarına ve dolaylı olarak da vergi gelirlerine olan etkisi şeklindedir. Konumuzun literatürdeki teorik temelini de oluşturan ikinci kategori, "Tanzi etkisi" olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Tanzi 1977 ve 1978 yıllarında yayımladığı çalışmalarında, gelişmekte olan ülkelerde (Arjantin örneği ile) tahakkuk ve tahsil sürecindeki gecikmenin, enflasyonun yüksek olduğu ekonomilerde, reel vergi gelirlerinde azalmaya yol açtığını ifade etmektedir. Benzer şekilde, Hondroyiannis ve Papapetrou (1997) tarafından, Granger Nedensellik Testi kullanılarak Yunanistan'a ilişkin olarak yapılan bir çalışmada da, bütçe açıklarının enflasyon oranına doğrudan bir etkisinin olmadığı ortaya konulmakla birlikte, enflasyon artışının bütçe açıklarını arttırdığı, başka bir ifadeyle vergi gelirlerini azalttığı yönünde sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır.

Literatürde vergi oranları ile vergi gelirleri arasındaki ilişkinin kurgulandığı en önemli teori A. Laffer tarafından ortaya atılmıştır denilebilir. Laffer, 1970'li yıllarda ortaya attığı teoriyi bir eğri yardımıyla izah etmiştir. Buna göre, vergi oranları sıfır ya da yüz olduğunda vergi gelirlerinin de sıfır olacağı temeline dayalı olarak, vergi oranlarındaki artışın vergi gelirlerinde azalışa yol açacağı ifade edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, ülkeden ülkeye değişmekle birlikte, vergi oranlarının belli bir düzeyin üzerinde arttırılmasının vergi gelirlerinin azalmasına sebep olacağı Laffer tarafından eğri yardımıyla izah edilmektedir. Konu hakkında literatürde pek çok çalışma yapıldığını belirtmekte fayda vardır. Kurumlar vergisi oranı ile kurumlar vergisi gelirleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ele bu çalışmalardan birisinde, 1980-2004 yılları periyodundaki OECD ülkelerine ait veri seti temel alınarak yapılmaktadır. Sözü geçen çalışmada, kurumlar vergisi oranı ile kurumlar vergisi gelirleri arasındaki ilişkinin zayıf olduğu, fakat yine de kurumlar vergisi oranındaki artışların, kurumlar vergisi gelirlerini azalttığı ortaya koyulmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ayırt edici özelliğinin, bu ilişkiyi kurarken değişken olarak, kurumlar vergisi tabanındaki değişikliklerin de analize dahil edilmesi olduğunu vurgulamak isteriz (Kawano ve Slemrod, 2012).

Tüm bu temel veri ve göstergelere ilave olarak çalışmamıza 2008 Küresel Finansal Krizi dahil etmemizdeki temel gerekçe, bu krizin dünyanın karşılaştığı en derin ve yaygın sonuçlara sebep olan krizlerden ilki olması gösterilebilir. Nitekim söz konusu kriz, ekonomi dünyasının ve genel olarak dünyanın tam olarak entegre olduğu bir dönemde cereyan etmiştir ve tam da bundan ötürü gerçekten küresel bağlamda çok derin ve etkili sonuçlar yaratmıştır.

Öyle ki, 2008'den 2009'a geçişte AB ülkelerinde (AB 27) devlet gelirlerinin %6,9 oranında düşmüş olduğu görülmektedir ve bu azalmanın nominal GSMH'taki düşten daha keskin olduğu gözlenmiştir (Wahrig ve Vallina, 2011). Türkiye ve Kurumlar Vergi Gelirleri özelinde ise, 2007'den 2008'e geçerken gelirlerde %23'lük bir artış gözlenirken, 2008'den 2009'a geçişte % 7'lik bir artış gözükmektedir. Bu göstergelerden gelirlerdeki artışın %71 oranında azaldığı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir diğer açıdan bakıldığı vakit, 1991-2007 periyodunda kurumlar vergisi gelirlerindeki artış, ortalama %47 iken, 2008-2017 periyodunda ise kurumlar vergisi gelirlerindeki ortalama gelir artışı ise, %16 düzeyinde olmuştur (Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2018)

Çalışmamızda Kurumlar Vergisi gelirlerinin, Kurumlar Vergisi oranı, mevduat faizi, vergi affı, seçim, Üretici Fiyat Endeksi (ÜFE), 2008 Küresel Finansal Krizi ile ilişkisi, kukla değişkenler içeren yarı logaritmik formda çoklu regresyon modeli yoluyla incelenmiştir. Çalışmamız, sırasıyla yöntem ve modelin incelenmesi, veri ve değişkenlerin neler olduğu, uygulanan model sonucunda çıkan bulguların incelenmesi ve son olarak da sonuçlar üzerine yorumları içermektedir.

II. Yöntem ve Model

Bağımlı değişkenin birden fazla bağımsız değişken tarafından etkilendiği ve bağımsız değişkenlerden bazılarının araştırma dönemi için süreklilik göstermediği, aynı zamanda bağımlı değişkenin üstel bir artış gösterdiği göz önünde bulundurarak çalışmamızda kukla değişkenler içeren yarı logaritmik formda Çoklu Regresyon Modeli uygulanmıştır. Ele aldığımız dönemde, farklı politik ve ekonomik uygulamaların bağımlı değişken üzerindeki etkisini görebilmek için bu ölçülemeyen uygulamaların birer gösterimi olarak kukla (yapay) değişkenler kullanılmıştır. Regresyon modeli kısa biçimde

$$lnY_i = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^{n}(\beta_j X_{ji} + \delta_j D_{ji}) + u_i \ , \qquad j = 1, 2, \dots, n \tag{1}$$

olarak ifade edilebilir. Eşitlik 1'de bulunan D_{ji} sadece 0 ve 1 değerlerini alabilen kukla değişkenler, β_0 , β_j ve δ_j bağımsız değişkenlerin katsayıları olarak tanımlanmıştır. Beklenen değerler ise $E[lnY_i|D_{ji} = 0] = \beta_0 + \beta_j \sum_{j=1}^{n} E[X_{ji}]$ ve $E[lnY_i|D_{ji} = 1] = \beta_0 + \beta_j \sum_{j=1}^{n}(E[X_{ji}] + \delta_j)$ olarak bulunur.

Yarı logaritmik formda katsayıların yorumlanması klasik doğrusal regresyon modellerinden farklıdır. Çünkü bağımlı değişkenin logaritmik ve bağımsız değişkenlerin doğrusal olduğu log-doğrusal modellerde eğimin katsayısı, bağımsız değişkendeki mutlak bir değişmeye karşılık, bağımlı değişken oransal değişmeyi ölçer. Bu katsayılar yarı-esneklik denilen bağımsız değişkendeki birim değişim için bağımlı değişkendeki yüzde değişimi gösterir. Aynı zamanda log-doğrusal modellerde kukla değişkenlerin yarı-esneklik değerleri $\left(e^{\delta_j} - 1\right) * 100$ ile hesaplanır.

Regresyon modelinin varsayımları olan, hata terimi normal dağılıma sahip olması, hata terimlerinin ortalamasının sıfır ve varyansının sabit olması, özilinti (otokorelasyon) olmaması, ve çoklu doğrusal bağlantı (eşdoğrusallık) sorununun bulunmaması varsayımları, kullanılan model için de geçerlidir ve bu varsayımlar için gerekli sınamalar yapılmalıdır.

III. Veri ve Değişkenler

Veri setinde 1991-2017 periyodundaki yıllık veriler kullanılmıştır. Kurumlar Vergisi Oranı (KVO), Mevduat Faizi Oranı (MFO), Üretici Fiyat Endeksindeki (ÜFE) yıllık değişimi gibi oran ölçekli değişkenlerin yanında, Türkiye'de uygulanan vergi afları, yapılan seçimler ve 2008 Küresel Finans Krizi kategorik değişkenler olup, kukla değişken olarak tanımlanmıştır. Belirtilen tarihsel periyottaki diğer ekonomik ve finansal krizler, 2008 küresel krizinin etkisini daha iyi anlayabilmek için veri setine dahil edilmemiştir. Veri seti oluşturulurken Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK), Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası (TCMB), Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı (GİB) ve Yüksek Seçim Kurulu (YSK) tarafından yayınlanan raporlar ve veri bankaları kullanılmıştır. Bahsi geçen değişkenlerin, 1991 -2017 yılları arasında Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirlerine (KVG) etkisini araştırmak için yarı-logaritmik doğrusal formda kukla değişkenli regresyon modeli kullanılmıştır.

IV. Bulgular

KVG Jarque-Bera normallik sınamasına göre normal dağılım göstermediğinden regresyon varsayımlarını sağlamak için log-değerleri kullanılmış ve log-KVG ($JBS = 4.18, p - değeri = 0.123$) normallik varsayımı sağlanmıştır. Bu yüzden yarı-logaritmik doğrusal formda regresyon modeli tercih edilmiştir. Log-KVG, KVO ve MFO düzey değerlerinde, ÜFE yıllık değişim oranı ise birinci farkında genişletilmiş Dickey-Fuller birim kök testine göre durağan olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Veri kaybı yaşanmaması ÜFE yıllık değişim oranının ilk farkı da veri setine eklenmiş ve bu durum verinin durağanlığını etkilememiştir. Vergi affının ve seçimlerin olup olmaması ile 2008 öncesi ve sonrası dönem kukla değişken olarak tanımlanmıştır. Kullanılan yarı-logaritmik doğrusal formda kukla değişkenli regresyon modeli aşağıdaki gibidir.

$$logKVG_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 KVO_i + \beta_2 MFO_i + \beta_3 \Delta(dÜFE_i) + \beta_4 D_{1i} + \beta_5 D_{2i} + \beta_6 D_{3i} + \varepsilon \tag{2}$$

Kukla değişkenler $D_{1i} = \begin{cases} 1, vergi\ affı\ var \\ 0, vergi\ affı\ yok \end{cases}$, $D_{2i} = \begin{cases} 1, seçim\ var \\ 0, seçim\ yok \end{cases}$ ve $D_{3i} = \begin{cases} 1,\ 2008\ sonrası\ dönem \\ 0,\ 2008\ öncesi\ dönem \end{cases}$

olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Tablo 1. Model-1 Parametre Tahminleri

Model-1: SEK (OLS), Kullanılan Gözlemler 1991-2017 (T = 27)
Bağımlı Değişken: logKVGelir

	Katsayı	Ölç. Hata	t-oranı	p-değeri	
const	22.3172	0.731613	30.50	<0.0001	***
KVOran	−17.5608	2.07192	−8.476	<0.0001	***
MFOran	−6.30586	0.610723	−10.33	<0.0001	***
VAF	0.933637	0.281468	3.317	0.0034	***
Secim	−0.267940	0.275774	−0.9716	0.3429	
KRiZ2008	−0.921821	0.436778	−2.111	0.0476	**
dUFE	−1.25250	0.844274	−1.484	0.1535	

Tablo 2. Model-1 için Uyum Ölçümleri

Model Uyum Uyum Ölçümleri			
Bağımlı değişken ort.	14.84303	S.D. Bağımlı değişken	2.763258
Kalıntı kareler toplamı	9.306498	S.E. Regresyon	0.682147
R-kare	0.953122	Ayarlamalı R-kare	0.939058
F(6, 20)	67.77307	P-değeri(F)	3.10e-12
Log-olabilirlik	–23.93217	Akaike ölçütü	61.86433
Schwarz ölçütü	70.93519	Hannan-Quinn	64.56157
rho	0.198124	Durbin-Watson	1.565400

Kurulan ilk modelde regresyon parametrelerin topluca anlamlılık testi uygulandığında $F(6,20)=67.77307$ değerine karşılık gelen p-değeri 3.10e-12'dir ve regresyon modeli istatiksel olarak anlamlıdır. Aynı zamanda modelin ayarlanmış R-kare değeri %94 olması, modelin kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde meydana gelen değişimi yüksek oranda açıklayabildiğini göstermektedir. Ancak parametrelerin tek tek anlamlılıklarına bakıldığında, yıllık bazda ÜFE'de meydana gelen değişimin birinci farkının ve Türkiye'de yapılan seçimlerin katsayıları anlamlı çıkmamaktadır. Yine de modelde görüldüğü üzere, ÜFE'deki artış ve seçimler, KVG azaltmaktadır. Diğer değişkenlere baktığımızda, 2008 sonrası dönemin ve KVO'da artışın KVG azalttığı; yapılan afların ise, KVG artırdığı görülmektedir.

Model-1 için regresyon varsayımları kontrol edildiğinde; White farklıserpilimsellik (değişen varyans) sınamasına göre farklıserpilimsellik sorunu görülmediği, Jarque-Bera Normallik Sınamasına göre hataların normal dağılıma sahip olduğu, Langrange Çarpanı yöntemine dayanarak yapılan Breusch-Godfrey testinin sonucunda da hata terimleri arasında özilinti (otokorelasyon) bulunmadığı ve varyans şişme çarpanı (VIF) değerlerine bakıldığında da, çoklu doğrusal bağlantı (eşdoğrusallık) problemi olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır. CUSUM katsayı kararlılığı sınaması değerine baktığımızda parametrelerde zamanla bir değişimin olmadığı, yani yapısal bir değişikliğin ortaya çıkmadığı ve eğilimde bir kırılımın oluşmadığı söylenebilir. Varsayım sınamalarının sonuçları EK 1'de verilmiştir.

Model-1'de ÜFE yıllık değişim oranı ve seçim kukla değişkeninin katsayıları istatiksel olarak anlamlı olmadığından ve diğer değişkenlerin KVG'ne etkisini daha iyi anlayabilmek için bu değişkenleri çıkararak yeni bir model oluşturduk. Değişken çıkarma sınamasının sonucuna göre ÜFE yıllık değişim oranı ve seçim değişkenlerinin çıkarılmasının anlamlı olduğuna karar verilmiştir.

Tablo 3. Model-1'den Değişken Çıkarma Sınaması

Değişken çıkarma sınaması			
Sınama	*Sıfır Önsavı*	*Sınama İstatistiği*	*p-değeri*
Değişken çıkarma	Seçilen dUFE and Secim değişkenleri için bağlanım katsayısı sıfırdır.	F(2, 20) = 1.69852	0.208

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Bu değişkenler çıkartıldıktan sonra kurulan Model-2 aşağıdaki gibidir.

$$logKVG_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 KVO_i + \beta_2 MFO_i + \beta_3 D_{1i} + \beta_4 D_{3i} + \varepsilon \tag{3}$$

Model-2 için parametre tahminleri ve model uyum ölçümleri sırasıyla Tablo 4 ve Tablo 5'de verilmiştir.

Tablo 4. Model-2 Parametre Tahminleri

	Katsayı	Ölç. Hata	t-oranı	p-değeri	
Model-2: SEK (OLS), Kullanılan Gözlemler 1991-2017 (T = 27)					
Bağımlı Değişken: logKVGelir					
const	22.3082	0.724168	30.81	<0.0001	***
KVOran	–17.4200	2.13521	–8.158	<0.0001	***
MFOran	–6.52154	0.605199	–10.78	<0.0001	***
VAF	0.986807	0.283330	3.483	0.0021	***
KRiZ2008	–1.10590	0.437968	–2.525	0.0193	**

Tablo 5. Model-2 Uyum Ölçümleri

Model Uyum Ölçümleri			
Bağımlı değişken ort.	14.84303	S.D. Bağımlı değişken	2.763258
Kalıntı kareler toplamı	10.88723	S.E. Regresyon	0.703473
R-kare	0.945160	Ayarlamalı R-kare	0.935189
F(6, 20)	94.79091	P-değeri(F)	1.54e-13
Log-olabilirlik	–26.05001	Akaike ölçütü	62.10003
Schwarz ölçütü	68.57921	Hannan-Quinn	64.02663
rho	0.232814	Durbin-Watson	1.490696

Parametrelerinin topluca anlamlılık testi uygulandığında $F_{(4,22)} = 94.79091$ değerine karşılık gelen p-değeri 1.52e-13'dür ve regresyon modeli istatiksel olarak anlamlıdır. Modelden iki değişken çıkartılmasına rağmen, modelin ayarlanmış R-kare değerinin %93.5 olması hâlâ modelin kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde meydana gelen değişimi yüksek oranda açıklayabildiğini ve çıkartılan ÜFE yıllık değişim oranı ile seçim değişkenlerinin bu değişimi açıklamakta olan katkısının az olduğunu göstermektedir. Parametrelerin tek tek anlamlılıklarına bakıldığında, tümünün istatiksel olarak anlamlı olduğunu sadece katsayı değerlerinde değişiklik meydana geldiğini, bununda KVG'nin KVO, MFO, vergi affı ve seçim değişkenlerine göre esnekliğini ve beklenen değerini değiştirdiğini görüyoruz.

Model-1 için uyguladığımız regresyon varsayım sınamaları Model-2 için de uygulandığında tüm varsayımların sağlandığı gözlenmiş ve sınama sonuçları EK 2'de verilmiştir. Modele bakıldığında KVO ve MFO artışının KVG'ni azalttığı ve 2008 Krizi sonrası dönemin de negatif bir etkisinin olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bunların yanında ise, vergi aflarının vergi gelirini arttırdığı söylenebilir. Bu sonuçlar ışığında KVO, MFO ve vergi affı esneklikleri anlamlı sonuçlar vermezken, 2008 krizinin yarı esneklik değeri 0.67 çıkmıştır ki, bu durum veriler ile de örtüşmektedir. 2008 sonrası dönemde ortalama KVG gelirlerindeki artış oranı %75.3 azalmıştır.

Modelin tahmin değerlendirme istatistiklerine baktığımızda ise, ortalama hata -1.4474e-015, ortalama hata kareleri kökü 0.635 ve ortalama mutlak hata da 0.54029 bulunmuştur. Bu istatistiklere karşılık gelen Theil U değeri ise 1.3496'dır. Ek 6'da modeli kullanarak yapmış olduğumuz tahmin değerleri bulunmaktadır.

V. Sonuç

Çalışmamızda belirtilen periyot içerisinde vergi afları sonrası kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde ortalama %48'lik bir pozitif yönde değişim gözlenirken, 2008 yılı sonrası vergi afları, kurumlar vergisinde ortalama %25'lik bir gelir artışına sebep olmuştur. Çalışmamızda da belirtildiği üzere, vergi aflarının kurumlar vergisi gelirlerini artırıcı etkisi, her af kanunu sonrası azalarak devam etmektedir. Vergi aflarının sürekli tekrarlanması ve mükelleflerin her mali yıl içerisinde af beklentisinin yüksek olması, mükelleflerin vergi algısını değiştirmesinin yanı sıra, bu durum afların uzun dönemde gelir artırıcı etkisinin kalmayacağını da göstermektedir. Yine istatiksel olarak anlamlı bulduğumuz bir başka sonuç olan "kurumlar vergisi oranı artıkça, kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinin azalması ya da kurumlar vergisi oranın düşmesi sonucunda gelirlerin artması" tespitimizi geçmiş deneyim ve uygulama sonuçlarından yola çıkarak, şu şekilde de açıklayabiliriz:

Geçmiş yıllarda kurumlar vergisi oranının %46'dan %25'e düşürülmesi, kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde %130'luk bir artışa sebep olmuştur. Yine kurumlar vergisi oranının %30'dan %33'e çıkartıldığı dönemde ki, 2018 yılı içerisinde olduğu gibi orandaki değişim %10 olmuştur, kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde ise sadece % 0,8 artış gözlenmiştir. Uygulama sonuçlarından çıkarılabilecek yorum, kurumlar vergisinde büyük çaplı bir oran azalışı, çok büyük oranda bir gelir artışına sebep olurken; %10'lu bir oran artışı ise %1'den daha az bir artışa sebep olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla vergi afları, mevduat faiz oranı, 2008 krizi ve kurumlar vergisi oranı bağımsız değişkenler kullanılarak oluşturulan ve ölçümlenen modelimizde, kurumlar vergisi geliri bağımlı değişkeninde azalış olacağı tahmin edilmektedir.

Buna göre, 11.05.2018 tarihli ve 7143 sayılı Vergi ve Diğer Bazı Alacakların Yeniden Yapılandırılması İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına İlişkin Kanun ile vergi affı getirilmesi, kurumlar vergisi oranının %22'ye çıkarılması, 1 yıl ve daha uzun vadeli Türk Lirası üzerinden bankalarca mevduatlara fiilen uygulanan azami faiz oranının %16.94 (TCMB, 2018) olması ve 2008 Küresel Finansal Krizinin sonrası dönemde olduğumuz da kabul edilirse, Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirlerinin azalacağı ve bunun %95 güven düzeyinde yaklaşık 53.94 milyar TL olacağı öngörülmektedir.

7066 sayılı 2018 Yılı Merkezi Yönetim Bütçe Kanunu 2018 yılı Merkezi Yönetim Bütçesine göre, 2018 yılı kurumlar vergisi geliri 65.8 milyar TL olarak öngörülmüştür (Resmi Gazete, 2017). Bu öngörüye göre kurumlar vergisi gelirlerinde %13.6 artış beklenmektedir. Bu öngörü ile, modelimiz kullanılarak yaptığımız öngörü arasındaki fark açıktır. Ancak Merkezi Yönetim Bütçesi düzenlenirken ülkenin içinde bulunduğu finansal ve mali durum şu ankinden farklıdır. Yıl içerisinde mevduat faizlerindeki artışla beraber kurumlar vergisi oranında meydana gelen artışın kurumlar vergisi gelirlerine muhakkak olumsuz bir etkisi olacaktır. Bunların yanı sıra 2008 krizinden 10 yıl sonra, Türkiye'de 2018 yılı içerisinde Türk Lirasının değer kaybetmesine bağlı olarak finansal piyasalarda yaşanan dalgalanmalar ve kur riskinin yarattığı belirsizlik, en önemli ve büyük kurumlar vergisi mükelleflerinden olan bankaların gelirlerine de büyük oranda olumsuz etkisi olacaktır.

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EK 1. Model-1 için yapılan varsayım sınamaları

Tablo 6. Model-1 Varsayım Sınamaları
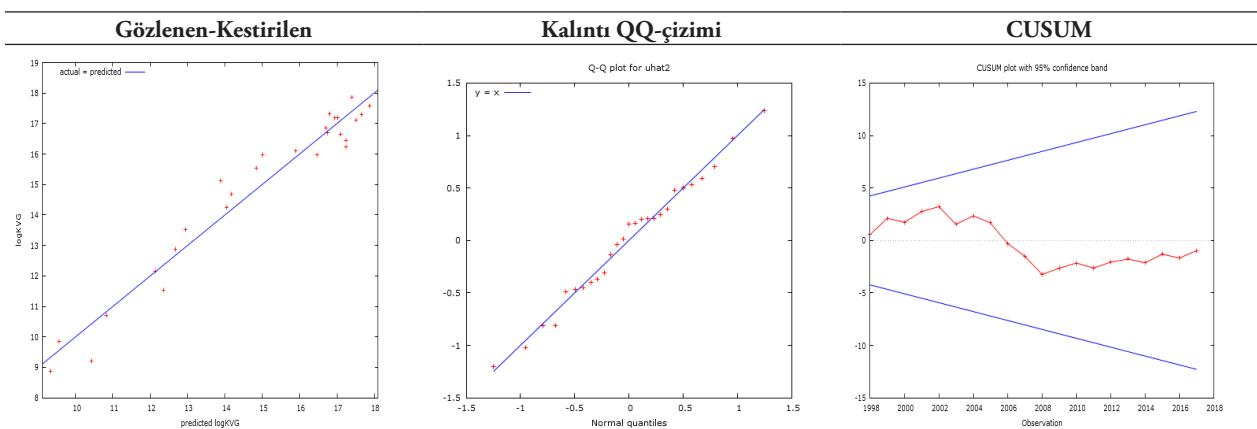
Varsayım Sınamaları

Sınama	Sıfır Önsavı	Sınama İstatistiği	p-değeri
White sınaması	Farklıserpilimsellik bulunmuyor	LM = 26.241	0.289
Kalıntıların normalliği	Hatalar normal dağılıyor	Chi-square(2) = 0.079	0.961
LM sınaması	Özilinti yoktur	LMF = 1.251	0.350
ARCH etkisi sınaması	ARCH etkisi yoktur	LM = 8.192	0.414
CUSUM sınaması	Parametrelerde değişiklik yoktur	Harvey-Collier t(19) = -0.219	0.828

Tablo 7. Model-1 Eşdoğrusallık İstatistiği

Eşdoğrusallık İstatistiği		
Değişken	VIF	Hata Payı
KVOran	1.64	0.611
MFOran	2.10	0.475
Secim	1.10	0.908
VAF	1.11	0.901
KRiZ2008	2.58	0.387
dUFE	1.10	0.907

Varyans Şişme Çarpanları (VIF), 10,0'dan büyük değerler, bir eşdoğrusallık sorunu gösteriyor olabilir.

Gözlenen-Kestirilen	**Kalıntı QQ-çizimi**	**CUSUM**

Grafik 1. Model-1

EK 2. Model-2 için yapılan varsayım sınamaları
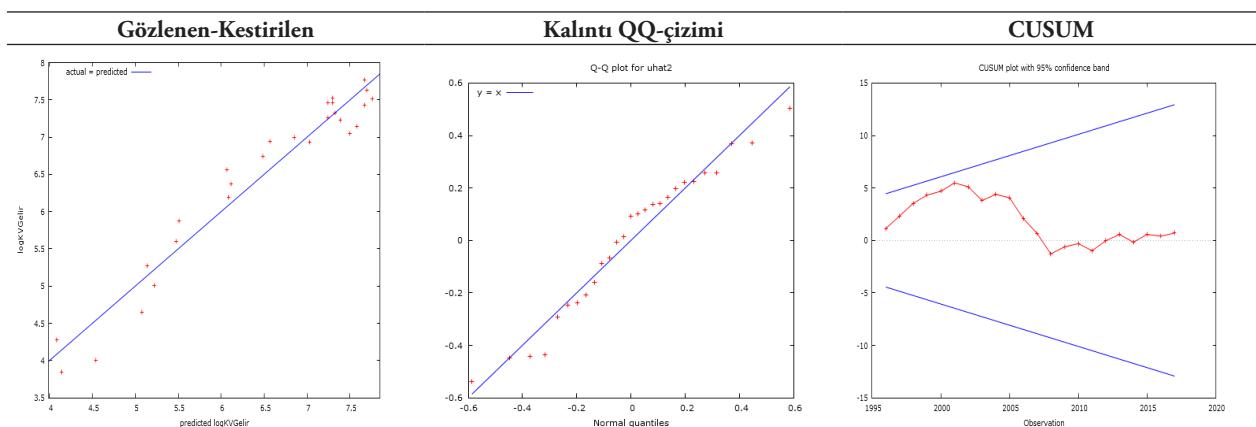
Tablo 8. Model-2 Varsayım Sınamaları

Varsayım Sınamaları			
Sınama	*Sıfır Önsavı*	*Sınama İstatistiği*	*p-değeri*
White sınaması	Farklıserpilimsellik bulunmuyor	LM = 15.9667	0.142
Kalıntıların normalliği	Hatalar normal dağılıyor	Chi-square(2) = 1.60903	0.447
LM sınaması	Özilinti yoktur	LMF = 1.20666	0.362
ARCH etkisi sınaması	ARCH etkisi yoktur	LM = 4.649	0.794
CUSUM sınaması	Parametrelerde değişiklik yoktur	Harvey-Collier t(21) = 0.149	0.882

Tablo 9. Model-2 Eşdoğrusallık İstatistiği

Eşdoğrusallık İstatistiği		
Değişken	*VIF*	*Hata Payı*
KVOran	1.64	0.612
MFOran	1.94	0.515
VAF	1.06	0.946
KRiZ2008	2.44	0.410

Variance Inflation Factors, Minimum possible value = 1.0, Values > 10.0 may indicate a collinearity problem

Gözlenen-Kestirilen	Kalıntı QQ-çizimi	CUSUM

Grafik 2. Model-2

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EK 3. Türkiye'de 1991-2017 periyodunda yapılan vergi afları

Tablo 10. Türkiye'de 1991-2017 periyodunda yapılan vergi afları

Sıra	Tarih	Kanun Sayısı ve Açıklama
1	21.02.1992	3787 Sayılı Yasa
2	05.09.1997	400 Sayılı Tahsilat Genel Tebliği
3	22.07.1998	4369 Sayılı Yasa
4	06.02.2001	414 Sayılı Tahsilat Genel Tebliği
5	07.03.2002	4746 Sayılı Yasa İle Emlak Vergisi İle İlgili Af Düzenlemesi (Emlak Vergisi Yasasının Geçici Madde 21)
6	27.02.2003	4811 Sayılı Vergi Barışı Kanunu
7	22.11.2008	5811 Sayılı Bazı Varlıkların Milli Ekonomiye Kazandırılması Hakkında Kanun (Varlık Barışı)
8	13.02.2011	6111 Sayılı Bazı Alacakların Yeniden Yapılandırılması İle Sosyal Sigortalar Ve Genel Sağlık Sigortası Kanunu ve Diğer Bazı Kanun Ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun
9	10.09.2014	6552 Sayılı İş Kanunu ile Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılması ile Bazı Alacakların Yeniden Yapılandırılmasına Dair Kanun
10	19.08.2016	6736 sayılı Bazı Alacakların Yapılandırılmasına İlişkin Kanun
11	27.05.2017	7020 sayılı Bazı Alacakların Yeniden Yapılandırılması İle Bazı Kanunlarda ve Bir Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamede Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun

Kaynak*: Şanver, 2018.*

EK 4. Türkiye'de 1991-2017 periyodunda yapılan seçimler

Tablo 11. Türkiye'de 1991-2017 periyodunda yapılan seçimler

Sıra	Seçim yılı	Seçim türü
1	20 Ekim 1991	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
2	27 Mart 1994	Mahalli İdareler Genel Seçimleri
3	24 Aralık 1995	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
4	18 Nisan 1999	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
5	18 Nisan 1999	Mahalli İdareler Genel Seçimleri
6	3 Kasım 2002	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
7	28 Mart 2004	Mahalli İdareler Genel Seçimleri
8	22 Temmuz 2007	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
9	21 Ekim 2007	Anayasa Değişikliği Halkoylaması
10	29 Mart 2009	Mahalli İdareler Genel Seçimleri
11	12 Eylül 2010	Anayasa Değişikliği Halkoylaması
12	12 Haziran 2011	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
13	30 Mart 2014	Mahalli İdareler Genel Seçimleri
14	10 Ağustos 2014	Cumhurbaşkanı Seçimi
15	7 Haziran 2015	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
16	1 Kasım 2015	Milletvekili Genel Seçimi
17	16 Nisan 2017	Anayasa Değişikliği Halkoylaması

Kaynak*: T.C. Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, www.ysk.gov.tr* **Not:** *Ara seçimler dahil edilmemiştir.*

EK 5. Çalışmada kullanılan veri seti

Tablo 12. Veri Seti
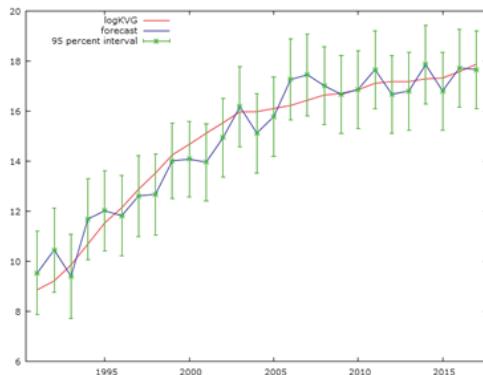
Tarih	Kurumlar Vergisi Gelirleri	Kurumlar Vergisi Oranları	UFE	Mevduat Faizi Oran
1991	7061	0.46	0.553	0.73
1992	10069	0.46	0.621	0.74
1993	19101	0.46	0.584	0.75
1994	43955	0.25	1.207	0.96
1995	102736	0.25	0.860	0.91
1996	187069	0.25	0.760	0.94
1997	393150	0.25	0.818	0.97
1998	748383	0.25	0.718	0.96
1999	1549525	0.30	0.531	0.47
2000	2356787	0.30	0.514	0.46
2001	3675665	0.30	0.616	0.63
2002	5575495	0.30	0.501	0.48
2003	8645345	0.30	0.256	0.29
2004	8714752	0.33	0.146	0.22
2005	9866396	0.30	0.059	0.2
2006	11157710	0.20	0.093	0.24
2007	13750876	0.20	0.063	0.21
2008	16905045	0.20	0.127	0.26
2009	18022830	0.20	0.012	0.16
2010	20924891	0.20	0.085	0.13
2011	26992793	0.20	0.110	0.16
2012	29017423	0.20	0.061	0.16
2013	28987758	0.20	0.045	0.14
2014	32305111	0.20	0.102	0.13
2015	33388149	0.20	0.053	0.14
2016	42969665	0.20	0.043	0.15
2017	57867855	0.20	0.158	0.16

Kaynak: *TÜİK 1923-2013 İstatistik Göstergeler, TCMB EVDS, GİB, YSK*

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EK 6. Model-2 ile yapılan tahmin değerleri

Tablo 13. Öngörü verileri

Obs	logKVG	prediction	std. error	95% interval
%95 güven aralığı için, t(22, 0.025) = 2.074				
1991	8.86234	9.53427	0.806878	(7.86090, 11.2076)
1992	9.21722	10.4559	0.813446	(8.76888, 12.1428)
1993	9.85750	9.40384	0.807913	(7.72833, 11.0793)
1994	10.6909	11.6925	0.779511	(10.0759, 13.3091)
1995	11.5399	12.0186	0.770371	(10.4209, 13.6162)
1996	12.1392	11.8229	0.775726	(10.2142, 13.4317)
1997	12.8819	12.6141	0.783050	(10.9902, 14.2381)
1998	13.5257	12.6793	0.781491	(11.0586, 14.3000)
1999	14.2535	14.0171	0.732858	(12.4972, 15.5369)
2000	14.6728	14.0823	0.733367	(12.5614, 15.6032)
2001	15.1172	13.9604	0.746227	(12.4129, 15.5080)
2002	15.5339	14.9387	0.753229	(13.3766, 16.5008)
2003	15.9725	16.1778	0.777377	(14.5656, 17.7899)
2004	15.9805	15.1249	0.764358	(13.5397, 16.7100)
2005	16.1046	15.7779	0.763493	(14.1945, 17.3613)
2006	16.2276	17.2590	0.781501	(15.6383, 18.8798)
2007	16.4366	17.4547	0.785775	(15.8251, 19.0843)
2008	16.6431	17.0095	0.751710	(15.4505, 18.5684)
2009	16.7071	16.6748	0.751307	(15.1167, 18.2330)
2010	16.8564	16.8705	0.750899	(15.3132, 18.4278)
2011	17.1111	17.6617	0.751266	(16.1036, 19.2197)
2012	17.1834	16.6748	0.751307	(15.1167, 18.2330)
2013	17.1824	16.8053	0.750986	(15.2478, 18.3627)
2014	17.2907	17.8573	0.752083	(16.2976, 19.4170)
2015	17.3237	16.8053	0.750986	(15.2478, 18.3627)
2016	17.5760	17.7269	0.751489	(16.1684, 19.2854)
2017	17.8737	17.6617	0.751266	(16.1036, 19.2197)

Grafik 3. Model-2 kullanılarak yapılan tahminler

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FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE AND NON-LINEAR COINTEGRATION: THE CASE OF TURKEY / DIŞ TİCARET DENGESİ VE DOĞRUSAL OLMAYAN EŞTÜMLEŞME: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Işıl Akgül,* Selin Özdemir Yazgan,** Emre Çevik***

Özet

Bu çalışmada 1996-2017 döneminde Türkiye'nin dış ticaret dengesi ile petrol fiyatları ve döviz kurları arasındaki eştümleşme ilişkisi, doğrusal olmayan gecikmesi dağıtılmış otoregresif modelleri (NARDL) ile analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın diğerlerinden farkı, değişkenler arasındaki doğrusal olmayan yapının dikkate almasının yanı sıra eşik değişken olarak petrol fiyatlarındaki oynaklığın seçilmiş olmasıdır. Değişkenlerin durağanlıkları ve doğrusallıkları ADF, PP, KSS ve BDS testleri ile incelenmiştir. Eşik değer, petrol fiyatlarının oynaklığı ile hesaplanmış, sınır testleri ile değişkenler arasında eştümleşme ilişkisinin olup olmadığı belirlenmiş ve NARDL modelleri tahmin edilmiştir. Analizler sonucunda değişkenler arasında kısa ve uzun dönemde asimetrik ilişkinin olduğu, uzun dönem petrol fiyat oynaklığının dış ticaret dengesine pozitif yönlü geçişkenlik etkisinin olduğu bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu da, petrol ithalatçısı olan Türkiye'nin dış ticareti için geliştirilecek olan politikalarda petrol ve döviz kuru şoklarının kısa ve uzun dönem etkilerinin eşiklere göre nasıl farklılaştığının dikkate alınmasının önemini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Ticaret Dengesi, Doğrusal Olmayan Gecikmesi Dağıtılmış Otoregresif Model, NARDL, Asimetri

Abstract

In this paper, the cointegration relationship between Turkey's foreign trade balance with oil prices and exchange rate were analysed using nonlinear distributed lag autoregressive model (NARDL). The difference between this study and others; one is that the nonlinear nature of the variables is taken into account, and the other is the fluctuation of oil prices is chosen as the threshold variable. The stationarity and the linearity of the variables were tested by the ADF, PP, KSS and BDS tests. Furthermore, the threshold value was calculated by the volatility of oil prices, the relation between the variables was determined with the boundary tests and then NARDL models were estimated. As a result of the analyses, it is found that there is a short and long asymmetric relation between the variables and that the long-term oil price volatility has a positive pass-through effect on the trade balance. These findings demonstrates the importance of taking into account the differentiation of short- and long-term effects of exchange rates shocks and oil price shocks according to thresholds in determining Turkey's foreign trade policy, which is an oil importer country.

Keywords: Foreign Trade Balance, Nonlinear Distributed Lag Autoregressive Model, NARDL, Asymmetry

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Giriş

Bir ülkenin dış ticaret dengesi, o ülkenin ekonomik faaliyetleri ve döviz kurunun yanı sıra dünyadaki gelişmelere de bağlıdır. Türkiye gibi gelişmekte olan ve petrol ithalatçısı ülkelerde, birincil enerji kaynağı olan petrol fiyatları da en az döviz kuru kadar ülkenin dış ticaretinde ve büyümesinde önemli yer tutmaktadır. Ülkenin ekonomik büyüme hedefi doğrultusunda, daha fazla ithalat yapmasına yol açacak ve bu da dış ticaret dengesinde bozulmalara neden olacaktır. Ticaret kanalı ile petrol ithal eden bir ülke olarak, petrol fiyatlarındaki artış, ihraç ve ithal edilen malların fiyatlarını değiştirerek dış ticaret dengesinde değişmelere neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Türkiye gibi gelişmekte olan ülkelerde dış ticaret dengesinin analizlerinde petrol fiyatları önemli bir değişken olarak yer almaktadır. Ayrıca döviz kurundaki oynamalar da ithalat ve ihracat üzerinde ters etkiler yaratacağından ticaret dengesinin belirlenmesinde önemli olmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Türkiye'de 1996:01-2017:07 dönemi dış ticaret dengesindeki uzun ve kısa dönem ilişkileri ile dış ticaret dengesinin petrol fiyatları, büyümeyi temsil eden değişken olarak sanayi üretim endeksive reel döviz kurları arasındaki asimetri ilişkisinin analizi amaçlanmıştır. Yapılacak analizler sonucunda, değişkenler arasında kısa ve uzun dönemde asimetrik ilişkinin olup olmadığı bulunacak, böylece petrol fiyatlarındaki artış ile düşüş ayrıştırılarak ticaret dengesine etkileri ayrı ayrı test edilebilecek ve böylece hangisinin istatistiksel anlamlı etkisinin olduğuna karar verilebilecektir. Başka bir deyişle, petrol fiyat değişikliklerinin etkisinin asimetrik olup olmadığı ortaya konulacaktır.

Yazın Taraması

Petrol fiyatları ile makroekonomik değişkenler arasındaki ilişkinin yaygın olarak incelenmesi, 1980'lerde başlanmaktadır. Çünkü 1973 yılında yaşanan petrol krizi, başta Amerika Birleşik Devletleri olmak üzere, birçok petrol ithal eden ülkelerin ekonomik kriz yaşamasına neden olmuştur. Petrol İhraç Eden Ülkeler Birliği (OPEC), aldığı karar ile 1973'te 3.29 \$ olan ham petrol varil fiyatlarını 1974'te 11.58 \$'a arttırması ile beraber, başta gelişmiş ülkelerin borsalarında çöküşe neden olmuş ve bununla beraber makroekonomik değişkenlerinde de etkileri görülmüştür. Bu ilişkiyi, yani petrol fiyatları ve dış ticaret dengesi ile ilgili uluslararası çalışmalara Le ve Chang (2013), Arouri, TiwariveTeulon (2014) ve Salles ve Almeida (2017) örnek verilebilirken ulusal çalışmalara Demirbaş, Türkay ve Türkoğlu (2009), Altıntaş (2013), Güneş, Gürel ve Cambazoğlu (2013), Bayat, Şahbaz ve Akçacı (2013) ve Şengönül ve diğ. (2018) örnek verilebilir. Bunlardan Le ve Chang (2013), 1999:01-2011:11 döneminde üç Asya ülkesinde, Malezya (petrol ihracatçısı), Singapur (petrol rafinerisi) ve Japonya (petrol ithalatçısı), ticaret dengesinin değişmesi ve petrol fiyat dalgalanmaları arasındaki ilişki için Toda ve Yamamoto(1995) nedensellik yaklaşımı ve genelleştirilmiş etki-tepki fonksiyonları ile analizlerini yaparken Arouri,Tiwari ve Teulon (2014), 1980:01-2011:12 ve 1994:08-2011:12 dönemlerinde Hindistan petrol fiyatları ve ticaret dengesi arasındaki lead-lag ilişkisini,Breitung ve Candelon (2006) tarafından önerilen Granger nedenselliğine koşullu geleneksel VAR ile analiz etmişlerdir. deSalles ve Almeida (2017), 2002:01- 2015:11 döneminde Brezilya ekonomisi için ham petrol fiyatları ile seçilmiş endüstriyel göstergeler arasındaki ilişkiyi eştümleşme, VAR tahminlerinden nedensellik testi ve etki-tepki analizleri yardımı ile analiz etmişlerdir. Demirbaş ve diğ. (2009), 1984-2008 yılları arasında Türkiye için cari açık ile petrol fiyatları arasındaki kısa ve uzun dönem ilişkiyi, Engle-Granger ve Johansen eştümleşme analizleri ile araştırmışlardır. Altıntaş (2013), 1987-2010 yılları arası Türkiye için petrol fiyatlarının ihracat modelinde yer aldığı bir çalışma yapmıştır. Analizde doğrusal ARDL yönteminden yararlanılmış ve açıklanan değişken olarak Türkiye'nin ihracat miktarına, açıklayıcı değişkenler olarak da G7 ülkelerinin reel GSYİH toplamlarına; reel döviz kuruna, reel petrol fiyatlarına ve Türkiye'nin nispi ihracat fiyatına modelde yer vermişlerdir. Güneş ve diğ. (2013), döviz kurlarını

dışsal olarak etkileyen değişkenleri belirlemek amacıyla, Türkiye için 1995-2010 yılları arasında reel döviz kuru, dış ticaret hadleri ve dünya petrol fiyatları arasında ilişkiyi Yapısal VAR modelini kullanarak analiz etderlerken Bayat ve diğ. (2013), reel petrol fiyatları ile dış ticaret dengesi arasındaki ilişkiyi doğrusal olmayan yöntemlerle analiz etmişlerdir. Yazarlar, Hansen-Seo doğrusal olmayan eştümleşme, Hiemstra-Jones doğrusal olmayan Granger tipi nedensellik ve frekans ortamı Granger tipi nedensellik analizleri ile değişkenler arasında uzun dönemli doğrusal olmayan bir etkileşimin olduğu; reel petrol fiyatlarından dış ticaret dengesine doğru doğrusal olmayan nedensellik olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Şengönül ve diğ. (2018), petrol fiyatlarındaki değişimin Türkiye'nin ihracatına hangi yönde etkilendiğini belirlemek amacıyla, 2000-2016 yılları arasında ihracat, petrol fiyatları, döviz sepeti ve ihracatın ithalatı karşılama oranı değişkenleri ile ARDL yöntemiyle kısa ve uzun dönem ilişkiyi araştırmışlardır. Elde ettikleri sonuçlar, Türkiye ihracatını uzun dönemde petrol ve döviz fiyatlarının pozitif yönde etkilediğini ve petrol fiyatlarındaki %10'luk bir değişimin ihracat üzerinde yaklaşık %6 oranında pozitif bir değişime sebep olduğunu göstermiştir.

Döviz kuru ve dış ticaret dengesi ile ilgili uluslararası çalışmalara Aristotelous (2001), Vita ve Abbott (2004), Hwaug ve Lee (2005), Baak, Al-Mahmood ve Vixathep (2007), Sweidan (2013), ve Alize, Malindretos ve Igwe (2017) örnek olarak verilebilirken ulusal çalışmalara Gürbüz ve Çekerol (2002), Barışık ve Demircioğlu (2006), Tapşin ve Karabulut (2013), Petek ve Çelik (2017), Karaş ve Karaş (2017) ve Barak ve Naimoğlu (2018) çalışmaları örnek verilebilir. Bunlardan Barışık ve Demircioğlu (2006), 1980-2001 döneminde Türkiye'de uygulanan döviz kuru sistemi içinde ihracat-ithalat ilişkisini incelenmişlerdir. Eştümleşme, nedensellik ve etki-tepki analizleri sonucunda döviz kuru rejimi ve ihracat-ithalat arasında kuvvetli olmayan bir ilişkinin varlığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Tapşin ve Karabulut (2013), 1980-2011 yılları arasında Türkiye'de reel döviz kuru, ithalat ve ihracat değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkiyi araştıran çalışmada Toda ve Yamamoto (1995) tarafından geliştirilen nedensellik analizi uygulamışlardır. Karaş ve Karaş (2017), 2003:01–2017:06 dönemleri arasında Türkiye için reel efektif döviz kuru, ihracat ve ithalat değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkiyi eştümleşme ve nedensellik testleri yardımı ile analiz ederken Petek ve Çelik (2017), 1990-2015 döneminde Türkiye'de enflasyon, döviz kuru, ihracat ve ithalat arasındaki ilişkiyi eştümleşme, nedensellik ve VAR modelleri yardımı ile analiz etmişlerdir. Barak ve Naimoğlu (2018), kırılgan beşli olarak nitelendirilen ülkelerde dış ticaret, reel döviz kuru ve ticari açıklık arasındaki kısa ve uzun dönemli ilişkiyi, 2000-2014 dönemine ait panel verileri ile analiz etmişlerdir. Analizlerde, Panel ARDL yöntemi, Granger nedensellik testi ve varyans ayrıştırmadan yararlanmışlardır.

Yazın taramasında doğrusal eştümleşme, doğrusal VAR, etki-tepki ve doğrusal nedensellik analizlerinin sıklıkla kullanıldığı, daha az sayıda doğrusal ARDL sınır testinin uygulandığı görülmektedir. Doğrusal Olmayan ARDL (NARDL) için ise, analiz edilen değişkenler kapsamında yapılan yazın taraması sonucunda az sayıda çalışmaya rastlanmıştır. Bunlar arasında Bahmani-Osookee ve Fariditavana (2015), Kanada, Çin, Japonya ve ABD için 1971:Q1-2013:Q3 döneminde ticaret dengesi üzerindeki döviz kuru değişimlerinin asimetrik olup olmadığını araştırmışlardır. Asimetri ölçütü olarak reel efektif döviz kurunu kullanıp ARDL yöntemi ile tahminlerini gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Atil ve diğ. (2014), çalışmalarında,1997:01-2012:09 döneminde ham petrol fiyatlarının benzin ve doğalgaz fiyatlarına geçişini incelemek için doğrusal olmayan ARDL modelinden yararlanmışlardır. WTI ham petrol fiyatları, Henry Hub doğal gaz ve benzin değişkenleri için, incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada, önerilen ampirik yaklaşım aracılığıyla ham petrol fiyatlarının gücünün etkileri negatif ve pozitif kısmi toplam ayrıştırmalar yoluyla kısa ve uzun dönemli doğrusal olmama durumu eş zamanlı olarak test edilmiştir. Elde edilen bulgulara göre petrol fiyatlarının benzin ve doğal gaz fiyatlarını asimetrik bir şekilde etkilediği ancak fiyat iletim mekanizmasının aynı olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Yukarıda özetlenen ulusal ve uluslararası çalışmalar bir arada değerlendirildiğinde, çalışmalarda genel olarak dış ticaret dengesi, petrol fiyatı ve döviz kuru arasındaki ilişkilerin eştümleşme, VAR ve nedensellik analizi gibi doğrusal modeller kapsamında ele alındığı görülürken daha az sayıda olan ARDL ile ilgili çalışmalarında yine doğrusal ARDL kapsamında ele alındığı görülmektedir. Anılan bu modeller simetriktir. Ayrıca makroekonomik değişkenin doğrusal olmayan özellikler taşıdığı görüldüğünde, doğrusal olmayan seriler için doğrusal modellerin uygulanması uygun olmayacaktır. Analizlerin doğrusallık varsayımı ile yapılması bulguların ve değerlendirmelerin yanlış ve yanıltıcı olmasına yol açacaktır. Ayrıca doğrusal olmama ve asimetrinin varlığı ise meydana gelecek pozitif şoklar ile negatif şokların etkilerinin farklı olmasına yol açabilir. Bunun göz ardı edilmesi de yanıltıcı olacaktır. Bu çalışmada yer verilen değişkenlerin tümünü bir arada ele alan ve doğrusal ve doğrusal olmayan ARDL modelleri ile analiz eden, asimetri ilişkisini göz önüne alan bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Bu açıdan yapılan çalışmanın, yazına önemli katkı yapacağı düşünülmektedir.

Yöntem ve Uygulama

Bu bölümde, ilk olarak ARDL ve NARDL modelleri ile ilgili bilgi verilmekte, sonra uygulamalı analizler yapılmaktadır.

Pesaran ve Shin (1998) ve Pesaran ve diğ. (2001) tarafından literatüre kazandırılan gecikmesi dağıtılmış otoregresif (Auto Regressive Distributed Lag):ARDL model ile eştümleşme yaklaşımı, değişkenlerin durağanlık mertebelerinden ziyade I(2) olmamasına dayandırarak eştümleşme analizinin tahminini yapmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında tahmin edilecek ARDL modelinin genel gösterimi aşağıda yapılmıştır:

$$\Delta DTD_t = \alpha_0 + \gamma_1 DTD_{t-1} + \gamma_2 LREDK_{t-1} + \gamma_3 LSUE_{t-1} + \gamma_4 LOP_{t-1}$$
$$+ \sum_{i=1}^{a} \beta_i \Delta DTD_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{a} \delta_i \Delta LREDK_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{a} \phi_i \Delta LSUE_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{a} \theta_i \Delta LOP_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t$$

Bu denklemde uzun dönem katsayılarının sıfırdan farklı olması durumunda değişkenler arasında uzun dönemli ilişkinin varlığından söz edilebilmektedir. $H_0 : \gamma_1 = \gamma_2 = \gamma_3 = \gamma_4 = 0$ hipotezi, F testi yardımıyla test edilip Pesaran ve diğ. (2001) kritik değerleri ile karşılaştırılır. Sıfır hipotezinin reddedilmesi durumunda, değişkenler arasında eştümleşme ilişkisinin olduğu sonucuna ulaşılır. Shin ve diğ. (2014) tarafından önerilen ve asimetrik ilişkileri gösteren ARDL modeli ise aşağıda tanımlanmıştır:

$$\Delta DTD_t = \alpha_0 + \gamma_1 DTD_{t-1} + \gamma_2 LREDK_{t-1} + \gamma_3 LSUE_{t-1} + \gamma_4 LOP_{t-1}^+ + \gamma_5 LOP_{t-1}^+$$
$$+ \sum_{i=1}^{p} \beta_i \Delta DTD_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{q} \delta_i \Delta LREDK_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r} \phi_i \Delta LSUE_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s} \theta_i \Delta LOP_{t-i}^+ + \sum_{i=0}^{l} \zeta_i \Delta LOP_{t-i}^- + \varepsilon_t$$

Burada

$$LOP_t^- = \sum_{j=1}^{t} \Delta LOP_j^- = \sum_{j=1}^{t} \min\left(\Delta LOP_j, 0\right)$$

$$LOP_t^+ = \sum_{j=1}^{t} \Delta LOP_j^+ = \sum_{j=1}^{t} \max\left(\Delta LOP_j, 0\right)$$

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olarak hesaplanmaktadır.Shin ve diğ.(2014) tarafından tanıtılan NARDL eştümleşme yaklaşımı, bilinen ARDL modelinin ilgilenilen değişkendeki kısa ve uzun dönem asimetrisinin kapsanmasına izin verir. Bunu, kısmi toplamlar yardımı ile yapar. Asimetrik uzun dönem ilişkisinin varlığı veya yokluğu, WaldF-testi yardımı ile belirlenmektedir.

Analiz dönemi ve kullanılan değişkenler:

Analizler, 1996:01-2017:07 dönemi için Türkiye'nin toplam dış ticaret dengesi bağımlı değişken olmak üzere reel efektif döviz kuru, petrol fiyatı ve sanayi üretim endeksi ile yapılmıştır. Değişkenler, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK), Birleşik Devletler Enerji Bilgi İdaresi (EIA) ve TCMB Elektronik Veri Dağıtım sitelerinden elde edilmiştir.

Yöntemin uygulama basamakları:

Yöntemin uygulama basamakları şöyle sıralanabilir:

1. Serilerin durağan olup olmadıklarının ve doğrusal olup olmadıklarının test edilmesi

2. Petrol fiyatları serisine uygun oynaklık modelinin bulunması ile oynaklık serisinin eldesi.

3. Oynaklık serisi için uygun eşik değerinin seçimi.

4. Belirlenen eşik değere göre, eşiğin altında ve üstünde kalan gözlemler için kısmi kümülatif toplamlar elde edilerek NARDL yaklaşımı ile aralarında uzun dönem ilişkisinin araştırılması.

5. Aşama: NARDL(p,q,r,s,l) modeli ile hata düzeltme modeli tahmin edilir.

Aşağıda bu basamaklar uygulanmıştır.

1.Seriler için durağanlık ve doğrusallık testleri

Bu değişkenler için uygun modelin tanımlanabilmesi için durağanlıklarının, kaçıncı mertebeden durağan olduklarının ve doğrusal olup olmadıklarının belirlenmesi gerekmektedir. Değişkenler arasında eştümleşme ilişkisi olup olmadığı, NARDL modelleri ile araştırılacaktır. Bunun için serilerin durağan olmamasının yanı sıra doğrusal olmama koşullarını gerçekleştirmesi gerekmektedir. Bu amaçla birim kök, bağımsızlık ve doğrusal olmamayı test etmede ADF,PP,BDS ve KSS testleri kullanılmaktadır.

Bunlar arasından Dickey ve Fuller(1979):DF ve Phillips ve Perron(1988):PP testleri, serilerin durağan olup olmadıklarını ortaya çıkarmaya yarayan birim kök testleri olarak bilinirler. Her iki testin Ho hipotezi, durağan olmamayı veya birim köke sahip olmayı ifade eder. BDS testi, bağımsızlık ve bağlantılı olarak doğrusal olmamayı test eder. Kapetanios, Shin ve Snell(2003):KSS testi ile Ho hipotezinde serilerin birim köke sahip olması, Ha hipotezinde ise durağan ancak doğrusal olmama test edilir. ADF, PP ve KSS testlerinin sonucu elde edilen test istatistikleri Tablo 1'de verilmiştir.

Tablo 1: ADF, PP ve KSS Test sonuçları

Tetsler		KSS					ADF	PP
		GecikmeKriteri						
	Değişkenler	Sabit	AIC	SIC	GTS05	GTS10		
SabitliveTrendli	DTD	-1.791 (15)*	-2.006 (13)	-2.107 (1)	-1.805 (12)	-1.805 (12)	-4.002	-5.14
	LSUE	-1.601 (15)	-1.601 (15)	-1.978 (13)	-1.601 (15)	-1.601 (15)	-3.639	-9.051
	LREDK	-2.492 (15)	-2.321 (12)	-3.507 (2)	-2.492 (15)	-2.492 (15)	-2.631	-2.509
	LOP	-1.844 (15)	-2.558 (2)	-2.317 (1)	-2.317 (1)	-2.216 (10)	-1.862	-1.678
	%5K.D.	-2.644	-2.866	-2.840	-2.984	-2.914	*-3.43*	*-3.43*

*Parantez içindeki değerler, gecikme uzunluklarıdır.

Tablo 1'de ADF ve PP testlerine göre DTD ve LSUE hariç diğer serilerin durağan olmadığı görülmektedir. Ancak serilerin doğrusal olmaması durumunda bu testlerin güvenilirliği azalmaktadır. Bu nedenle düzey veriler için KSS testi sonuçları da Tablo 1'de verilmiştir. KSS testi sonuçları, diğer seriler gibi DTD ve LSUE serilerinin de birim köke sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Böylece ARDL modelinin oluşturulması için gerekli şartlar sağlanmış olmaktadır. Fark serileri için yapılan ADF ve PP testleri sonucunda, değişkenlerin I(1) mertebesinde olduğu belirlenmiş olduğundan değişkenler için ARDL modelinin oluşturulabilecektir. Serilerin bağımlı olup olmadıkları, başka bir deyişle doğrusal olup olmadıkları ise BDS testi yardımı ile ortaya konmuştur. Brock, Dechert ve Scheinkman (1987) tarafından tanıtılan, daha sonra Brock, Hsieh ve LeBaron (1991) tarafından geliştirilen BDS testi, zaman serisinin cari ve geçmiş değerleri arasındaki otokorelasyonu inceleyen bir doğrusal olmama testidir. Korelasyon entegraline bağlı olarak hesaplanır ve parametrik olmayan bir testtir. BDS test sonuçları Tablo 2'de verilmiştir.

Tablo 2: BDS Bağımsızlık/DoğrusalOlmama TestiSonuçları

Değişkenler	Alt Boyutlar				
	2	3	4	5	6
ΔDTD	0.032 [5.837]* (0.000)**	0.065 [7.408] (0.000)	0.075 [7.178] (0.000)	0.077 [7.011] (0.000)	0.071 [6.732] (0.000)
ΔLSUE	0.023 [5.018] (0.000)	0.043 [5.905] (0.000)	0.049 [5.688] (0.000)	0.046 [5.095] (0.000)	0.035 [4.067] (0.000)
ΔLREDK	0.048 [7.343] (0.000)	0.077 [7.436] (0.000)	0.097 [7.801] (0.000)	0.106 [8.142] (0.000)	0.107 [8.489] (0.000)
ΔLOP	0.019 [4.295] (0.000)	0.029 [4.014] (0.000)	0.037 [4.326] (0.000)	0.039 [4.393] (0.000)	0.037 [4.349] (0.000)
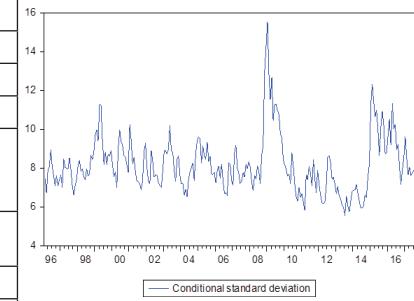
*Köşeli parantez içindeki değerler, Z istatistikleridir. **Parantez içindeki değerler, olasılık değerleridir.

Tablolarda tüm serilerin olasılık dağılımının *bağımsız ve özdeş olduğunu* ifade eden sıfır hipotezinin, %5 anlamlılık düzeyinde reddedildiği görülmektedir. Bu bulgu, serilerin analiz döneminde bağımlı olduklarını, bu bağlamda doğrusal olmadıklarını ortaya koymaktadır.

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2. Petrol fiyatları serisine uygun oynaklık modelinin bulunması ile oynaklık serisinin eldesi.

Bu çalışmada eşik değişkeni olarak petrol fiyatı değil petrol fiyat oynaklığı alınacağı için petrol fiyatının oynaklığının hesaplanması gerekmektedir. Petrol fiyatlarının asimetrik özelliğini ortaya çıkarabilmek için uygun ARIMA(p,d,q) modeli (ortalama denklemi) belirlenip otoregresif koşullu değişen varyans (ARCH) ailesinden bir model yardımı ile oynaklık serisi elde edilmiştir. LOP serisi için uygun olan ARIMA(0,1,1)-EGARCH(1,1) modelinin tahmin sonuçları (Tablo 3) ve oynaklık serisi grafiği verilmiştir.

Tablo 3: LOP Volatilitesinin Hesaplanması için Tanımlanan Modelin Tahmin Sonuçları ve Oynaklık Serisi Grafiği

Bağımlı Değişken: ΔLOP	Katsayı	Standart Hata	Z İstatistiği	Olasılık
Sabit	0.658	0.064	10.222	0.000
MA(1)	0.152	0.002	55.557	0.000
EGARCH(1,1)				
Sabit	0.432	0.291	1.480	0.138
$\left\| u_{t-1} \middle/ \sqrt{\sigma_{t-1}^2} \right\|$	0.204	0.088	2.302	0.000
$\mathbf{Ln}\, \sigma_{t-1}^2$	0.738	0.072	10.253	0.000
ARCH Testi (T×R²)	6.944 (0.326)			
ADF	-4.791 (0.000)			
PP	-4.802 (0.000)			

3. Oynaklık serisi için uygun eşik değerinin seçimi.

Eşik değer sayısının ve eşik değerinin belirlenmesinde Bai ve Perron (2003) testinden yararlanılmıştır. Tablo 4'de tek eşiğin olduğu ve eşik değerinin 2.45 olduğu görülmektedir.

Tablo 4: Eşik Sayısı ve Eşik Değerin Belirlenmesi

EşikDeğişken: DLSD100			
Hipotez	F-İstatistiği	Ölçeklendirilmiş F-İstatistiği	KritikDeğer**
H₀: Eşik değer yok. Hₐ: Bir eşik değer var.	414.444*	414.444*	8.58
EşikDeğer			
Sequential	2.454045		
Repartition	2.454045		

*0.05 önem düzeyinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlıdır. **Bai ve Perron (2003) kritik değeridir.

4. Belirlenen eşik değere göre, eşiğin altında ve üstünde kalan gözlemler için kısmi kümülatif toplamlar elde edilerek NARDL yaklaşımı ile aralarında uzun dönem ilişkisinin araştırılması.

Eşik değerin elde edilmesinden sonar aşağıdaki asimetrik eştümleşme denklemi tahmin edilmiştir.

$$DTD_t = \underset{(-6.585)}{-1.22} \underset{(-4.913)}{-1.945} LREDK_t \underset{(-3.103)}{-1.27} LSUE_t$$

$$+ \underset{(6.573)}{1.06} LOP_t \times I(Volatilite \geq 2.45) + \underset{(7.665)}{1.22} LOP_t \times I(Volatilite < 2.45)$$

$$R^2 = 0.74, \quad \overline{R}^2 = 0.73, \quad F = 180.31$$

Eştümleşme denkleminde petrol fiyatlarındaki oynaklığın artması ve azalmasının uzun dönemde dış ticaret dengesine etkisinin pozitif ve istatistiksel anlamlı olduğu görülmektedir. İstatistiksel anlamlı çıkması, petrol fiyatı oynaklığındaki artışların ve azalışların dış ticaret dengesi ile ilişkilisinin önemli olduğunu ortaya koyuyor. Eştümleşmenin varlığı, değişkenlerin geçici olarak birbirlerinden uzaklaşacaklarını ancak uzun dönemde dengelerine dönme eğiliminde olacaklarınıgöstermektedir. .

5. NARDL(p,q,r,s,l) modeli ile hata düzeltme modeli tahmin edilir.

Analizin son aşamasında asimetrik NARDL modeli, hata düzeltme modeli (ECM) olarak tahmin edilmiştir. NARDL modellerinde, I(0) olarak kabul edilen deterministik ögelerin kullanılmasına izin verildiğinden şok dönemlerini gösteren kuklalara modellerde yer verilmiştir.Öncelikle, değişkenler arasında uzun dönemli ilişki olup olmadığı, sınır testi ile araştırılmıştır. Sınır testinde farklı geciklemelerdeeştümleşme sonuçları Tablo 5'te verilmiştir. 12 gecikmeye kadar eştümleşme ilişkisinin varlığı en yüksek değere ikinci gecikmede yer almaktadır. Ancak onikinci gecikmeden sonra F-istatistiği yine yüksek değer almaya başlamıştır.

Tablo 5: Sınır Testi Sonuçları

	Gecikme Uzunluğu					
	2	4	6	8	10	12
F-İstatistiği	**6.032**	**4.161**	**3.310**	2.287	2.289	**3.378**
I(0)	%1 %5 %10	3.65 2.79 2.37		I(1)	4.66 3.67 3.2	

ARDL modeli gecikme uzunlukları genelden özele yaklaşımı ve istatistiksel önemlilik dikkate alınarak belirlenmiştir. Gecikme uzunluğu 12 alınarak başlanmış, her aşamada istatistiksel anlamsız olan katsayılar modelden çıkarılmış, böylece nihai modele ulaşılmıştır. Model artıklarının i.i.d. özelliğine sahip olması gereklidir, bu nedenle yapılan testlerle varsayımların sağlandığı ortaya konmuştur. Tablo 6'da yer verilen model, bu özellikleri taşıyan modeldir.

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Tablo 6: NARDL-Hata Düzeltme Modeli Tahmini

Bağımlı Değişken: ΔDTD		
Değişken	Katsayı	t-istatistiği
ΔDTD_{t-1}	-0.417	-6.075
ΔDTD_{t-2}	-0.166	-2.435
ΔDTD_{t-6}	-0.077	-2.114
ΔDTD_{t-7}	-0.132	-2.842
$\Delta LSUE_{t}$	-1.542	-9.089
$\Delta LSUE_{t-1}$	-1.590	-7.861
$\Delta LSUE_{t-2}$	-1.443	-7.926
$\Delta LSUE_{t-3}$	-0.660	-4.077
$\Delta LSUE_{t-9}$	-0.977	-5.033
$\Delta LREDK_{t}$	-2.067	-4.463
$\Delta LREDK_{t-9}$	0.576	1.942
D_{199901}	79.285	11.290
D_{200902}	75.084	9.139
D_{199904}	-74.610	-10.980
D_{200903}	-72.542	-5.614
RESASIMETRIKCOINT(-1)	-0.159	-4.012
PSBE2454045	0.536	2.628
PSBE2454045(-1)	-0.498	-2.260
PSK2454045	0.040	0.584
R^2 0.682	JB Normallik Testi: 1.464 (0.481)*	
Log-Likelihood -1060.546	White Farklı Varyans: 9.046 (0.171)	
Akaike 8.671	Breusch-GodfreyOtokorelsyon: 4.269 (0.640)	
Schwarz 8.939	WaldAsimetri Testi: 11.705 (0.001)	
Durbin-Watson 2.051		

*Parantez içindeki değerler, olasılık değerleridir

Tablo6'daki sonuçlar ve modelin tanılayıcı testleri, artık terimlerin iidN(0, σ²) özelliği taşıdığını ve CUSUMSQ testi de modelin kararlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Tablo 6'da aynı zamanda asimetrik şokların birbirinden farklı olup olmadığını gösteren Wald testi sonucu da yeralmaktadır. Hesaplanan 11.705 değeri, oynaklıktan elde edilen eşiğin altında ve üstündeki şokların etkilerinin birbirinden farklı olduğunu, bir başka deyişle asimetrik etkiye sahip

olduğunu göstermektedir. Değişkenler arasında doğrusal olmayan eştümleşme olduğu sınır testi yardımı ile ortaya konmuştur. Engle-Ng testi ile asimetrinin varlığı desteklenmiştir.

Modelin tahmini sonucunda elde edilen katsayılar değerlendirildiğinde, reel döviz kurundaki (RDK) %1 lik artışın, (t) döneminde dış ticaret dengesine negatif ve istatistiksel olarak anlamlı katkı yaparken (t-9) döneminde pozitif ve istatistiksel olarak anlamlı katkı yaptığını görülmektedir. Bu bulgu, RDKnda yaşanan düşüşün başlangıçta dış ticaret açığını artıracağı ancak zamanla bu dengenin düzeleceğini belirten J-eğrisi hipotezinin Türkiye için geçerli olabileceğini gösteriyor. Sanayi üretim endeksindeki (SÜE) %1 lik artışın, kur avantajı nedeni ile ihracatı arttırdığı için DTD'nde dönemlerinde azaltıcı etki yarattığı görülmektedir. TL'nin değerini düşüren bir şoka ekonomik krizin eşlik edip etmemesine bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan bu iki farklı sonuç, dış ticaret açığının reel döviz kurundan çok ekonomik büyüme tarafından belirlendiğini gösterdiği şeklinde diye yorumlanabilir. Modelde ECM katsayısının negatif ve istatistiksel anlamlı olması, hata düzeltme mekanizmasının çalıştığını göstermektedir. Bu bulgu, eştümleşik değişkenlerin birbirlerinden uzaklaştıklarında her dönem %15 oranında eski dengelerine yakınsayacakları ve eski dengeye dönüşün yaklaşık 7 dönem alacağı şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

Sonuç

Bu çalışmada dış ticaret dengesinde asimetrik ilişkiye neden olacak değişken olarak petrol ithal eden ülke olmamız ve petrol ithalatının önemli bir kalem olması nedeni ile petrol fiyatları üzerinde durulmuştur. Seriler doğrusal olmadığı için bu özelliğe uygun analizler yapılmış, yani asimetrik eştümleşme, doğrusal olmayan bakış açısı ile ele alınmıştır.Yapılan analizler sonucunda asimetrik ilişkinin ortaya çıkması, hem uzun hem de kısa dönemde açıklayıcı değişkenlerdeki negatif ve pozitif şokların dış ticaret dengesindeki etkisinin farklı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu da dış ticaret dengesi ile ilgili olarak daha etkin politika koyma ve öngörü için önemli bilgi sağlamaktadır.

Değişkenler arasındaki eştümleşmenin varlığı, değişkenlerin geçici olarak birbirlerinden uzaklaşacaklarını ancak uzun dönemde dengelerine dönme eğiliminde olduklarını gösterirken, ECM modeli yardımı ile de eştümleşik değişkenlerin birbirlerinden uzaklaştıklarında her dönem % 15 oranında eski dengelerine yakınsayacakları ve eski dengeye dönüşün yaklaşık 7 dönem alacağı bilgisi elde edilmiştir.

Bulguların iktisadi olarak yorumu yapılacak olursa; petrol fiyatlarının oynaklığının, uzun dönemde dış ticaret dengesinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı pozitif etkisinin olduğunu, bu da asimptotik uzun dönem petrol fiyat oynaklığının dış ticaret dengesine pozitif yönlü geçişkenlik etkisinin olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. İkinci olarak analiz döneminde reel döviz kurunda yaşanan düşüşün başlangıçta dış ticaret açığını artıracağı ancak zamanla bu dengenin düzeleceğini belirten J-eğrisi hipotezinin Türkiye için geçerli olabileceğini göstermektedir.

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LINKS BETWEEN RURAL POVERTY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH DURING THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS: THE CASE OF TURKEY

Mehmet OkanTaşar*

Abstract

Structural instabilities in agricultural product markets affect not only agricultural products but also the production structure in all sectors in the economy. They are also determining price movements and causing significant macroeconomic failures such as poverty and unfair income distribution. On the other hand, they disturb the demographic structure of the population and aggravate the problems of urban sprawl and unemployment. The impoverishment of the rural population is also a determinant of a general poverty and income distribution inequality that can affect an entire society. For this reason, nowadays, including agricultural planning and implementing agricultural policies in all economic systems either developed or underdeveloped, are considered as an absolute necessity.

The aim of this study is particularly to analyze the effects of rural development policies and regulations on agricultural products markets, generally to analyze the effects of economic growth on market economy and macroeconomic indicators. It is important to determine the impacts of economic growth rates on rural poverty and the links between growth rates and policy outcomes. This is the only possible way to create the best the agricultural policies for macro-economic performance of Turkey. In the first part of the study; the general framework of economic growth policies and practices for agricultural sector are determined and the performance between aims and outcomes is followed. In the second part, the links between economic growth, agricultural production and rural poverty data are established and tested via indicators relating to the Turkish economy. The last part includes the discussion of the effectiveness of macroeconomic growth performance in terms of reducing rural poverty, rational agricultural policies and agricultural regulations.

Keywords: Agricultural Economics, Rural Development, Agricultural Regulations, Economic Growth

Introduction

After the Industrial Revolution, agricultural sector stayed in the background due to the industrialization-oriented growth structure and moving the rural population socio-economically to the industrial cities reveal structural problems in all economies. In addition, the application of technological developments can be slowly applied to the agricultural sector than other sectors and these applications are limited. Free foreign trade and liberalization policies have some side effects in all sectors as well as in agricultural production areas. Although free market economies in general can be said to have positive effects in the industrial sectors, it is known that they lead to a series of "market failures" in terms of agricultural markets. The "invisible hand" or the supply-demand balance which is theoretically the most basic automatic stabilizer in all the markets of the economy is not working because prices of these functions depend on the different periods in agricultural product markets. Therefore, agricultural product markets are attracting attention due to unstable price and production structure. This instability leads to

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severe consequences due to the importance of agricultural products in human life and economic development and social welfare effects.

Structural instabilities in agricultural product markets affect not only agricultural products but also the production structure in all sectors in the economy. They are also determining price movements and causing significant macroeconomic failures such as poverty and unfair income distribution. On the other hand, they disturb the demographic structure of the population and aggravate the problems of urban sprawl and unemployment. The impoverishment of the rural population is also a determinant of a general poverty and income distribution inequality that can affect an entire society. For this reason, nowadays, including agricultural planning and implementing agricultural policies in all economic systems either developed or underdeveloped, are considered as an absolute necessity. Agriculture and rural development, beyond being a problem that can only be solved by pure national policies, require an international level of cooperation and policy implementation. Successful and organized agricultural policy and cooperation will both minimize poverty, injustice and social conflicts and make easier to solve macroeconomic problems such as unemployment, inflation and economic contraction.

In this framework, it is important to define the theoretical and practical principles of a common agrarian policy and rural development program and draw its boundaries clearly. In this study, besides the rural development concept, especially the European Union (EU) agricultural policy and the applicability of these policies in terms of Turkey as a candidate country are discussed. In terms of sectoral structure of the most important elements of Turkey's economy is agriculture and it is clear that this debate is more meaningful. Turkey is extremely important in terms of the quality of structural and macroeconomic issues. Having different geographical, climatic and regional characteristics, Turkey includes quite extensive and sufficient resources for both macroeconomic and rural development. The real problem is that whether these resources can be used "full and effective".

1. Rural Poverty, Rural Development and the Global Crisis at the Conceptual Framework

Poverty, which has become one of the growing economic problems with the Global Financial Crisis, should also be considered as one of the consequences of recent economic policies. It is inevitable that different social problems will emerge in rural areas as well as in all other areas, especially during periods of economic crisis. In addition to increasing poverty on the social scale, the economic crisis is also making rural and agricultural poverty unresolvable.

1.1. Global Financial Crisis and Its Basic Dynamics

First of all, the Global Financial Crisis is characterized by its basic dynamics as a different "crisis", which in general leads to a violent questioning of liberal politics in particular. In fact, this represents a striking repetition in terms of the History of Economic Doctrines. It can be said that the Keynesian approaches became the foreground after the 1929 crisis and a period called "interventionist capitalism" started. But this time, it is debatable what kind of "capitalism" the Global Crisis will bring and what concept the new approach will be called.

When the contradiction of "interventionist" in terms of liberal economic thought is taken into account, which word/concept can be added before the term "capitalism" is a difficult problem to solve. Moreover, even if the added concept is generally accepted, the new dimension given to liberalism will cause significant debates. The new dimension of state-economic relations necessitates redefining and perhaps expanding the position and functions of the state in the economy. It should be expressly stated that; The Liberal Doctrine is entering a more challenging

turn than the 1929 Depression. In this challenging period, economics will need more contributions of other social sciences, and it will likely govern the crisis with some legal approaches (Tasar, 2016, p. 207). Therefore, it is considered highly probable that the Global Crisis and the solution policies will cause the next period to be called as the "regulation economy" in the context of history of economic thought.

Considering the interaction between countries and modern communication technologies, it seems possible that the Global Crisis is more powerful and challenging than the Great Depression of 1929, perhaps even leading to the widest possible crisis on a global scale. However, cooperation with countries against the crisis is inevitable, and this global economy can lay the foundation for the production of effective, rapid and correct policies in comparison with previous economic crises. International financial institutions and regional, political and economic integrations and independent, free of political influence economic institutions can form an instrument that can protect the world economy from the severe effects of the crisis and its long-standing structural problems. This kind of development may perhaps reveal the most important and humanitarian function in world history of the critically criticized "globalization" process.

The common feature of all economic crises is to be described as a "process". It is not possible to suddenly appear, and the effects caused by it cannot be solved in the short term, and the wavelength is experiencing as a process with change. At this point, the Global Crisis has a different appearance with some features. It should be expressed as a "global", a crisis from the central country to the periphery, from the developed economies to the underdeveloped economies, and in terms of depth it should be expressed as a crisis that can drag some countries into bankruptcy. It is also meaningful that the Global Crisis is described as the "crisis of the century". So, for example, as in the 1929 Crisis, "undervaluing" is not valid at this time. The fact that more effective economic policies can be implemented and adopted at the point of eliminating the effects of the crisis is facilitating in this respect (Tasar, 2016, p. 207).

Especially after the 1970s and increasingly common, it is clear that liberal economies are facing some crises in regional qualities. 1973-1979 oil shock, the Asian crisis, the Russian crisis, the Latin American crisis and the 2001 Turkey crisis can be ordered in terms of size. Note that these crises mostly involve developing countries or groups of countries called "emerging markets". They are therefore considered regional. Even more important crises can be prevented by the support of developed economies. However, the Global Crisis is a process that started in developed economies and gained momentum. For this reason, the effects are heavier and international cooperation is needed in order to prevent.

When a classification is made with the assumption that they affect each other, the factors leading to the emergence of the Global Crisis can be expressed under two main headings as global factors arising from the world economy and national factors originating from the US economy (Taşar, 2012, p. 14). From a theoretical point of view, the first factor is the emergence of a "capitalism" approach which claims that economic growth can be achieved via low taxes, loose regulation and limited government. The dominance of the US's understanding of liberal democracy's need to advocate on a global scale is described as another of the reasons that make up the Global Crisis in an ideological sense.

First and foremost, beyond theoretical expansions and debates, the most important development in the global economy in the real sense is that oil prices have gained momentum in late 2007 and reached record breaking levels in early 2008. When we look at the basic indicators of the world economy in the last 10 years, there is a "golden period" involving low inflation, low interest rates, low oil and commodity prices and therefore a relative global

prosperity. However, this picture first begins to deteriorate with rising oil prices, followed by a rise in commodity prices and a financial crisis (Zakaria, 2008, p. 24).

The sudden and rapid rise in oil prices leads to a significant liquidity surplus in the world economy, especially in oil producing countries, resulting in an increase in "risk appetite". Uncontrolled global liquidity flows, especially to speculative areas and risky countries, reveal the imbalance of the real sector-financial structure. The formation of a capital movement for high returns in the short run instead of highly productive sectors with the coefficients of dependency, leads to the deterioration of the balance of resources and the demand expansion. Supporting increasing demand in emerging economies and new market developments are expanding world trade volume uncontrollably. Although this expansion of the trade volume is considered positive, it ultimately makes the lack of global supervision mechanisms and supervisory institutions clear.

One of the most important consequences of the Global Crisis is that it clearly shows that regulations cannot keep up with the system in which they exist. As the shadow banking system develops, more banking operations in world economies are managed by institutions that do not depend on traditional banking regulations. Such a change can be regarded as a social dynamic brought by modern communication technologies. The problematic development, however, is that, due to the adoption of the deregulation process, the regulation has to be extended, on the contrary even narrowed (Krugman, 2008, p. 98).

1.2. Rural Poverty and Rural Development Concepts

First, the definition of rural poverty requires the understanding of rural areas and agricultural production structures. The problems in the regions that are characterized as rural areas are mainly due to economic, social, cultural and political deprivations. The deprivations in different areas such as individual consumption, good education, clean environment and water resources, housing, transport, communication and access to health services also determine the characteristics and definition of rural poverty. Therefore, rural poverty is widely regarded as a lack of economic resources. The most decisive of these deprivations is the lack of land and human resources. Small-scale producers engaged in agriculture, labor without different professional skills, small artisans in rural areas and a population structure gradually aging due to the fact of urbanization constitute the human resource of rural poverty. Considering these characteristics, rural poverty is the inability to achieve minimum living standards due to unbalanced distribution of agricultural production areas, small-scale agricultural production structure and non-qualified, property less labor factor.

While the development process of the concept of rural development is initially defined through the relation of "regional imbalances and development", the relation between "poverty and development" is taken as a basis in the later periods. The relevance of rural development criteria with macroeconomic indicators such as human development indices and national income figures has also become meaningful at this point. For this reason, the macroeconomic effects of rural development are revealed by measures such as national income, sectoral growth rates, income distribution and poverty.

First of all, rural development is a concept based on the assumption that "the undeveloped are mainly located in areas where the rural mechanisms prevail". Therefore, rural development emerges as a definition based on the understanding that the social structure is mainly based on the unequal distribution of land ownership and its conclusions. Also it emerges as a definition based on the understanding that rural signs are considered to be totally

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primitive, traditional, backward, and closed to development (Özgen, 2005; 51). The most important issue in terms of defining the concept of rural development is the determination of the "rural area" framework in order to determine the area to be implemented and the target population. Rural areas are areas where population density is low, economic activities are mostly based on agriculture, natural conditions and traditional values are influential in determining social life. In addition, rural areas are characterized by lack of social opportunities such as education, health and communication, strong ties with the urban population, and areas of natural resource richness (Ekiztepe, 2012; p. 86). Therefore, by definition, rural poverty is directly linked to public and economic policies. Socio-economic and agricultural policy inaccuracies constitute the basic dynamics that increase rural poverty.

According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), poverty and hunger are considered to be human-caused problems and are claimed to be caused by income inequalities and income poverty as much as food shortages (Aşcı and Demiryürek, 2008, p. 74). IFAD was formed at the World Food Conference in 1974 as one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. In the IFAD approach, rural poverty and related rural area concepts are defined on two main feature axes. Firstly, the rural poor generally live on farms or in agricultural areas, in pastures, in forested areas as groups and scattered. Secondly, a considerable part of the rural poor is working in the agricultural production areas in the majority of their time. Hence, the features that define rural areas and rural poverty are becoming more and more apparent as the inadequacy of economic and social mobility and the limited participation in the political-social processes. According to the IFAD 2011 Rural Poverty Report, the factors that determine rural poverty have been expanded. Rising food prices, uncertainties and the impacts of climate change and constraints on natural resources have led to increasingly apparent rural poverty (IFAD, 2011, p.11).

1.3. Measurement of Rural Development and Rural Life Indicators

The decisive problem in terms of rural development is to ensure economic activity in rural areas and to increase the quality of life to a certain level. The sustainability of economic activity is largely related to the "loyalty" and "participation" of the actors that can provide it. Actors providing economic benefit from the rural areas should not leave the areas in order to realize different investments with these benefits. Otherwise, economic activity cannot be sustained in rural areas (Hovardaoğlu, 2012, p.292).

In the context of rural development, there is a significant impact of the agricultural enterprises on the income, wealth and employment figures of the economy, but the sustainability of economic activities and agricultural enterprises are more important. For this reason, rural development policies should be carried out to promote sustainability and modernization of agricultural production (Ploeg, 2000, p. 404). Rural development encompasses multifaceted processes, activities and organizations aimed at improving the production, income and welfare levels of rural communities in order to change the social, economic and cultural aspects of human communities, the creation of physical and social infrastructure in urban areas and the better production of agricultural products. It is considered as one of the conditions of success that different scientific fields form technical support and different perspectives in the rural development process and realize a multi-disciplinary study (Cengiz and Çelem, 2003, p. 144).

Increasing opportunities for quality of life in rural areas should be the basis of rural development policy. However, it is not possible to make government expenditures in this respect both in terms of time and cost. For this reason, the development of life in rural areas should have a long term perspective. In particular, it is relatively easy to make rural areas into high quality and attractive regions which are advantageous in terms of proximity to urban centers, with lower costs and investments (Hovardaoğlu, 2012, p.293). The concept of quality of life has an

important place in Turkey-EU rural development strategies. It is accepted as one of the success indicators and it is tried to be measured by different approaches. Economic indicators of these indicators are GDP, growth rate, employment rates. There are also different socio-economic indicators such as a qualified environment, physical and mental health, access to education and cultural facilities, the availability of social activities in leisure time, and social belonging (Hovardaoğlu, 2012, p.291).

2. Rural Development, Rural Poverty and Agricultural Policy in Turkish Economy

Turkey, prior to the global crisis, has experienced a significant break with the 2001 economic crisis. A number of economic programs, structurally characterized and specifically designed to reduce fragility in financial markets, have been put into practice. In particular, the 2008 Global Crisis has entered into the financial crisis with an anti-inflationist stabilization program aimed at securing the banking system, which is regarded as the most problematic heading of the 2001 Crisis. While a stable situation has been observed in terms of financial markets in this process, a sharp contraction is noticeable in other sectors, but especially in agricultural markets, affected by the Global Crisis. The lack of adequate and qualified solutions for stabilization programs in terms of income distribution, poverty and rural development has also aggravated the current economic crisis table. Global Crisis, coupled with the current problems of the structure of agricultural production and rural areas in Turkey, has brought the consequences such as instability in agricultural product prices, production inefficiencies, urban migration, unemployment and rural poverty.

2.1. Historical Background of Agricultural Policies in Turkey

Firstly, agricultural policies consist of different instruments such as price floor practices, agricultural support loans, tax exemptions, technology transfer, rural infrastructure projects. Price floor and agricultural subsidy policies have been implemented since 1930s. The historical process of the agricultural lending policy extends back to much earlier periods. Agricultural loans are fed from two different sources that are organized and unorganized credit markets. The organized credit market is composed of banks, agricultural credit cooperatives and agricultural sales cooperatives. However, as low interest agricultural credits are given on the basis of the size of the enterprise and the size of the collateral shown, there may be a side effect on behalf of large farmers that disturbs the income distribution as it is in the implementation of the price floor (Şahin, 1998, p. 255).

1938-1946 period, after the 1929 crisis, there were interventionsand a solid understanding of statism about agricultural policies in Turkey. In the Second World War period, Turkey's relations with other countries was extremely weak and had to feed the army for a possible war. The aim of self-sufficiency, which struck the mark of agricultural policy in the period of 1923-1950, has evolved into the goal of producing more and exports to foreign markets in the 1950s through mechanization. In this period, especially since 1948, agriculture has been financed with the aid obtained under the Marshall Grant Scheme. Marshall Aid has been a driving force in agricultural development, and the number of tractors and plows in agriculture has increased and accordingly, positive conditions such as enlargement of agricultural fields, increase of agricultural loans, support prices, better climatic conditions and spread of fertilizer usage have increased production (Eştürk and Ören, 2014, p. 195).

Turkey had been affected by the oil crisis of the 1970s and applied to the IMF to get rid of the crisis and for the need for external debt. So Turkey agreed to apply IMF's stabilization measures. These measures took place in the

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Decisions of 24 January 1980 and in subsequent implementations. Stabilization measures aimed at bringing the market mechanism into operation have provided a minimum level of support to the public sector. Within the scope of these measures; fertilizer prices were first raised, and government support provided to other agricultural inputs gradually began to be removed, and the prices of largely outsourced modern inputs were left to fluctuate according to the free exchange rate. Agricultural lending conditions have been aggravated. While agricultural subsidies were reduced, the coverage of the number of subsidized products was reduced by half (Eştürk and Ören, 2014, p. 195).

Since 2001, Turkey changed whole incentive system applied in agricultural areas and implemented Direct Income Support (DIS). The agrarian policy reform implemented with the support of the World Bank is shaped by three main factors. The first element is the extension of direct income support, the second is the gradual removal of price and input support, and the last element is the privatization of state enterprises in the agricultural sector and the reduction of government intervention in the processing and marketing of agricultural products. One of the basic principles of the direct income support policy, which is accepted as one of the most important components of the Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARIP), is the introduction of the Farmer Registration System. The main purpose of the system is to create a strong agricultural database by recording the producers (Tan, et al, 2010, p. 973). Agricultural support instruments expressed in the Agricultural Law (2006) are; DIS, differential payment, compensatory payments, animal husbandry support, agricultural insurance payments, rural development support, environmental protection support (Yalçınkaya, et al, 2006, p. 115). Due to the problems in land ownership, DIS payments sometimes cause some economic problems. Implementation is far from being effective because land ownership and producers are different, inherited problems in agricultural land, and despite the support given by producers these supports are not directed to production. In 2009, due to these developments mentioned in the World Bank report, the state concentrated on different types of intervention tools; firstly, agricultural input supports were increased and then the DIS application was terminated. Instead, a transition to a premium payment system has been made for the area-based product (Eğri, 2012, p. 90).

Turkey in a special issue of supporting policies are changed very often you go to the structural adjustment in the agricultural sector. Problem in Turkey, supporting policies are changed very often you go to the structural adjustment in the agricultural sector. DIS payments and market price support in force must be made in sufficient quantity and on time, to be linked to agricultural production, to reach the real producer. In the right context, with the right structure at the right time, agricultural support policies should be established and maintained in accordance with the reality of the country. For this reason, policies to be implemented in the agricultural sector must have a long perspective. For this, it will be in place to form the existing agricultural market structure by supporting the support policies implemented by the government support in short term. In the long term, it is necessary to identify the elements that disturb the activity especially in the agricultural markets and to create alternatives (Aktaş, et al, 2013, p. 68). The "agricultural reform", which criticized traditional agricultural support systems with the argument of "providing benefit to very rich farmers … from poor farmers …" and justified the direct support system, has further enhanced the "rich-poor" divergence with the new system. Because in Turkey where the distribution of the soil is very unstable, a little of 3% of the earthen farmers can get to about 40% of the land, and therefore 40% of the supports, about 40% of the farmers cannot benefit from these supports, especially in the East and South East regions. In short, the new system has further enhanced socio-economic differentiation and social tension in rural areas (Şahinöz, 2010, p. 347).

2.2. Rural Poverty Indicators in Turkey

Poverty rates covering the years 2002 to 2014 by the TURKSTAT according to poverty line methods are shown in the Table. Since 2009 figures are excluded from measurements, especially in rural and urban poverty rates (food + non-food), only data up to 2009 are available.
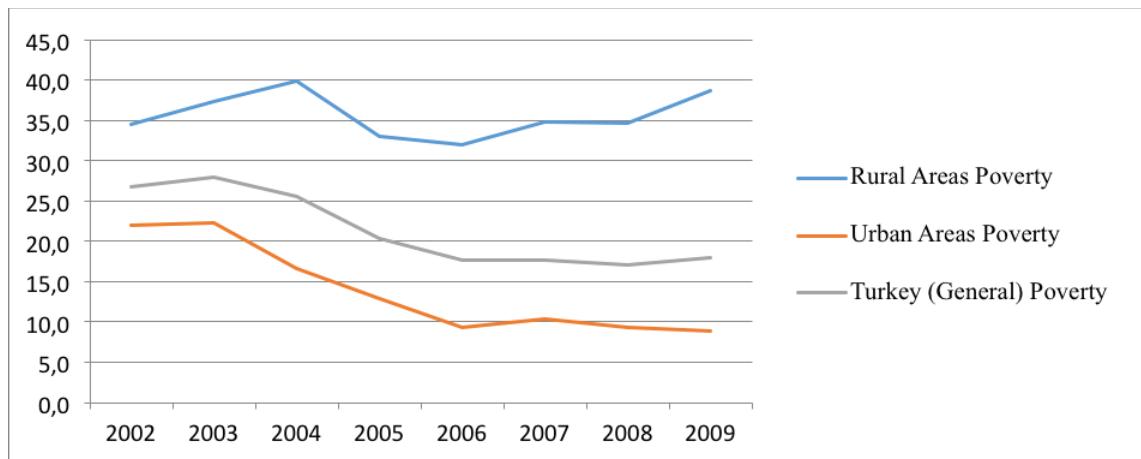
Table 1: Individual Poverty Rates According to Poverty Limit Methods 2002-2010 (Food + Non Food) (%)

Years Regions	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Rural Areas Poverty	34.4	37.3	39.9	32.9	31.9	34.8	34.6	38.6	n.a.
Urban Areas Poverty	21.9	22.3	16.5	12.8	9.3	10.3	9.3	8.8	n.a.
Turkey (General) Poverty	26.9	28.1	25.6	20.5	17.8	17.7	17.1	18	n.a.

Source: *TUİK, (2014), Poverty Study, www.tuik.gov.tr*

Poverty, which occurs in rural and therefore agricultural sectors in the development process of poverty in Turkey, is a repulsive factor. Given that urban poverty rates tend to decrease; it is clear that the main problem is rural poverty.

Figure 1: Poverty Rates in the Global Crisis 2002-2009

Source: *Table 1*

The inadequacy of agricultural support policies based on increased poverty and production in rural areas, the production of inadequate agricultural products, affects social welfare negatively both in rural and urban areas (Kandemir, 2011, p. 108)

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2.3. Rural Poverty in the Rural Living Quality Scale

The approach of the EU rural development policies towards quality of life; primarily aimed at eliminating and improving the lack of hardware and infrastructure of rural economy and rural population. To this end, vocational education focuses on the application of economic diversity, the development of non-agricultural activities, the support of micro-enterprises, the encouragement of tourism activities, the restoration of the villagers, the preservation of the natural heritage and the environment (Yılmaz and Tolunay, 2007, p. 115). In order to form a profile of rural living quality in Turkey, socio-economic data such as income, employment and poverty of rural population needs to be analyzed. At this point, it is meaningful to take into account the data set of the "Poverty Study" created by TURKSTAT. The TURKSTAT expanded the database of the NUTS 1 level to the NUTS 2 level and revealed statistical data for 26 different regions with the "Income and Living Conditions Survey" which was announced in October 2015. This research is based on the data of 2013 (TURKSTAT, 2014, p.1).

Gini coefficient, which is considered as the criterion of income distribution inequality and equality in income distribution as it approaches to zero, expresses deterioration in income distribution as individual's approach to each other, varies between 0.315 and 0.414 in terms of regions. While the Gini coefficient of 0.404 as of 2016 in Turkey, the region that this value is the lowest; TR15 (Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova) with TR01 (Zonguldak, Karabük, Bartın) and TRA1 (Erzurum, Erzincan, Bayburt) with 0.315 and 0.317 respectively. The regions with the highest Gini coefficient were TR14 (Adana, Mersin) with 0.414, TR10 (Istanbul) with 0.413 and TRB2 (Van, Mus, Bitlis, Hakkari) with 0.412 (TUİK, 2017a, p. 2).

The average annual equivalent household disposable income of individuals in Turkey increased by 15.9 percent compared to the previous year so it has increased from 16 thousand 515 TL to 19 thousand 139 TL. While the salary and wage revenues have the highest share in total income with 49.7 percent, the highest share of the total equivalent household income belongs to wage income with 49.7 percent, unchanged from the previous year.In the second rank, entrepreneurs' revenues (19.8 percent) increased by 1 percentage point compared to the year 2015 and the third rank received social transfer revenues with a decrease of 0.4 points (19.6 percent). 74.7 percent of entrepreneurs' income defines non-agricultural income, while 91.8 percent of social transfers are made up of retirement, widow and orphan's pensions (TUİK, 2017b, p.2). Compared to the poverty line, where equivalent households accounted for 50% of the eligible individual median income, the poverty rate was 14.3% with a 0.4 percentage point decrease from the previous year. 14.3 per cent of the population was below the poverty line. Permanent rate of poverty calculated using four-year panel data includes those whose equivalent households are poorer in the last year than at 60 percent of available individual median income, and at the same time at least two of the previous three years. According to this, while the rate of continuous poverty is 15.8 per cent in 2015, this ratio is 14.6 per cent in 2016 (TUİK, 2017b, p.2).

3. Turkish Economy in the Light of Macro-Economic Indicators

Not only about poverty and income distribution, but also about the production structure, sectoral characteristics, demographic and social structure of an entire economy are defined by three main economic indicators. National income and growth rate, employment and unemployment data, price movements and inflation indicators are often referred to as the criteria for macroeconomic performance measurement.

Although inflation and price movements are correlated with poverty, but they involve monetary changes, it is different from others to measure changes in the real economy. For this reason, especially the national income and employment structure are the ones that should be observed more carefully.

3.1. National Income Scale and Growth Rate Performance

One of the most qualified ones among macroeconomic indicators is undoubtedly the national income and growth rate. In this context, considering the growth rate data in particular during the Global Crisis, structural features of Turkish economy can be demonstrated.
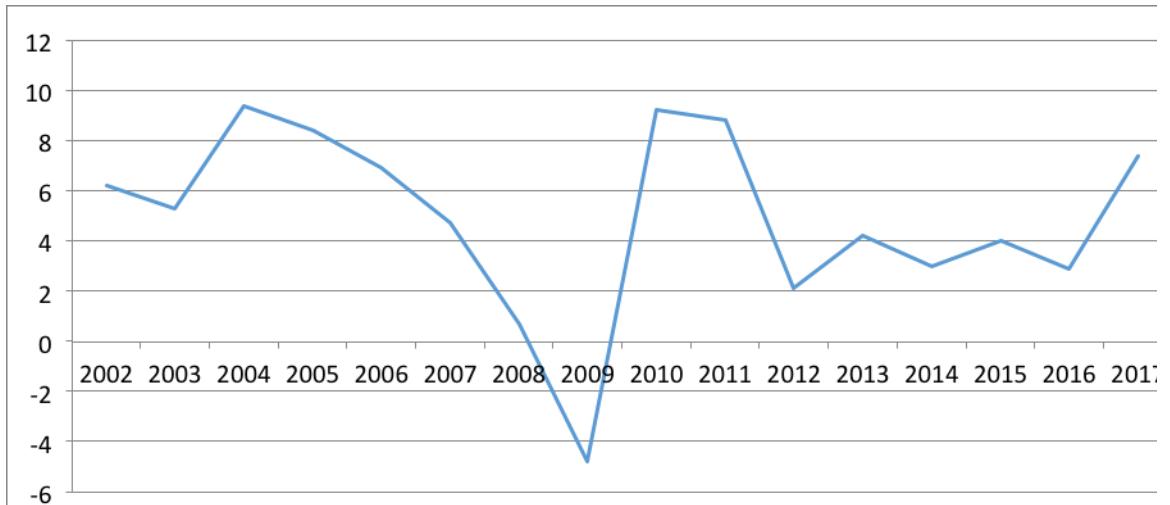
Table 2: GDP Growth Rate (Fixed, Percent) and Poverty Rates in 2002-2018 Period in Turkey

Year	Growth Rate	Agricultural Product (Change Rate)	Poverty Turkey (General)	Urban Poverty	Rural Poverty
2002	6.2	8.7	26.9	21.9	34.4
2003	5.3	-1.5	28.1	22.3	37.3
2004	9.4	4.0	25.6	16.5	39.9
2005	8.4	7.9	20.5	12.8	32.9
2006	6.9	1.5	17.8	9.3	31.9
2007	4.7	-6.2	17.7	10.3	34.8
2008	0.7	4.5	17.1	9.3	34.6
2009	-4.8	4.1	18	8.8	38.6
2010	9.2	7.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2011	8.8	3.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2012	2.1	2.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2013	4.2	0.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2014	3	9.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2015	4	-2.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2016	2.9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2017	7.4	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: *TURKSTAT Poverty Study, 2014 and TURKSTAT Database, www.tuik.gov.tr*

First of all, during periods of economic crisis, it naturally affects the growth rates of all sectors in the negative direction. In the remaining periods, it is possible that a process of decreasing the growth rate, which is started from the agricultural sector, may occur. While the decline in production in the agricultural sector leads a general stagnation in a sense, the sub-groups of the industry and the services sector are directly or indirectly affected negatively by the low production in agriculture (Kepenek and Yentürk, 1994, p.406).The differentiation of sectoral growth rates has a nature on the general tendency of economic structure in the long run.When additive shares in national income of the sectors in Turkish economy, the agricultural sector loses its dominant position to industry and services sectors.Even if this general tendency is regarded as a reflection of the industrialization policies pursued, it turns out that the declining share of the agricultural sector is shifting to the services sector in a bigger way and carrying the imbalance to larger dimensions.

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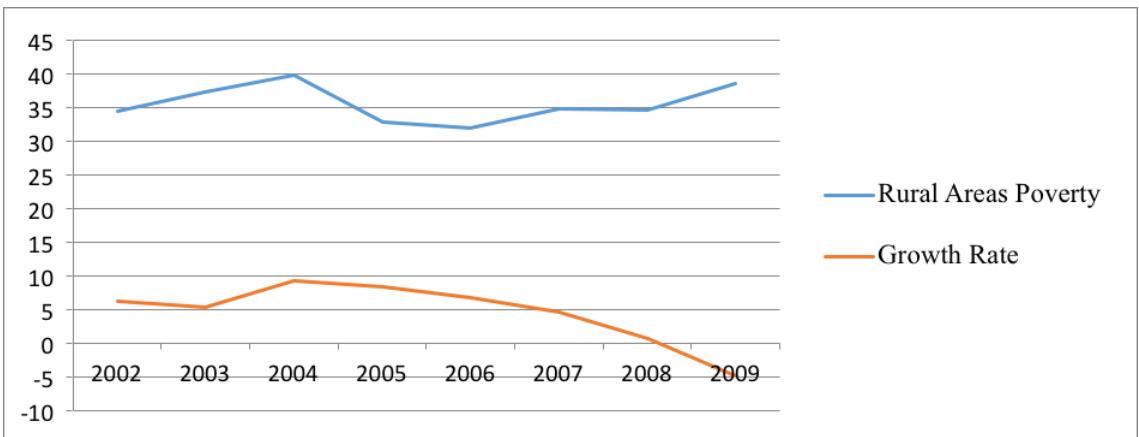
Figure 2: Growth Rate of GDP in 2002-2018 in Turkey (Fixed, Percent)

Source: *Table 2.*

The total added value of the agricultural sector activities increased by 7.6 percent in fixed prices in 2015 compared to the previous year, while the industrial sector and the services sector increased by 3.3 percent and 4.8 percent respectively (TUİK, 2016). The most important component of this growth is the agricultural sector. Therefore, when considered in terms of value added, in 2015, Turkish economy had a growth rate of 4 percent, especially thanks to the agricultural production. However, parallel to this contribution of the agricultural sector to economic growth, it cannot be claimed that it has a balanced income distribution and a high socio-economic prosperity level.

Figure 3: Links of Growth Rate and Rural Poverty during Global Crisis in Turkey
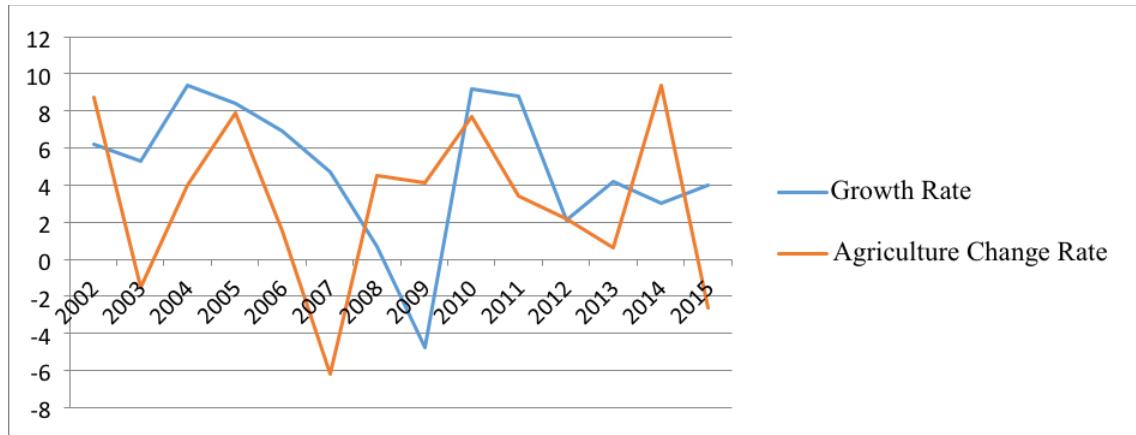
Source: *Table 2.*

As seen in Figure 3, as a result of the global crisis, macroeconomic performance in Turkey weakened and the growth rate fell to a negative value so it has resulted in increased rural poverty in particular.Therefore, when economic crises occur, rural areas and agricultural sectors are more affected and the income distribution of the population in rural areas deteriorates more than the distribution of income in urban areas. From a socio-economic point of view this brings about an unbalanced population movement from rural areas to urban areas. The uncontrollable phenomenon of immigration distorts the production and consumption structure of the economy and creates a spiral of economic instability, such as unemployment and inflation, which is considered one of the sources of poverty.

3.2. Sectoral Distribution of National Income and Agricultural Production Structure

What is more important than the expression of the rate of growth as a ratio is to monitor the components of growth rate. The movement of sectoral distributions in terms of revealing the structural features of the economy and the components of production can reveal qualified information. In the period after 2008, growth rate of agricultural production in Turkey compared to the previous year has the power to define in the course of economic development. The changes in the amounts of agricultural production compared to the previous year can be seen from Figure 6, with the economic growth rate giving the years 2002-2015, taking into account the measurement techniques and periods of TURKSTAT data.

Figure 4: Compare of Growth Rate and Agricultural Products (Change Rate 2002-2015)

Source: *Table 2.*

Theoretically it is clear that there is an absolute relationship between the rate of growth and agricultural production, and that there is a similar tendency at a given time interval. However, it is important to be able to identify the differences between the parallel trends in the periods of increase or decrease. At this point, the negative course of the growth rate (-4.8 for 2009) in the period 2007-2010, when the effects of the Global Crisis felt the heaviest, is proportionately smaller than the negative trend in agricultural production (-6.2 in 2007). Therefore, unlike other sectors, the negative effects of the Global Crisis on the agricultural production structure are both higher and temporally more pioneering. Of course, taking into account seasonal and climatic effects, one of the early crises of the economic crises also allows the use of agricultural production output.It is remarkable that the growth rate

of agricultural output in 2013 is relatively high, on the other hand. While other sectors are more likely to achieve recovery after the crisis, the agriculture sector qualifications are entering a later phase of recovery. This feature should be taken into account in terms of agricultural policies and incentive and subsidy systems, and economic policies should be determined accordingly.

3.3. Employment and Unemployment Rates, Agriculture Sector and Rural Poverty

What is more important than the expression of the rate of growth as a ratio is to monitor the components of growth rate.Given the contribution of the four main sub-sectors in the growth rate, the service sector is clearly visible. On the other hand, it is expected that the services sector in the theoretical level will have a characteristic to support the development especially in the industrial sector and tend to develop as balanced as possible.

Table 3: Distribution of Employment by Branches of Economic Activity by Years (2005-2017)

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Buildings	Services
2005*	25.5	21.6	5.6	47.3
2006*	23.3	21.9	6.0	48.8
2007*	22.5	21.8	6.1	49.6
2008*	22.4	22.0	6.0	49.5
2009*	23.1	20.3	6.3	50.4
2010*	23.3	21.1	6.6	49.5
2011*	23.3	20.8	7.2	48.7
2012*	22.1	20.5	7.2	50.2
2013*	21.2	20.7	7.2	50.9
2014	21.1	20.5	7.4	51.0
2015	20.6	20.0	7.2	52.2
2016	19.5	19.5	7.3	53.7
2017	19.4	19.1	7.4	54.1

Source: *TURKSTAT, Labor Force Statistics, 2018, www.tuik.gov.tr*
*The 2005-2013 period results were estimated by the TURKSTAT with an econometric model.
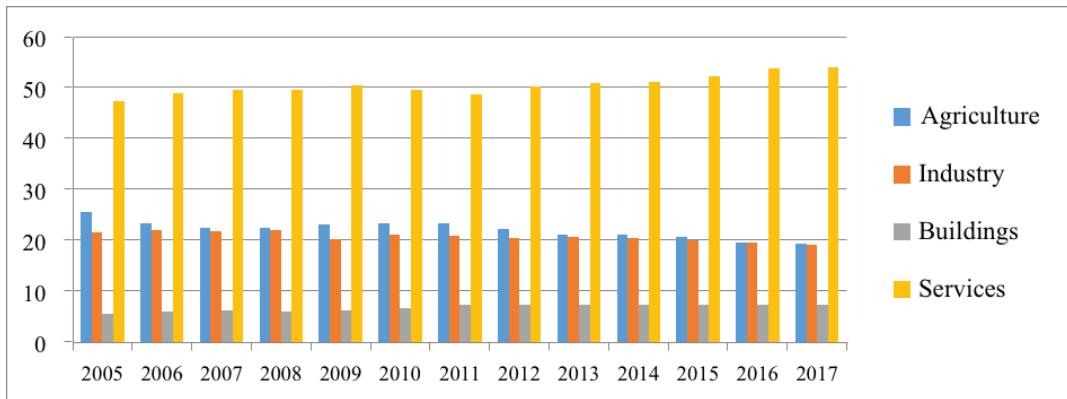
It is possible to explain that the extreme expansion of the services sector is largely driven by the non-skilled labor force from the agricultural and industrial sectors towards the services sector. With the occurrence of urbanization, migration and loss of production in the agricultural sector will become more pronounced. When the distribution of the employment rates in Turkey are examined, it is seen that the employment data in the agricultural sector decreased at a remarkable level, being more evident than the other sectors. Since the 1930s economic policy of the Republic of Turkey has been strengthening the private sector with the support and guidance of the state, and based an axis that aims to transfer resources from agriculture to industrialization.However, with the impact of the 1929 Crisis, the agriculture sector faced significant costs, agricultural production declined considerably and there was a tendency to centralize the ownership structure. Therefore, the 1929 depression broke down in the process

of impoverishment in agriculture and also triggeredchanges in socio-economic and political structures (Kongar, 1998, p. 615).

Figure 5: Sectoral Distribution of Employment in Turkey (2005-2017)

Source: *Table 3.*

The liberal transformation of Turkish economy has begun and developed with the support of the state in accordance with the "statism" approach. One of the most important consequences of this transformation is the impoverishment of a large social segment living in rural areas. Especially mechanization, the gathering of land in the hands of large businesses, has created a free workforce in the agricultural sector and has caused this labor to migrate to urban areas. At the same time, the nature of the rural areas, which preserve the old social and economic structure, makes it difficult to change the structure through education and prevents the formation of qualified workforce (Kongar, 1998, p. 617). Inefficient agricultural production based on traditional and old technology affects the realization of social transformation in a negative way.

Table 4: Unemployment Rate in Turkey 2006-2017
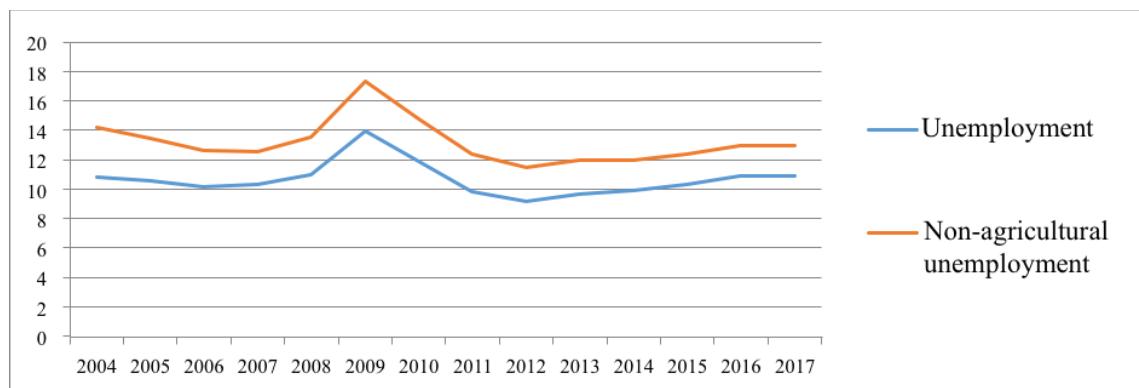
Year	Unemployment Rate	Non-agricultural Unemployment Rate	Year	Unemployment Rate	Non-agricultura Unemployment Rate
2004	10.8	14.2	2011	9.8	12.4
2005	10.6	13.5	2012	9.2	11.5
2006	10.2	12.7	2013	9.7	12.0
2007	10.3	12.6	2014*	9.9	12.0
2008	11.0	13.9	2015*	10.3	12.4
2009	14.0	17.4	2016*	10.9	13.0
2010	11.9	14.8	2017*	10.9	13.0

Source: *TURKSTAT, Labor Force Statistics, 2018, www.tuik.gov.tr*
*Due to new regulations since 2014, the series is not comparable with previous years (TURKSTAT).

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The agricultural technique and knowledge that can be described as old in the population living in the rural areas is far from expressing any meaning in their new life together with urban migration. In urban areas, even the old agricultural knowledge and equipment is limited in its ability to provide employment and a sufficient level of wages. While this situation brings with it the problem of unemployment, it increases the poverty rates due to the low wage levels and it also disrupts the income distribution balance.

Figure 6: Unemployment Rate and Non-Agricultural Unemployment in Turkey (2004-2017)

Source: *Table 4.*

On the other hand, "hidden unemployment", which is theoretically derived from agricultural production structures, also makes policies for the prevention of rural poverty ineffective.In comparison with other forms of unemployment, the hidden unemployment rate, which is both more difficult to measure and prevent, is generally associated with poverty, in particular rural poverty. In terms of Turkish economy, this problem creates a different meaning and structural problem beyond current unemployment rates. The basis of agricultural policies should be based on these axes, which will facilitate the solution of production shortages and socio-economic poverty.

Conclusion

Structural instability in agricultural product markets affects not only agricultural products but also the production structure in all sectors of the economy, determining price movements and causing significant macroeconomic distortions such as poverty and income distribution imbalances. On the other hand, it disturbs the demographic structure of the population and aggravates conurbation and unemployment. The impoverishment of the rural population is also a determinant of a general poverty and income distribution inequality that can affect an entire society.The starting point of the rural development policy requires the identification of the rural area where the program will be implemented and this definition should be related to population movements.

In Turkey agricultural and agricultural enterprises have small scale, fragmented and subsistence business characteristics. These structural disturbances lead to inefficiencies in technology use, economic imbalances such as low productivity, inadequate supply and demand in domestic markets, and low competitive power in external markets. Turkey has to implement rural development policies aimed at improving efficiency and competitiveness especially in the use of efficient technology, establishment of rural and agricultural infrastructures, and improvement of agricultural

business structure. Otherwise, farming operations would lead to a decline in agricultural production, Turkey's strategic agriculture products, and even an outsider-dependent position in products that have comparative advantage. This negative picture in agricultural production will be the most important structural resource in rural areas with a low growth rate, high prices of agricultural products and a number of socio-economic problems such as inflation, unemployment, poverty and income distribution imbalances.

Poverty, which occurs in rural and therefore agricultural sectors in the development process of poverty in Turkey, is a repulsive factor. Given that urban poverty rates tend to decrease; it is clear that the main problem is rural poverty. TURKSTAT Poverty Studies reveal at the sectoral level that; sectoral poverty rates in Turkey and in particular in the agricultural sector shows fairly serious consequences. The inadequacy of agricultural support policies based on increased poverty and production in rural areas, the production of inadequate agricultural products, affects social welfare negatively both in rural and urban areas. It is an absolute necessity for agricultural policies and agricultural incentive implementations to address structural problems beyond the numerical dimensions. Instead of direct market interventions, price controls and income transfers that will affect the market functioning and price stability in a negative way, an agrarian policy should be based on creating a qualified and well-equipped agricultural labor force to regulate social and social construction. Regulations that include a more appropriate approach to the functioning of the agricultural sector in the market economy and coordination through the regulatory agencies, which are carried to a more acceptable dimension following the Global Crisis, represent the most important alternative proposal. The new dimension reached by the state-economy relationship after the Global Crisis requires this transformation.

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THE EFFECT OF CHATBOTS AND AUGMENTED REALITY ON MARKETING

Oğuzhan Kıvrak*

Abstract

Customers, like everyone else, want to feel important and expect from companies to behave that makes them feel special. Also, they want to try products before they make purchases. However, due to limited resources, it is not possible for companies to show a different attitude to each customer. For this, the modern technology offers companies new strategies and perspectives to apply to their customers. One of these technologies is Chatbot. With power of natural language processing (NLP), Chatbot solutions has increased in daily life. Chatbots are applications that interact with users, over text or voice, via websites or social platforms. Companies realized the importance of experience and emotion. So that they didn't just improve current experience, they begin to design customer experience. In 2018, Facebook announced that they implemented augmented reality feature on Facebook Messenger. This has moved chatbot experience to a different dimension. By this feature, the companies can design how the vase will look like on customers table, before the customers' purchase decision. In this way, companies can adapt their customers ' experience to virtual life and make it easier for customers to decide whether buy or not.

In this study, the concepts of chatbot, augmented reality and the role of technology in customer relations will be explained. Besides, the impact of augmented reality and chatbots on marketing will be analyzed.

Keywords: Chatbots, augmented reality, Artificial Intelligence

The Effect of Chatbots and Augmented Reality on Marketing

Customer satisfaction in today's world is one of the issues that companies need to consider in order to survive. Companies deals with customers who are interested in technology and know what they need and how to find. These customers start to change their behavior of how to interact with brands, products and services. They are more connected through digital devices, such as laptops, smartphones, tablets and watches. Therefore, this high adoption of digital technology has significantly affected consumer behavior (Vanissa & Ranchhod, 2017: pp. 263)**.** When customers are faced with a problem, they want their problems to be solved quickly. They would simply like to receive feedback when they asked question (Sproutsocial, 2018). But it is not feasible for companies to provide 24-hour customer service in terms of operational and cost. Some companies support customers services despite high cost, but they look for technological solutions for reducing this cost. The labor force comes first in source of the high cost. So that it begun to be preferred by firms to make the works done by chatbots. As a result, chatbots have been integrated into the processes of the companies and started to work as virtual assistants.

With the development of Artificial Intelligence, chatbots will become the face of AI and offer different experiences to customers in the service and marketing sector. According to Gartner report, by 2021, more than 50% of enterprises will spend more per annum on bots and chatbot creation than traditional mobile app development. As effect of this, the trend of traditional apps will be replaced by chatbots (Panetta, 2018). Chatbots have been developed to

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aid in a range of industries, from simple banking transactions to HR customer service enquiries. The global chatbot market is expected to reach USD 1.25 billion by 2025, growing at compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 24.3%, according to a new report by Grand View Research, Inc (Grandviewresearch.com, 2018). Chatbots are disrupting the market to substitute traditional channels of interaction between businesses and customers.

Nowadays, Augmented Reality technology is using in variety of ways, and its popularity is increasing. Augmented Reality integrates the real world and virtual world. It provides additional information about something in the real world with displaying this in the virtual world (Nayyar, Mahapatra, Le, &Suseendran,2018: pp.156). For instance, a person could look at a vase in the real world, hold up their smartphone or tablet in front of the table, and see on the screen how the vase looks like with additional useful information. And change color of the vase for selecting best vase for his/her table.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: first, a brief literature review of chatbot and augmented reality. Next the relationships AR, chatbot and marketing will be discussed. Finally, conclusions and proposals for future research will be discussed.

Literature Review
Chatbot

Chatbot is a computer program that communicates with people through written or verbal ways that mostly assisted by artificial intelligence. These programs communicate with people by their language, instead of pressing keys or touching screen. And have the ability to examine and influence the behavior of the user by asking questions and responding to the user's questions (Abdul-Kader & Woods, 2015, pp. 73).

ELIZA, known as the first chatbot, was developed by Joseph Weizenbaum in 1966. Eliza's conversational model was based in the rephrasing of input sentences, when these matched a set of pre-defined rules. This program raised the expectations because of the answers that is given to the questions. It made a real human impression with the given answers. Following a very similar architecture to Eliza, Parry was developed in 1971 by Psychiatrist Kenneth Colby, simulating a paranoid mental patient (Pereira & Coheur,2013, pp.1). ELIZA and PARRY talked each other on The Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) and at the end of session Eliza requested a $399.29 for therapy fee. In 1995, the first open source, named as Artificial Linguistic Internet Computer Entity (A.L.I.C.E) was developed which spoke with people by using natural language processing. Since 2010, companies such as Apple, Google, Amazon was developed chatbot applications like Siri, Google Now, Alexa for daily lives. After all these technology developments, Facebook has launched messenger platform for the use of bot in 2016 (Albayrak, Özdemir, & Zeydan.,2018). Facebook's Vice President of Messaging Products, David Marcus has reported that the number of active bots per month in Messenger has been 300000 as of 2018. These active bots can order meals as well as can give you updates on the news, book a taxi or help you with a recipe for dinner. These bots are not only special to messenger platform, but also works on other messaging platforms such as Skype, Telegram, Kik, WeChat, Line and web chats. Customers had an experience for these platforms and they gain a new experience about brand while communicating via this channel. These platforms are learned experience for users and customers gain a new experience about brand while communicating via this channel. For these messing platforms, customers don't need to download new applications.

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Although businesses need to take into account the technological restrictions of chatbots. Because there are the pros and cons of using automated chat systems as a part of customer service in business (Miettinen, 2018);

Pros of using chatbot:

- they are versatile in terms of communication capabilities and types of customer service tasks they can be programmed to do
- through automation the unit costs of customer service are lower, and human agents are freed to do more rewarding/demanding tasks
- offers the customers an around-the-day channel for communicating with a firm

Cons of using chatbots:

- inadequate chatbots lead to decrease in customer satisfaction and perceived usefulness, thus costing the firm
- since the technology is not quite mature yet, investment carries higher level of uncertainty
- some of the customers may prefer actual human agents, and chatbots can be inadequate platform for more complex products and purchasing processes

Augmented Reality

The term of augmented reality (AR) can be defined as a technology that bridges the real world and virtual in the same space as objects in the real world (Azuma, Baillot, Behringer,Feiner,Julier, & MacInyre, 2001, pp.34). AR is a visualization technique that synthesizes various multimedia information with the real view (Chung, Han, &Joun,2015, pp.588). The AR systems are characterized by three properties according to R. Azuma et al. (Azuma, Baillot, Behringer,Feiner,Julier, & MacInyre, 2001, pp.24). These are;

- Combine real and virtual objects in a real environment.
- Align real and virtual objects with each other.
- Run interactively, and in real time.

Based on these properties, by using AR, the users can be still in touch with the real world while more digital data would have added there by making the real world more interactive with the help of computer vision and object recognition (Sharma,Bhati, &,Chetman,2017,pp.3113). Integrating AR technology into application has advantages and disadvantages. These are (Chavan, 2016, pp:1948-1949);

Advantages of AR:

- AR increase the user knowledge and information
- Users can share their experiences with each other in real time over long distances
- Firms can provide even more "real" experience to the user

Disadvantages of AR:

- Openness: Users can develop their own layers of content to display but this could cause information overload and augmenting without permission

- Interoperability: The lack of data portability between AR environments

- Regarding user experience, socially using Augmented Reality may be inappropriate in some situations

The adoption of AR is changing the way consumers interact with the world, and AI are allowing businesses to deeply personalize their services. The first AR smartphone applications came out in 2009 and this apps uses AR technology to add a layer of guidance, content and entertainment to physical locations seen through the smartphone's camera view (Nayyar, Mahapatra, Le, &Suseendran,2018, pp.156). One of the most popular application is Pokémon GO. Pokémon GO is the word – famous example of these applications. It is a mobile multi-player AR based game and it released in July 2016. With this application player can find, catch and collect Pokémon by walking around in the real world in their smart phones camera view. More than 65 million players by April 2017 has played this game and it is still rapidly increasing user numbers. Companies made contract with this application to locate Pokémon on their store locations. Thus, the customers who came to the store had opportunity to catch up Pokémon.

Marketing, Chatbot and Augmented Reality

Over 4 billion people worldwide actively use messaging apps (hubspot.com,2018a) and chatbots are on messaging applications, such as Slack, Skype, Line, and Facebook Messenger. And the trend is toward to integrate experiences of technologies. For integrated technologies, the social network announced on F8 annual developer conference in San Jose, Calif that Augmented reality has arrived on Facebook's Messenger Platform. Especially Asus, Kia, Nike and Sephora are the first brands that used AR effects for their Messenger channel. With this feature brands can build compelling, utilitarian visual experiences for their customers while driving tangible business results at scale with a built-in audience of 1.3 billion people (Bigio, 2018). In return, companies can get a real – time feedback and captures more data than ever before for their customer.

By integrating technologies also improve the customer experience for customers. Today, brands have very similar customer experience for offering a product or service to their customers. But Customers want a personalized experience in any shopping. So, creating the best customer experience brings brands one step further. And brands must come up with unique and creative ideas.

Nevertheless, the ability to develop interactive relationships with individual customers is marketer's dream (Blattberg & Deighton,1991, pp.5). And this interactive selling is possible with this integrated technology. Companies such as Chairish, Inc.,IKEA start to integrate AR to their android and iOS applications. But according to report by Gartner, 20 percent of brands will abandon their mobile apps by 2019. So that brands are trying to develop chatbots for the messaging apps to reach customers where they spend a high percentage of their time (Gartner. com,2018). For Instance, LipArtist (Facebook.com, 2018). Facebook messenger bot uses AR to let people see how lipstick shades look on their selfie. It gives customers the ability to experience a variety of virtual makeup products. Facebook, for backing the technology to become a valuable tool, has launched two games (Don't Smile,

Asteroids Attack) on its Messenger service. These applications are for new experiences for creating fun memories with people that they care about most, even when you can't be together (Micheva, 2018).

Conclusion

This paper presents the impact of Chatbot and AR on marketing. Chatbot and AR are a breakthrough technology. And the marketing sector is changing with the development of Chatbot, AR technology and its application field. Companies that want to offer better experience for their customers and want to reduce cost for competitive advantage, started to develop applications with chatbot, AR and AI. But Conversational interfaces still need to get smarter and AR hasn't yet found its ultimate form factor. AR will certainly gain attention if used before it becomes commonplace. And, these technologies are likely to take off when they converge as something smarter and more compelling than either one can offer on its own.

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KLİENTELİZM PERSPEKTİFİNDEN AKP DÖNEMİNDE MEDYANIN EKONOMİ POLİTİĞİ

Özge Ercebe*

Abstract

The media has a vital role in the intersection of economy, society and politics. There is also a large literature related to media studies. Turkey's unique structure and features as of age in terms of political and social transformation that is a focus of drawing attention at the national and international levels. Media studies also seen as a special place in this area. The transformation of the state and society over the last fifteen years has been a reflection of the most striking hints and developmental lines in the media.In this study, the totality of transformation within the state and society in Turkey is intended to contribute to the efforts of an academic explanation of projected through the media of this transformation. This contribution will be presented to the media policy policy through an approach from the perspective of clientelism.

Keywords: Political Clientelism, Media Economics, Medya Sermayesi

Giriş

Çağdaş toplumlarda iktidarda olanların hem toplumsal değişimi ve gelişimi yönetmek hem de kontrol edebilmek için medyayı denetim altına almaya çalıştıkları sıklıkla görülmektedir. Bunun temel nedeni medyanın toplumsal gerçekliğin üretilmesi ve sürdürülmesinde oynadığı roldür. Medya alanının gelişmesi ve ulaştığı kitlenin artması her ne kadar toplumsal, kültürel ve siyasal alanda çeşitliliğin ve çoğulculuğun bir ifadesi olarak dillendirilse de 1980 sonrası dönemde ortaya çıkan bu çeşitliliğin ve sayısal çokluğun Türkiye için geçerli olduğunu söylemek zordur.

Özellikle 1980 sonrası dönemde neredeyse tüm dünyada medya alanında yaşanan radikal değişimin temelinde hızlı teknolojik gelişmelerin ve bilimsel ilerlemenin olduğu görülmektedir. Bu ilerlemyele aynı dönemde yaşanan bir diğer değişim ise neo-liberal birikim rejiminin ortaya çıkmasıdır. Teknolojik ve iktisadi alanlarda yaşanan bu dönüşümlerden en çok etkilenen sektörlerden biri de medya olmuştur.

Bu değişimlerin medya alanına olan en dikkat çekici etkilerinin başında medya içeriği gelmketedir. Kitle iletişiminin temel işlevleri arasında yer alan haber ve bilgi verme işlevi medyanın sembolik üretimleri arasına girmiştir. Medya kurumlarına yüklenen tarihsel misyon olan bilgilendirme ve haber verme işlevini önemli ölçüde erozyona uğratan bu gelişmeler medya alanında niteliksel değişiminlerin yaşandığının bir ifadesidir ve artık "basın" dönemi kapanarak "medya" olarak adlandırılan dönem başlamıştır (Kaya 2001; Kaya 2009; Adaklı 2006). Medya döneminin en belirgin özelliği yeni sağ ideoloji ve ekonomi politikaları bağlamında mülkiyet ilişkilerinin ve sermayenin konfigürasyonundaki değişimler kadar medya-devlet bağlantısını kuran hukuksal zeminin de değişerek medya-sermaye-devlet ilişkileri temeline oturtulmuş olmasıdır (Kaya 2009, 111).

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Türkiye'nin de içinde bulunduğu gelişmekte olan ülkelerde neo-liberal politikalar ekseninde medya alanına devlet müdahalesinin azaltılması ile hedeflenen liberalleşme eğiliminin artacağına yönelik beklentilerin tam aksi yönde gelişmeler yaşanmıştır. Gelişmekte olan ülkelerde iletişim altyapısının özelleştirilmesi ve deregülasyon yayın içeriğinde çeşitliliğin artmasına, toplumsal çoğulculuğu sağlama, ifade ve basın özgürlüğünü geliştirmeye yönelik bir işlev görmemiş, aksine medyanın araçsallaştırılmasına hizmet etmiştir. Bu süreçte, politik klientelizm, 1980 sonrası Türkiye'nin medya sisteminin değerlendirilmesi açısından kullanışlı bir kavramdır. Bu bildiri medya ve politik klientelizm ilişkisi çerçevesinde ATV-Sabah grubunun "serüveni"ni konu almaktadır. Gerek kuruluşu gerekse gelişimi ve el değiştirmeleri Türkiye'de medya-siyaset ve ekonomi arasındaki ilişki açısından oldukça çarpıcıdır.

1980'ler Basından Medyaya Dönüşüm

1980'lerden itibaren medyanın iktisadi bir sektör haline gelmesinde ve dönemin toplumsal yapısının yeniden örgütlenmesinde etkili rol oynayan yeni aktörler aynı zamanda medya alanının da oyucuları olmuşlardır (Koloğlu 1994, 86). 1990'lar boyunca medya sermayesi ile siyasi iktidarlar arasında kurulan havuç-sopa ilişkisinde medya "hükümet kurup hükümet düşürecek" güce sahip bir konuma taşınmıştır. Koalisyon hükümetleri döneminde kendilerine verilen teşvik ve desteklerle orantılı olarak siyasi partileri destekleyen gruplar öne çıkarken medya temel işlevlerinden uzaklaşmıştır.

1980 sonrası döneminin ekonomi politikaları doğrultusunda devletin piyasadan başlayarak geleneksel müdahale alanlarından çekilmesi telekomünikasyon başta olmak üzere altyapı hizmetlerinin geliştirilmesi ve bunların özelleştirilmesini gerektirmiştir. Bu, basın sektörünün hızlıca gelişmesine ve basın dışı sermaye gruplarının sektörün bileşenleri haline gelmesinin önünü açmıştır (Adaklı, 2006: 142). Gelişmiş bir enformasyon alt yapısına dayalı ekonomik yaşama geçiş sürecinde yapılan yatırımlar 1993 yılında yayınlanan Dünya Bankası Raporu'na da yansımıştır. Söz konusu raporda, 1980'lerde Türk ekonomisinin diğer alanlarında yapılan yatırımların düşerken iletişim alanında yapılan yatırımların "devasa" boyutlarda olduğuna dikkat çekilmektedir. Ayrıca, bu dönemde toplam sermaye oluşumunun % 4'üne karşılık gelen iletişim yatırımlarının, Brezilya dışındaki bütün OECD ülkelerinden daha fazla olduğu ve bunun medya ortamında ciddi değişikliklere yol açtığı belirtilmektedir (aktaran: Kaya, 2009: 242). Türkiye'de pek çok sektör ileri teknolojinin kullanımına kavuşamazken, basın sektöründe, ulusal basının önemli bir kısmının ileri teknoloji ile donatılmıştır.

1980 sonrası dönemde medyaya yatırım yapan iş adamlarıyla siyaset arasındaki ilişkiler politik klientelizmin en belirgin örneklerini ortaya koymaktadır. 1980 sonrasında medya alanında teknolojinin hızla gelişmesi ve yayıncılığın büyük sermayeye duyduğu gereksinimin kredi ve desteklerin siyasi iktidarlarla kurulan klientelistik ilişkiler yoluyla sağlandığı görülmektedir.

1980'lerde başlayan ve Şahin Alpay'ın (2010: 378) "fasit üçgen" olarak adlandırdığı medya sahipleri, politikacılar ve işadamları arası ilişkiler 2001 ekonomik krizinin de zeminini hazırlamıştır. 2001 yılında yaşanan ekonomik kriz medya endüstrisini önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Medya şirketlerinin büyük bir kısmının bankacılık sektöründe faaliyet gösteriyor olmaları ve krizden etkilenerek iflas etmeleri, medya sisteminde geçerli olan "iş-finans-medya" üçgeninin artık işlemediğinin göstergesi olmuştur. 25 bankanın battığı bu krizde bankalardan on tanesinin sahibi aynı zamanda medya sektöründe de faaliyet gösterenlerdir (Ertürk, 2012). Bankaların iflas etmesiyle bankaların sahiplerine ait bazı şirketlerle birlikte medya şirketlerinin de yönetimleri TMSF'ye devredilmiştir. Böylece, 2000'li yılların başında TMSF medya sektörünün önemli oyuncularından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu gelişmeler, medya mülkiyetinin yapılanmasında da önemli değişiklikler anlamına gelmektedir. 2001 krizinden sonra TMSF'nin el

koyduğu medya şirketlerinin satılması sürecinde AKP, iktidara yakın işadamlarının sektöre girmesini destekleyen bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir.

1980 Sonrası Dönemde Medya Sermayesi ve Klientelizm

Daniel Hallin ve Paolo Mancini'nin Batılı medya sistemlerini karşılaştırmalı olarak inceledikleri *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (2004) ile Hallin ve Stylianos Papathanassopoulos'un (2002) çalışmaları medya siyaset ilişkisinin batılı medya modellerini temele alan yaklaşımların dışında incelenmesine olanak veren yeni bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Çalışmalarında kendilerinden önceki normatif geleneğin dışına çıkarak, farklı ülkelerde medya ve siyaset kurumunun kendi özgül şartlarına bağlı olarak farklı süreçlerden geçerek şekillendiğini ampirik verilerle ortaya koymuşlardır. Hallin ve Mancini'nin Batılı medya sistemleri analizinde kullandıkları farklı analiz birimleri arasında klientelizm kavramı 1980 sonrası dönemde Türkiye'de medya sermayesi ve siyaset arasındaki ilişkinin çözümlenmesi açısından elverişli bir kavram olarak dikkat çekmektedir.

24 Ocak Kararları ile başlayan neo-liberal ekonomik yapılanma ve ekonominin dışa açılması sürecinde gazete kâğıdına yapılan sübvansiyonun kaldırılması ve bu dönemde gazete kâğıdı fiyatlarının yüzde 300'lere varan fiyat artışı basını sıkıntı içine düşürmüştür. Bu durum, basının hükümetin mali denetim çabalarını bir parçası olurken diğer yandan teknolojinin hızla gelişmesi gazete yayımcılığını büyük sermaye gereksinimlerine bağımlı kılmıştır. Bu süreçte, Dinç Bilgin gibi geleneksel medya sahipleri basın dışı alandaki yatırımlarını geliştirerek sektörde kalabilirlerken, medya dışındaki sermaye sahipleri de medya yatırımlarını geliştirmişlerdir. Bu dönemde medya alanında ihtiyaç duyulan kredi ve desteklerin siyasi iktidarlarla kurulan yüz yüze ilişkiler yoluyla sağlandığı görülmektedir.

Hallin ve Mancini'nin medya sistemleri ayrıştırması çerçevesinde Türkiye'nin 1980-2000 arası döneminin *kutuplaşmış çoğulcu modelin* temel bileşenlerinin özelliklerini taşıdığı söylenebilir (Kaya ve Çakmur, 2010; Ercebe, 2016). Kutuplaşmış Çoğulcu Sistemde, klientelistik ilişkilerin belirleyiciliği Türkiye'nin medya sistemi açısından da geçerlidir. 1990'lar boyunca Türkiye'de koalisyon hükümetleriyle yönetilmiştir. Bu dönemde, medya sektöründe yeni düzenin yerleştiği söylenebilir. Birbirlerinden farklı ideolojik söylemleri temsil etmeseler de, medya patronları kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda siyasi partilere destek vermişlerdir. 1990'lar boyunca koalisyon hükümetlerinin medyanın desteğine olan ihtiyaçları ve bu destek talebinin karşılığında medya sahiplerinin kayırmacılık talepleri ile medyada klientelistik ilişkiler öne çıkmıştır. 1996'da Refah Partisi'nin seçimlerden birinci parti olarak çıkmasının ardından siyasal İslam ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri arasında kutuplaşma yaşanmıştır. Bu kutuplaşmada medyanın askerin yanında yer aldığı görülmektedir. Bunda medya sahipleri ve yöneticilerinin temel kaygısının Türkiye'de yaşanacak rejim değişikliğinden çok, Refah Partisi'nin "milli görüş" anlayışı çerçevesinde, ekonomik yapılanmayı değiştirme potansiyeline yönelik geliştirdikleri tepkinin etkili olduğu söylenebilir. 1990'larda, gruplar arası rekabetin siyasal alana yansıması "Bakanlar kurulunun belirlenmesinde söz sahibi oldukları", "hükümet kurup hükümet düşürdükleri" iddialarına (2012 Darbeleri Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu) kadar varmıştır.

2001 Krizi Sonrası Dönemde Medyanın Yapılanması

2001 yılında yaşanan ekonomik kriz medya endüstrisini önemli ölçüde etkilemiş, 1990'ların medya sisteminde geçerli olan "iş-finans-medya" üçgeninin artık işlemediğinin göstergesi olmuştur. İflas eden bankaların ve bu bankaların sahiplerine ait bazı şirketlerle birlikte medya şirketlerinin de yönetimlerinin TMSF'ye devredilmesiyle birlikte, TMSF medya sektörünün önemli oyuncularından biri olmuştur. Bu gelişmeler, medya mülkiyetinin

yapılanmasında da önemli değişiklikler anlamına gelmektedir. 2001 krizinden sonra TMSF'nin el koyduğu medya şirketlerinin satılması sürecinde AKP, iktidara yakın işadamlarının sektöre girmesini destekleyen bir rol oynamıştır.

AKP döneminde medyanın dönüşümü üç başlık altında değerlendirilebilir: Anaakım medyada etkili medya gruplarının krizin etkisiyle TMSF'ye devredilmesi ve sonrasında iktidara yakın iş adamlarına satılmasıdır. Bu şirketler arasında Dinç Bilgin'e ait olan Sabah ve ATV başta olmak üzere gruba bağlı diğer yayın organları, Cem Uzan'a ait olan Star Televizyonu ve Star gazetesi ve diğer yayın organları; Tuncay Özkan'a ait Kanaltürk sayılabilir. AKP döneminde medyadaki dönüşümün ikinci başlığı iktidara muhalif yayın organlarına yapılan mali baskılarla bu kurumların denetim altına alınmasıdır. Doğan Grubuna yapılan vergi denetimi ve bunun yanı sıra yazrlara ve yöneticilere yapılan baskılar sonucunda grubun hükümete yakın Demirören Grubuna 2018 yılında satılması bunun en belirgin örneğidir. Üçüncüsü ise medyada çalışan gazeteci, yazar ve yöneticilere uygulanan baskı sonucunda yayın organlarının editoryal kadrosu ve yöneticilerinin tasfiye edilmesi ve çok sayıda gazetecinin işsiz kalmasıdır. Sektörde çalışmaya devam eden gazeteciler ise gazetecilik ilkelerinden ödün vermek zorunda kalmışlardır. Medya alanında yaşanan dönüşüm açısından ilk iki başlık medya sermayesinin yapılanması açısından önemliyken son başlık medyanın işlevleri açısından değişiklliklere yol açmıştır.

Klientelizmin Örneği: ATV- Sabah Grubu

AKP iktidarı döneminde medya sermayesinde el değiştirmeler yaşanmış, sektöre yeni gruplar girmeye başlamış, sektörde yer alan ve iktidarın siyasal duruşuna yakın olan gruplar da etkilerini arttırmışlardır. Sektöre yeni giren gruplar arasında Ethem Sancak' a ait ES Medya, 15 Temmuz 2016'dan sonra TMSF'ye devredilen Koza İpek Holding, Star TV ve Gazetesi ortağı olan Rixos Otellerinin sahibi Fettah Tamince, ATV-Sabah Grubununa 2000 yılında ortak olarak sektöre giren daha sonra da Ufuk Güldemir'den HaberTürk Tv'yi satın alan Ciner Grubu, Aysın Doğan'da Milliyet!i satın alan Demirören Grubu bunlar arasında sayılabilir.

Gerek 1990'larda medya ve politik klientelizmin çarpıcı örneklerinden birisi olması gerek 2001 krizi süreci ve TMSF'nin rolü gerekse satışı ve eldeğiştirdiği dönemde yaşanan tartışmalar itibariyle ATV- Sabah grubu medya ve politik klientelizmin en dikkat çekici örneklerinden birisi olarak değerlendirilebilir.

ATV -Sabah grubunun en medya sektörü açısından en dikkat çekici özelliklerinden birisi ilk sahibi Dinç Bilgin'in basın sektöründe gazeteci kökenli son patron olmasıdır. 6 Eylül 1924'te ilk sayısı İzmir'de yayınlanan *Yeni Asır* gazetesi 1960'ların ortalarından itibaren çıkarmaya devam eden Dinç Bilgin, yerel piyasada tek olmak için pek çok yeniliği hayata geçirmiş, İzmir'deki diğer rakiplerinin önüne geçmiştir. 1982'de Kemal Uzan ile birlikte İstanbul'da gazete kurma girişimi anlaşmazlıkla sonuçlanmış ve bu sırada İzmir'den İstanbul' taşıdığı ekonomi gazetesi *Rapor*'u çıkarmaya başlamış, 22 Nisan 1985 yılında da aldığı kredilerle *Sabah*'i yayınlamaya başlamıştır.

Daha sonraki yıllarda 1 Numara yayıncılık ile dergi piyasasına giren Bilgin Grubu, 1990'da İkitelli'ye taşınarak *Sabah* dışında *Bugün, Yeni Yüzyıl, Fotomaç, Sabah Yıldızı* gibi gazeteleri çıkarmaya başlamıştır. 12 Temmuz 1993'te ATV deneme yayınlarına başlamış ve grup televizyon alanına girmiştir. 24 Aralık 1994'te ise Erol Aksoy ile ortak olarak reklam pazarlama şirketi olan MEPAŞ'ı kurmuştur. Dinç Bilgin, 1989 yılında özelleştirme kapsamına alınmış olan Etibank Bankacılık AŞ'yi 2 Mart 1998'de Nergis Holding'le birlikte kurulan Medya-İpek Holding'i kurarak satın almıştır. 2000 yılı Dinç Bilgin için sarsıntı ve yıkım yılıdır. Grubun Finans motoru olan Etibank'a TMSF tarafından el konulması ve Etibank ile ilgili açılan davada Dinç Bilgin Cezaevine girmiştir. Sabah Grubu'nun çoğunluk hisselerini 20 Ekim 2000'de Turgay Ciner' devretmiştir. Böylece Ciner, Sabah Yayıncılık, Birleşik Basın

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Dağıtım, ATV, 1 Numara Yayıncılık ve Sabah Pazarlama'ya sahip olmuştur. Hisselerin geri kalanı ise Mehmet Emin Karamehmet'e geçmiştir. 30 Kasım 2000'de "Ceketimi alıp çıkıyorum" başlığı ile yayınlanan yazısında Dinç Bilgin, *Sabah*'la birlikte *ATV, Yeni Asır* ve *Kanal 6*'nın içinde bulunduğu bütün varlıklarını Ciner ve Karamehmet'e bırakıp medya dünyasından ayrıldığını duyurmuştur. Ancak, bir süre daha Aydın Doğan'ın desteği ile piyasada kalmaya çalışmıştır. 2 Nisan 2001'de DGM tarafından 'nitelikli dolandırıcılık, zimmet ve cürüm işlemek için teşekkül oluşturmak' suçlarından tutuklanmıştır.

Şirket	Medya Faaliyetleri	Finans Faaliyetleri	Diğer Faaliyetler
Bilgin Grubu Dinç Bilgin	ATV (Çukurova ile ortak) , ATV Avrupa, Kiss TV, Yeni TV, RADYO- Kiss FM, Radio Sport, Şık FM, Sabah Gazetesi, Takvim, Fotomaç - DERGİ- 27 Derginin Yayıncılığı, YAYIN- Sabah Yayıncılık, Binyıl Yayıncılık, Sabah D'Agostini, Medya-Ofset Yayıncılık, Sabah Kitapçılık, IPR Uluslararası TV Video Yapım AŞ, Satel AŞ, Bilgin İletişim AŞ. DAĞITIM- Birleşik Basın Dağıtım AŞ, AJANS- Sabah Haber Ajansı	Etibank	MEPAŞ
Kaynak: : Kültür ve İletişim Dergisi ,"Medya -Demokrasi-Siyasal İktidar İlişkisi", 2003, Aralık, s.123; Adaklı, 2006 ve Kuyucu, 2012'den derlenmiştir.			

ATV-Sabah grubu 2013 yılında hükümete yakın bir inşaat şirketi olan Zirve Holding'e satıldı.17-25 Aralık döneminde inter27 Ekim 2000'de TMSF'nin Dinç Bilgin'in sahibi olduğu Etibank'a el koyması ve bankanın 880 milyon liralık borcu karşılığında medya şirketlerini TMSF'ye devredilmemiştir. Turgay Ciner, 17 Kasım 2003'te Dinç Bilgin ile 15 yıllık bir lisans sözleşmesi imzalayarak ATV ve Sabah'ın marka ve isim haklarını 10 milyon dolara kiralamıştır. 2005 yılında TMSF ile masaya oturarak, Satel Sabah Televizyon (ATV), ve Nilgün Yayıncılık gazetesi (Sabah) için 18.5 milyon dolar peşinat ödemiş ve kalan borcu 10 yılda 6 ayda bir 19.5 milyon dolarlık taksitlerle toplam 433 milyon dolar vererek satın almıştır. Ancak, ödenecek toplam tutar olan 433 milyon dolar Bilgin'in Etibank'tan doğan borçlarını karşılamaya yeterli bir meblağ değildir. Elindeki medya grubunu Ciner'e kaptırmış olmakla birlikte borçlarını ödeyemeyen Dinç Bilgin, 2007 yılı Mart ayında TMSF'ye başvurarak Ciner ile gizli bir protokol yaptıklarını ve ortada satış olmadığını, gerçekte ortak olduklarını açıklamıştır. Bu başvuru üzerine TSMF Sabah ve ATV ile birlikte Ciner'in 63 şirketine el koymuştur (Adaklı, 2010, Mavioğlu, 2012, Yüksel ve Çam, 2015).

Çalık Grubu 2013	Gazete: Turkuvaz Medya Grubu (Sabah, Sabah Avrupa, Yeni Asır, Takvim, Fotomaç) Dergi: Turkuvaz Dergi Yayıncılık TV: ATV, ATV Avrupa Radyo: Turkuvaz Televizyon ve Radyo İşletmeciliği Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş (Radyo Turkuvaz, Radyo Romantik) Dağıtım: Turkuvaz Dağıtım Pazarlama A.Ş. Kitap Yayıncılık: Turkuvaz Kitapçılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş., Turkuvaz Matbaacılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. Prodüksiyon: Turkuvaz Prodüksiyon ve Tanıtım A.Ş. Haber Ajansı: Turkuvaz Haber Ajansı Dijital Medya ve Mobil Hizmetler: Turkuvaz Medya Digital, Turkuvaz Mobil Hizmetler	Tekstil: Gap Güneydoğu Tekstil, Türkmenbaşı Tekstil Kompleksi, Türkmenbaşı Jeans Kompleksi, Balkan Dokuma, Serdar Pamuk Eğrici, Serdar Altın Asır Tekstil Kompleksi, Çalık Alexandria Enerji: Çalık Enerji, Bursagaz, Kayserigaz, Naturelgaz İnşaat: Gap İnşaat Finans: Aktif Bank, Banka Kombetare Tregtare (BKT) Telekomünikasyon: Alb Telecom
Kaynak: Sözeri ve Kurban 2013		

Dinç Bilgin, Ciner Grubu ile yaptığı gizli anlaşmayı açıklamasıyla medya sektmamen çıkarken, Ciner de sürecin dışına itilmiş oldu. Bu durum, hükümeti *ATV* ve *Sabah*'ın satışı konusunda harekete geçirdi ve hükümete yakın Çalık Grubu *ATV* ve *Sabah*'ın sahibi oldu. 1990'larda tekstil ve inşaat sektörü (Mavioğlu, 2012,28) le büyüyen grup *ATV* ve *Sabah*'ı 1.1 milyar dolarlık ihale bedeli için kamu bankaları olan Halkbank ve Vakıfbank'ın verdiği 700 milyon dolarlık kredi ile satın aldı. Bu krediler ile peşin ödeme yapan Çalık Grubu *ATV* ve *Sabah*'ın yanı sıra *Radyo City, Takvim, Günaydın, Yeni Asır, Pas, Fotomaç* gazeteleri, *Bebeğim ve Biz, Sinema, Sofra, Home Art, Şamdan Plus, Yeni Aktüel, Para, Global Enerji, Transport* ve *Hukuki Perspektifler* dergilerinin de sahibi oldu. Kamu bankalarından bu miktardaki krediyi nasıl aldığı ve beş dakika süren ihale çok tartışıldı (Mavioğlu, 2012). Çalık Holding, ihalenin hemen ardından Tayyip Erdoğan'ın damadı Berat Albayrak'ı şirketin genel müdürlüğüne, aynı zamanda Turkuvaz Medya'nın yönetim Kurulu Üyesi olan kardeşi Sedat Albayrak'ı ise Star gazetesinin genel müdürlüğüne atandı.nette yayılan "tape"lerde satışın pek çok yatırımcının para vererek oluşturduğu bir havuz sayesinde gerçekleştiği iddiaları medya tarihine "havuz medyası" tabirini kazandırdı. 17 Aralık'tan hemen sonra pek çok yatırımcının katılımıyla kurulan Zirve Holding bünyesine geçen ATV-Sabah Grubu'nun satış bedelinin 630 milyon dolarolduğu iddia edildi. Satış için belirtilen rakam, Çalık Holding'in ödediği bedelin çok altında olması, eğer doğruysa söz konusu medya şirketinin çok kârlı olmadığını hatta zarar ettiğini göstermektedir. Medya grubunu alan Zirve Holding'e bağlı Kalyon İnşaat ve tapelerde adı geçen başta üçüncü havalimanı olmak üzere, Çanakkale-Ezine-Ayvacık Yolu gibi büyük ihalelerinin yanı sıra ülkenin büyük kısmının altyapı, otoyol ihalelerini almış olması dikkat çekmekmiştir. Sabah-ATV'nin satışı ile ilgili internette yer alan yasadışı dünleme kayıtları Tayyip Erdoğan'nın ve AKP'nin medyaya verdiği önemi de göstermektedir. Çalık Holding'in bir süredir elden çıkarmayı düşündüğü ATV-Sabah grubuna Time Warner ve NewsCorp gibi uluslararsı medya şirketleri talip olmuş ancak Erdoğan AKP'ye yakın işadamlarında yakın iş adamlarından bir sermaye havuzu oluşturmalarını istediği ses kayıtlarından ortaya çıkmıştır. Sabah-ATV kâr etmezse havuza para koyan iş adamlarına verilen sözler de yerine getirilmiştir (Sözeri, 2015:12; Çam & Şanlıer-Yüksel, 2015;75; Yesil, 2016: 118, Ercebe, 2016).

ATV-Sabah Grubu'nun satın alınması için "havuz"a para aktaran şirketlerin 3. Hava Limanı konsorsiyumu içinde yer aldıkları görülmektedir. Havuz'da yer alan şirketlerin aldıkları kamu ihaleleri söyledir:

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Kolin-Limak-Cengiz
BEDAŞ- İstanbul Avrupa Yakası Boğaziçi Dağıtım Şirketi özelleştirmesi (2 Milyar Dolar)
Akdeniz Elektrik dağıtımı özelleştirmesi (550 milyon dolar)
Bursa Uludağ Elektrik dağıtımı özelleştirmesi (1 Milyar dolar)
Sivas-Tokat –Yozgat (Çamlıbel) elektrik dağıtımı özelleştirmesi (260 milyon dolar)
Yusufeli Barajı
Ankara Hızlı Tren Garı Projesi
Cengiz Holding
Hasankeyf Ilısu Barajı
İstanbul Metrosu Taksim-4. Levent hattı
Ordu Giresun Havalimanı altyapı Maltepe Sahili Dolgusu Projesi
Eti Alüminyum, Oymapınar HES, Antalya Eti Liman İşletmeleri
Cengiz- IC İctaş (3. Köprü yüklenicisi)
Ankara –İstanbul Hızlı Tren 1. ve 2. Etaplar
Trabzon Aşkale yolu
Cengiz-Kalyon
Şile Ağva Yolu
Kalyon
Taksim yayalaştırma projesi
Metrobüs ulaşım hattı
Çağlayan Kavşağı Yol Yapımı
Bakırköy Adliyesi Binası
Ataköy Atık Su Arıtma Tesisi ile toplam 100 milyar TL'lik kamu ihalesi

Sonuç

1980'lerin ortalarından 1990'ların sonuna kadar olan dönemde sermayenin medyaya girişinde en önemli nedenler arasında siyasi çevrelerde itibar görme, 'dördüncü gücü' paylaşma, gerektiğinde elindeki silahı savunma gerektiğinde ise bu silahı saldırı amaçlı kullanma öne çıkmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, diğer sektörlerdeki yatırımların etkinliğini arttırma, elde edilebilecek rantlardan öncelik kapma, elinde bulundurduğu medya organlarını holdingin diğer şirketlerinin reklamında kullanarak pazarlama faaliyetlerini arttırma, itibar ve güven isteyen finans sektöründe medyadan yararlanma gibi nedenler de etkili olmuştur (Sönmez, 2004:35).

1990'lara kadar basın ile gerilimli ilişkisi devam eden Özal'ın hedefi yeni iktisat politikalarıyla uyumlu bir basının oluşmasıdır. Özal özel sektör sahipleri ve yöneticilerini etrafında toplayarak birebir ilişkilere girmiş, bu yüz yüze ilişkiler özel sektörün teşviklerden, ithalat ve ihracat kolaylıklarından, özelleştirmeler yoluyla kaynak aktarıma mekanizmalarının kullanımdan yararlanmalarının yanı sıra kamu denetiminden uzaklaştırılmalarının yolunu açmıştır (Kaya, 1994).

2002 seçimlerinden sonraki süreçte medya- siyaset ilişkisinde, siyasal aktörler medyaya hükmetmeye başlamışlar, devlet gücünü medya sermayesini ehlileştirme yönünde kullanmışlardır. Bunun en dikkat çekici örneklerinden biri

se ATV-Sabah grubununsatışı, eldeğiştirmesi ve bu süreçte siyasi iktidar ile işdünyası arasında kurulan ilişkinin klientelistik bileşenleridir.

AKP İktidarı döneminde, medya kontrolünde yaşanan en önemli farklılık ise 1990'larda medya kuruluşlarının yayın politikalarındaki temel hareket noktaları ekonomik çıkarları çerçevesinde belirlenirken, AKP döneminde buna bir ideolojik desteğin eklenmiş, medya kuruluşları arasında yoğun bir ideolojik kutuplaşma ortaya çıkmıştır. Klientelistik sistem ve bu sistemdeki klientelistik çıkarlar doğrultusunda biçimlenen medya iktidar ilişkisi, siyasi bağlantıları olan zenginlerin sahipliğinde ve bu çerçevede politik çıkarlarla ekonomik çıkarların ortaklığına dayanmaktadır.

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THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF AUSTRALIA'S MARKET ECONOMY

Peter Willans

Introduction

Australia has one of the largest and most effective market economies in the world with a Gross Domestic Product of (AUD) $1.69 t., in 2017.

In terms of wealth and society, Australia is ranked second in the world, after Switzerland. Australia had a total wealth value of (AUD) $8.9t. (by mid-2018) and continuing strong growth in the fortune and favour of challenging world markets.

Australia has the distinction of having the longest consecutive Gross Domestic Product growth of any country in the developed world recording 110 quarters of economic growth multipliers over 27 years.

Despite the encouraging growth overview, many issues are surfacing which detract, in economic terms, from the state of the nation, both now, and into the future. Many of these issues can be attributed to a glaring incompetence by those entrusted with the machinations of economy and governance.

If Australia's past enthusiastic democratic approaches are to be continued, the political class should examine the critical issues influencing social and economic pressures. Inequality is a national and international issue. Restoration of the notion of fairness, egalitarianism, and inclusion are societal approaches that are achievable.

A Political System misjudging its electorate.

In Australia, trust in the Australian Parliament, federal, and state political systems has fallen dramatically in recent times. Ten years after the Great Recession, Australia has maintained growth but faces continual social and economic challenges in a rapidly changing political environment.

A recent public access poll showed that, following a publicly unpalatable political event[1], 75% of the population has lost faith in political systems and government processes. This degree of public dissatisfaction is amongst the largest demonstrative decline of support in the modern world. It is indicative of the global political deconsolidation of democratic systems worldwide. Perhaps stronger.

Friedrich Nietzsche once spoke of a political system representing that which we have inherited today. Nietzsche foresaw "the privatisation of the state where private companies would assume the business of the state including the activities that are the most resistant remainders of what was formerly the work of government. How democracies gave birth to aristocracies and could become hostages to herd morality".

On a global basis, fluctuation in the democratic processes have been wide-spread as citizens demonstrate their disease around political processes, cronyism, elitist posturing and a scourge of political blundering. Consolidated by ineptness amongst the political classes.

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1   Reference the downfall of Australia's Deputy Prime Minister and a disparaging television interview.

Global economies have been at the middle of a highly visible financial market credit contagion and consequential indebtedness of nation states. Quantitative Easing has been a double-edged sword, of unprecedented long-flow low-bound global interest rates, concomitantly stimulating debt fuelled economies. Political leaders have been loath to rescind the debt driven consumer and business demand that artificially stimulates growth. Quantitative Easing of recent times has, as one, rescued economies and locked those economies into almost suffocating global debt conditions.

Quantitate Easing paradigms are directly responsible for the considerable wealth accumulation that has occurred in global financial markets and the high-level debt left for the rest of the world.

The global economy is more deeply indebted than before the Global Financial Crisis and host countries must take immediate action to improve their finances before the next downturn, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has said. The IMF has suggested a prolonged period of low interest rates had stimulated a build-up of debt amounting to 225% of Global GDP, in 2016, fully 12 points above the previous (record) level reached in 2009. The IMF suggested China was responsible for much of the increase, but noted that developed, emerging markets and low-income countries all now looked vulnerable, to shocks. Given the inter-related nature of markets a shock is most likely.

The IMF used its half-yearly fiscal monitor to single out the United States for criticism, saying that Donald Trump's fiscal stimulus – a package of tax cuts and spending increases – was leading to a bigger budget deficit at a time when it should be on the way down. All indicators lead to another financial crisis and Australia's ability to "ride this one out" is questionable.

A Market Economy all watched over by Political Serpents

Australian citizens own the rare distinction of having amongst the highest levels of personal indebtedness of any developed country. Global comparisons of household debt usually look at the total owed as a percentage of net income. Australians rank fourth highest in the world next to Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway. In 2016, Australia's total personal debt levels grossed at nearly AU$2 trillion and the average Australian household owes AU$250,000. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data, analysed in a recent report, showed that mortgages for owner-occupier housing makes up 56.3% of all personal debt in Australia. Debt associated with investments including investment, and rental properties, or shares, makes up 36.5% of our household debt.

The past decade of increasingly high debt accumulation, post Global Financial Crisis, has been championed by Government in synchronisation with the market programs of the mainstream Australian banks. Encouraged to borrow, Australian citizens have been sold home purchase loan contracts that 300 thousand Australians are now finding they are unable to clear, or honour.

Significantly, and in tandem, with loose debt allocation across the wider community has been wholesale changes in Industrial Relations and workplace arrangements. Gone now, or at best weakened, are workplace arrangements that were once the bedrock for working Australians. They are no more. Gone, or reduced, are the shift loadings, holiday entitlements, sick leave arrangements, and in a broader sense, the workplace guarantees that fostered security amongst workers and families in Australia.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

Enter the precariat. Workplaces, and their workers, without underwritten guarantees of continuity, reward for effort, and commitment. Models now introspectively placed in the industrial workplace, release the owner from the previous industrial relations agreements and commitment to fairness and equality in labour agreements. From one of the most admired and hard-fought workplace traditions, to one of the most precarious, has been the signature of the current conservative government, who are distrusted by more in the electorate, than those who say they have their trust.

These developments are present in Political Economy terms, at a period in Australia's history where Government and personal debt, incompetence, and social service issues, are at crisis point.

On any given night in Australia 300.000 people are sleeping rough and/or homeless. 100, 000 are women, and women with children. Incredibly, and embarrassingly, estimates of Australians with debt and poverty overlaying their daily lives is believed three million. In this once affluent and inclusive community.

Once described as the "Lucky Country", Australia has hit a challenging period in its social history. Most citizens believed that Australia would continue growth and prosperity but, the financial effects of complacency and mistrust in our political and economic systems have been real and problematic. A lucky country whose real life and real economy has been manipulated and mismanaged by the political class.

Once: A "Lucky Country". The New Reality.

Australia's broad, and hard fought for, democratic systems have become highly influenced by corporate elites, business interests, and a monied class that, increasingly, have a strong influence on political outcomes. Australia is becoming decoupled from its image of social and economic fairness. Australia has rising high levels of inequality coupled with rising distrust in the political systems.

Political parodies, ineffectual parliamentary agendas, and a recent series of elected members engaged in soap-opera type, but real life, dramas have shaken an electorate and disenfranchised the Australian voting public from the machinations of effective government, right across the country. A Royal Commission into the Australian Banking industry has demonstrated the utter contempt that elected political representatives show during their passage through Parliamentary office. The Turnbull Government fighting to impede the setting up of the investigation.

The Australian Parliament, State Governments, and local governments appear to be disconnecting en-masse from an electorate that is increasingly frustrated.

The afore-mentioned figure, (albeit one off)75 percent of voter disenchantment occurred in the immediate aftermath of Australia's Deputy Prime Minister appearing on a (highly) paid television interview discussing his alleged affair with a member of his staff, who had recently given birth to their new child. The Deputy Prime Minister blamed everyone but himself for his political dysfunction, gross lack of integrity, and judgement, suggesting that protesting members of his own political party, who were vocally upset with outcomes from his new union, were "scumbags".

The Deputy Prime Minster having been stood down from his position demonstrated a high degree of farce and total incompetence within a political class in Australia that just can't get it right. Facing a raft of political, economic, and social challenges, the recent political soap opera seemed, not unusual.

Within the broader scope of Australia's political economy, a study by Professor Ian McAllister of the Australian National University reported record low levels of satisfaction with democracy and trust in government.[2] Professor McAllister described the findings as "a wake-up call to Australia's political leadership".

There is an increasing perception of Australian politics that "the system is broken". A poll conducted by the *newDemocracy Foundation* found that 54% of Australians agreed with the broad assertion of political, democratic, and economic malaise, whilst 39% opined that the current system was the "best there is".[3]

A further indication that the Australian political system was failing the electorate surfaced when a public poll on the least trusted professions in the country attracted 69% of respondents nominated politicians, well ahead of 36% for journalists, and 34% and 32% respectively for lawyers and bankers. A strong testament to the disdain felt for the political and capital classes.

The Australian Parliament, State Governments, and local governments appear to be disconnecting en-masse from an electorate that is increasingly frustrated by the real or perceived incompetence by elected members, pertaining to issues falling out of the Banking Royal Commission, about customer exploitation, and lack of trust. Australians feel unanchored by the apparent lack of decency and dignity of its elected officials.

Further testament to the democratic disenchantment is deduced from citizens who believe the system does not provide the leverage, personal, and agency, required to reseat their confidence to levels where strong leadership, rather than political incompetence become possible. Competence and integrity, being qualities, which seem remarkably distant, and remote, in recent times.

An international survey conducted by Ipsos demonstrated that "the nation needs strong leadership to take the country back from the rich and powerful" a position supported by 70 per cent of respondents, 68 percent of whom stated their belief that the economy was rigged to benefit the same cohort (the rich and powerful), and 61 per cent believed that politicians "*don't care about people like me*". Middle Australians believe that they have been overlooked by major Australian political parties.

This degenerative effect on citizens in Australia has its modern nemesis in a political class that is completely out of touch with its electorate. Past politicians who have been ineffectual or caught out in scandals of all types have been stood down, only to be given plumb positions overseas on high salaries. It comes off monumental scandals in the finance and banking system, political discord, and a population that is intimately connected to news feeds and relentless, immediate, commentary cycles.

Episodic and undisciplined governance operations, mis-management, and soap-opera style scandals, added to cumulative effects of business entitlement at the top echelons of the financial sector, has rapidly deteriorated the publics tolerance and beliefs in contemporary systems of government.

Politicians increasingly take populist short-term, ill-advised positions, believing that they provide solutions with governance, and impunity, expected. And until recently, delivered. Quick media statements take the place of reason, and explanation.

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2   The Australian National University's Australian Election Study.
3   Hugh Mackay." Australia Reimagined" Pan McMillan Australia 2018.

The Australian banking system has worked closely with these unprofessional processes, rewarding dishonest practitioners, whilst systematically exploiting consumers under a cover of ultra-thin oversight, and cosy relationships with government, and the top end of town.

Contrast the broad cross section of Australian society, more diverse and more intensely cosmopolitan in makeup, and division, than at any time in its history. There is a struggle with radical work-place change, in relationships, family, and relationship definition, industrial relations, contested views and dissociative patterns of legal and illegal immigration, and distrust in economic and governance systems.

Australia has been welcomed immigrants and refugees, displaced from all over the globe. Until new immigration laws were enacted in a move to stop refugees in New Guinea entering the country. These new anti-immigration laws have been highly political and contentious. A report by the United Nations Law Centre challenges the Turnbull Governments stand as draconian. A recent report questioned the Turnbull Governments "democratic slide, reporting that recent actions had been raised at the UN Human Rights Council. In the report[4] the UN Special Rapporteur to the Human Rights Council that:

- He is astonished to observe "mounting evidence of regressive measures" being pursued by Government,
- He was astounded to observe frequent public vilification by "senior public officials" of charities, community groups, and democratic institutions who hold the Government to account "in what appears to be an attempt to discredit, intimidate, and discourage them from their legitimate work", and
- That there is increasing discrepancy and incoherence between the Turnbull Governments statements on the wold stage and its actions at home.

These issues are raised regularly in Parliaments Federal and State as refugees appear to be selected on an indiscriminate nature which discredits those in Nauru and Manus Island detention centres where for basic political bias by the Australian Government amounts to constrain those who wish to come to Australia cost AU$1.1 billion in 2014-15 and AU$1.2 billion in 2013- 14.

These actions are base politics. They are widely challenges not only by refugee advocates but most Australians who see through the crassness of a scare campaign by Australian Government ministers.

A multi layered Australian society is, at once, more diverse, more tolerant, more harmonious, more fragmented, and at the other end of the scale, more individually fragmented, and lonely, in a time of endless channels of information technology, of all kinds.

Across most societal structures in Australia there is occurring, a struggle, with radical changes in the industrial relations system including bewilderment at the pace of, and yet to be qualified, change.

Within the spectrum of industrial relations alone, there is evidence that half of the working population is now engaged in part time casual employment with the concomitant loss of all the entitlement arrangements that this implies.

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4   Asylum Insight. Facts and Analyses. International Organisation for Migration. http://missingmigrants.iom.int/latest-global-figures

Part-time and casual arrangements without holiday accrual, without sick leave, without maternity leave, without loadings, or adjustments for dangerous conditions, no superannuation entitlements, and worse, when all things combine, no right of redress.

These dramatic employment, social and life changing events are occurring whilst Australia holds the global record of continuous economic growth over nine years of 35 consecutive economic quarterly indicators.

The Australian market economy is giving rise to reduced working conditions, overseas ownership of corporations, a speculative corporative finance system where profits are expatriated, and consumers treated with contempt, in many cases disenfranchised by deliberate corporative directives which openly defraud their customers.

The Australian working community is two tiered with corporates operating in the financial and property sectors showing high earning and the distinction between the high-end earners and those in the precarious middle and part-time sectors becoming highly evident. High earning executives have a large controlling interest in property markets in most Australian capital cities and as such their dominant financial interests in property force prices up generally, and rentals, exponentially.

Loss in faith in government in Australia becomes most evident when figures show a damning detachment between Australian citizens who inherit the broad economy. One sector demonstrating high wealth in the corporate sector against failings in the structural classes beneath.

A Land of Social and Hierarchical Contrast.

Once a broad society with a confidence suggesting that "everyone could get a hand up", has turned, under the neoliberalist regime. The "Fair Society" is splintered. The economy is increasingly class structured.

Nearly three million Australians are living below the poverty line, including 731,000 children - a two per cent increase in the past decade. Such staggering statistics reported in a new Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) report come at a time when welfare payments are again under the political spotlight as the federal government sets out on an "investment approach" for social services.

Centrelink, Australia's designated social services department is a body, recently discredited for its increasing mean attitudes and lack of balance toward the great number of unemployed and underemployed who genuinely struggle. The restructuring of the part-time and casual work programs alone make work more precarious and concomitantly the rewards are considerably reduced. Agencies like Centrelink are increasing under pressure in this environment.

Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) chief Dr Cassandra Goldie has been vocal in her levels of frustration at the alarming increase in child poverty, revealed by a recent report. Goldie is seeking an urgent appeal to Australian Senators to reject further cuts to family payments, currently before the upper house[5].

Goldie further stated. "We frame it as if it's the fault of the individual, you're either lazy, not working hard enough, not retraining hard enough, but the basic numbers are there, one job available for every five people conservatively is

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5   Three million Australians live below the poverty line, report reveals | SBS Your Language
     https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/turkish/en/article/2016/10/16/three-million-australians-live-below-poverty-line-report-reveals 3/4

the estimate looking for paid work, but over the last 10 years we've seen no change in the level of poverty among the Australian population. Children are really at risk,"

Dr Goldie said the overall picture from the last decade was one of persistent and entrenched poverty across the community culminating in an increase in child poverty, which she described as a national shame. Those most at risk are children in lone parent families who are three times more likely to be living in poverty than those from "couple families". Australians doing it toughest were overwhelmingly people living on the $38 a day Newstart payment, 55 per cent of whom live in poverty. An inditement on any society.

Professor Uval Harare[6] has suggested that "If you make inequality normal it will come back to haunt the next generation, and that the profit motif over-rides the common good aspect of democracies". Harare warns that democratic processes are hampered by politicians who over commit to change during campaigns. And under-deliver in office and promote funding terms that are tied to election cycles, whilst the precariat that is struggling to negotiate a life path that has a middle, and an end.

Comparisons Show the real Inequality of Australia's Real Economy.

Indicative of the ACOSS findings is a recent report that the top 1 per cent of income earners (AU$11,282 per week) in Australia receive as much in one week's employment, as the lowest 5 per cent of income earners ($436 per week) receive in a year.

Australia is now amongst the most unequal "wealthy" nations in the world, along with two other neoliberalist-based economies of The United States and the United Kingdom. Challenging Australia's long held belief that the country was amongst the foremost egalitarian countries in the world.

Dr Goldie suggested "The Australian experience in recent decades shows that inequality has increased strongly in economic boom times and flattened with a slower economy and slow wage growth across the board"[7].

The vast contrast the variation in Australian socio-economic outcomes is highly visible when comparisons are made against the wealth of the finance sector in Australia's political economy.

While situational blockages are evident, and demonstrated through rising poverty, unemployment, underemployment, occupational poverty, part time work, no sick pay, no holiday accruements, and precarious working arrangements there is an emergence of record high earnings in the corporate sector,

Whilst the economies of country and smaller towns and cities across Australia tell of challenging times of drought and structural employment change there is a business community, mainly based in Sydney and Melbourne, that host a plethora of investment and production on world scale. The recent scale of a booming real estate sector has added great wealth within these cities.

Compared to remuneration outcomes of a lessening degree in the wider Australian economy, business has never been more rewarding for the corporate finance sector, financial traders, hedge fund scions, and even politicians who are effectively placed, also in the finance sectors.

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6   Professor Yuval Harari. University of Oxford. Author of "Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind".
7   New Report Says Wealth Inequality Increasing in Australia. Cassandra Goldie. Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) 31st July 2018. PRObono Australia

Australia has a longstanding offshore finance sector, it is placed 5th globally in speculative finance activities and, concomitantly, with investment interests in banking and mining.

The *Australian Council of Superannuation Investors July 2018 Report* "*CEO Pay up as Business Trust Declines*" describes how a "broadly static" corporate remuneration climate has, after ten years, shown recent significant increases, "not seen since the lead up to the Global Financial crisis".

Australia's strong capital markets have been credited with the listings of CEO's substantial windfalls, at a time when "public trust in business is at a record low ebb, and, wages growth in the broader economy is described as anaemic".

The Report further suggested "Against this, background decisions to significantly increase bonuses, appear not only *tone-deaf* but also make me wonder whether Boards have lost sight of the link between communities and investor expectations, and a company's social license to operate[8].

The ASX100 Chief Executive Remuneration stated that the average CEO renumeration rose 12.4 percent to AU$4.36 million in 2017-18, and the average CEO renumeration for ASX200 rose 22.1 percent to AU$1.76 million.

Also evident was an increase in levels of the top highest paid Australian CEO's with Don Meij, of Domino Pizza Enterprises, outpacing other CEO's, with a realised pay of $36,837,702, and the Lowy Brothers of Westfield Corp on $25, 906,960, each. Over the four-year period the realised pay data indicated that the Lowy Brothers received AU$101.3 million each. Balancing these figures is a decline in ASX100 average pays from almost 32 times average earnings in FY08 to just under 23 times average earnings in FY17. But a very strong indicative situation to the state of play in most of the other economies of work in Australia up to the present period.

Another major benefit to this exclusive Australian business cohort is the additional increase in bonus payments. Both the average and median total bonuses to ASX 100 CEO's were the "highest recorded since the ACSI began collecting data in 2011". Additionally, the Annual Survey suggested "the bonuses paid continue to be near the top end of their maximum potential". CEO Davidson further suggested "that CEO's are more likely to lose their job than their bonus[9]".

Conclusion

The Australian market economy has a history of solid inclusiveness in so far as business and society have created an egalitarian community and an economy that at once could be described as fair.

This appears to have been weakened by several social and economic factors. And growing inequality.

Finance and business have separated from the historic nature of the democratic process that have given Australia its unique character through wars and peace.

The Australian economy works for a lesser number of our population. And has lost its inclusiveness.

The market side of the Australian economy has influenced and overtaken the unique and inspirational calling that made the Australia prosperous, and generous, and welcoming.

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8   Louse Davidson, "CEO Pay up as Business Trust Declines" ACSI Annual Survey of S&P /ASX200 Chief Executive Remuneration. July 2018.

9   Australian Council of Superannuation Investors "CEO Pay in ASX200 Companies". Survey commissioned by the Australian Council of Superannuation Investors (ACSI) and conducted by Ownership Matters Pty. Ltd, Melbourne. 2018. About ACSI suggests "our members include 38 Australian and international asset owners and institutional investors. Collective they manage over $2.2 trillion in assets and own on average 10% of every ASX200 Company.

THE STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC REVENUE AND DEMOCRACY

Savaş Çevik[1]

Abstract

In recent years, there has been a growing interest on the nexus between democracy and taxation. The study explores the association between democracy and taxation (the level and composition of taxes) by relying on the cross-country data. The data shows that the level of tax revenue, but not total public revenue, is associated with the level of democracy. Not only the level of taxation but also the composition of public revenue is linked to democracy level of countries. Countries which depend on non-tax revenue and natural resource rents are more likely to have less democratic governments. Among tax types, the broad and visible taxes such as personal income tax, are highly correlated with democracy level while taxes paid by small number of people such as corporate income tax and invisible taxes such as consumption tax even they are paying by the large number of citizens are not related to the level of democracy of countries.

Keywords: taxation, the composition of taxes, democracy, democratic governance, political regimes, fiscal bargaining

1. Introduction

The financing way of public activities can be viewed as a reflection of the state-society relationship and the political interaction between rulers and people as well as providing the financial tools needed to fulfill the functions of the state. It can be argued that the better governance between the state and society, the effectiveness of public institutions, the creation of accountable governments is related to the public financing and the composition of taxation. In recent years, there has been a growing number of studies to reveal the connections between taxation and democracy. Two main perspectives could be identified in the literature. The first argument that comes mostly from political scientist and economic sociologist argues that taxation and tax structure may help to develop democratic governance through fiscal bargaining and an established social contract by making rulers more responsive and accountable to citizens as seen from the Western democracies experience. The second argues that political regimes are decisive on the government finance, and thus, a democratic and inclusive governance may increase the voluntary compliance of citizens and the effective administrative and participatory policy making. To put it briefly, the first focuses on the argument "taxation leads to representation", the second on "representation leads to taxation".

The paper attempts to explore the association between democracy and tax levels and the composition of taxes by depending on the cross-country data. The study argues that not only general level of taxes but also composition of public revenue would be linked to democratic governance. Rather than taxes paid by the small section of citizens and taxes that invisible to citizens, the taxes paid by large masses and visible taxes are more likely to have democratic and accountable governments. A public financing based on visible/observable revenues (such as taxes among revenues and direct taxes among tax revenues) would be expected to motivate citizens to monitor public authorities as well as make public authorities more sensitive to citizens' demands. As the empirical literature has

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been focused on tax levels at the link of democracy, only a few studies has examined whether the composition of public revenues and tax types are related to democracy.

The following section of study discusses theoretical and empirical literature to reveal and to establish the possible connections of taxes to democracy. In the third section, we examine the relationship between public revenue (not only general levels but also composition and types of taxes) and democracy in an exploratory way through one-way ANOVA, Tukey tests and visuals that depends on simple regression, even we do not follow formal modelling or hypothesis tests. Finally, our conclusions are drawn in the final section.

2. Taxation and Democracy: Theoretical and Empirical Framework

Public finance is not only an economic phenomenon but also it reflects and shapes political, social and economic interactions between rulers and citizens and even among citizens. As emphasized by Schumpeter (1991, p,101), taxes are associated with development of the current form of the state, and it also shapes the state actively. Changes in fiscal methods transform the social and political relations together with probable crises (Musgrave 1992). Therefore, the financing structure of the public sector and taxation could be regarded as a mirror of the power structure in the society and the relationship between the state and the people.

As Margaret Levi (1988) pointed out, "*the history of state revenue production is the history of evolution of the state*" and therefore, the developing modern democracy has been connected with developing the taxing capacity of rulers. Political institutions which shape relative power of segments of the society is strongly connected with how governments are financed. Historical record on the emergence of Western representative democracies, at least, shows that the evolving to modern democratic and accountable governments from monarchs has been possible by creating the taxing capacity. Therefore, taxation was central to building states with central bureaucratic capacity, representative and democratic governance, and high fiscal capacity to carry out societal goals. The stories of early England's conflicts between King and barons, and between Parliament and the Crown, of the rebellion of American colonies, and of the French Revolution supports the idea that taxation and representative is closely connected each other (Ross, 2004; Moore, 2007). Rulers needed revenue for wars and had to raise tax, however, they had to become more responsive and more accountable to citizens in how their money was used, since they depended on taxes collected from citizens (D'arcy 2012). Thus, high tax capacity, powerful Weberian bureaucracy and representative democracies have simultaneously emerged. American rebels' famous demand "*no taxation without representation*" can neatly summarize this relationship. Therefore, the political history of Western states suggests that necessities on revenue raising (need for more taxes) helped to build national states and political institutions relied on representative democracy.

Can this historical trajectory explain current situation of developing countries which tend to be less democratic governance and has lower level of taxation? Does the direction of relationship to democracy from taxation? What is the transmission mechanism in the relation of democracy and taxation? There is a growing body of literature on this issue especially in the context of development policies for contemporary developing countries. However, the literature seems to be divided into two main directions. One is "taxation leads to democracy" and other is "political structure affects tax structure".

The first aspect which mainly comes from political scientists, sociologist and economic sociologists focuses on the impact of revenue raising on democracy. Taxation stimulates representation and accountability. The argument

"*taxation leads to representation*" is mostly derived from early modern European experiment and to attempt to explain how developing countries will build their strong and democratic states with respect to developmental aims. According to this argument, the revenue-raising shapes the state-society (rulers - people) relationship and the social contract is based on bargaining around tax (Brautigam, 2008, p.1). That is what create the modern industrialized democratic countries. This argument based on the idea of fiscal bargaining between ruler and citizens sometimes called "*fiscal contractualism*". Taxes are "quasi-voluntary" payment in exchange for governmental services (Levi, 1988), and if rulers depend on tax revenue for their priorities rather than revenue controlled by themselves, they will be forced to build capable administration, to increase the quality of governance, and to led to citizens participate public policy formulation. From this perspective, taxes can be seen as an exchange for services. Rulers have to bargain with asset holders to extract revenue. Through the revenue-bargaining process, as rulers collect taxes, they must transfer rights to determine policies to the citizens in return for taxes (Timmons, 2010). Based on this literature, it can be said that being more legitimate and more responsive to citizen demands is a precondition for the adequate level of the tax effort. Thus, the rulers could increase tax-extraction capacity by improving the governance structures and governmental/political institutions (Brautigam, 2008; Moore, 2004; Moore, 2007; Moore, 2008; Baskaran and Bigsten 2013; Garcia et al., 2016). Because, citizens who pay taxes will be more motivated for asking for accountability from the administrations and for monitoring public policy formulation. If rulers finance their activities largely from non-tax revenue, they have not to be responsive citizens' demands as well as citizens will not be motivated to ask accountability. Thus, revenue producing policies are decisive on social contract between rulers and citizens.

The structure of public revenues is to be expected to have an impact on the democratic governance in several ways (OECD, 2010; Moore, 2007; Moore 2013):

(1) The experience of being taxed will enable citizens to be more sensitive to the public policies, the quality of public services, and the effective use of public resources. Thus, it is expected that decision-makers will be more responsive to these requests as citizens will increase their participation in collective action and political decision making. At the end of this process, it can be expected that the governments would become more transparent, more accountable, and more responsive to the demand of citizens.

(2) Governments that largely based on tax revenues have more incentives to interest in economic growth and increasing citizens' well-being. Non-tax revenue the governments' sensitivity to the demands of citizens will not develop sufficiently at where public activities are largely derived from non-tax revenues.

(3) If taxes are in the form visible and observable by citizens, they will be more motivated to ask accountability since they will be aware of their burden. Thus, the governments become more responsive.

(4) As tax collecting requires effective administrative and bureaucratic tools, their development would in general affect the emergence of state capacity.

Although these hypotheses mostly depend on historical evidence, there is a growing empirical literature. For instance, Ross (2004) studied the impact of both tax-GDP ratio and tax-public spending ratio on democracy, and found no evidence to support the hypothesis that higher tax level income lead to democratization. Rather, the price of public services (tax-public spending ratio) had the impact of democracy level. From the Nigeria case, Berger (2009) found that regions where has high fiscal capacity tend to have better governance. Altunbas and Thornton (2011) found the quality of governance increases as tax level increases. Baskaran and Bigsten (2013) examined the impact of fiscal capacity (tax-GDP ratio) on corruption, bureaucratic quality and democratic accountability.

They found that democracy increases and corruption decreases as fiscal capacity increases. Baskaran (2014) found tax revenues to be having a mild positive effect on democracy by examining existence of VAT and autonomous revenue authorities. Gur (2014) found that tax level (tax-to-GDP) is positively associated with democracy level.

Research on the impact of non-tax revenue is mostly related to rents or oil revenues in terms of "resource curse hypothesis". Herb (2005) explored the effect of rent revenues on democracy, but not found consistent support on the hypothesis. According to findings by Ross (2001) and Treisman (2007), countries which depend largely on natural resource revenues tend to be less democratic and low quality of government. Some research (e.g. Bermeo, 2011; Collier, 2006) examine the effect of foreign aid on democracy and conclude the negative impact of aids on democracy.

On the other hand, some research focuses on other side of the relationship between taxation and democratization: political regimes and the level of democracy might be decisive on government financing. Median voter model, suggested by Meltzer and Richard (1981), predicts democratization may lead to higher level of tax and expenditure through redistribution, since median voter with low income would demand redistribution. According to Acemoglu and Robinson (2006), democracies induce to increase taxes and redistributions autocracies since democracies are relied on poor and middle class who favor redistribution, and autocracies are relied on the rich who against to transfer their wealth to the poor. Thus, autocracies are expected to experiencing tax increases. However, some theoretical studies (e.g. Przeworski, 1990; Olson, 1991) reach an opposite conclusion as democracies tend to have low tax rates than autocracies. Although theoretical predictions are not conclusive, it is clear that political regimes which consist of broad institutional framework to make decision related to resource allocation would affect government financing structure as well as general economic performance (Cheibub, 1998, p. 351).
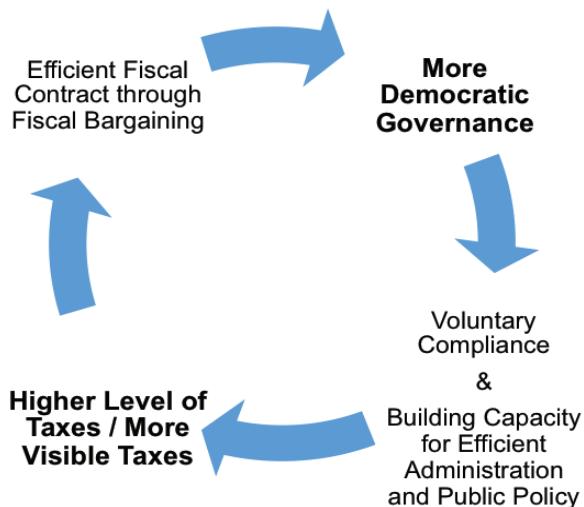
The effect of political regimes and democracy on taxation might be related to citizen's willingness to pay taxes under different political settings. A body of literature that focuses on tax morale and tax compliance suggests that democratic political governance is inclusive in terms of political decision making. Thus, it affects citizens' perception of legitimacy of political power and increases their willingness to pay. While the better governance and democracy could encourage citizens to participate in collective actions - like paying taxes - and their tax compliance. Democracies tend to increase "voluntary" compliance with tax laws (Feld and Frey, 2002; Torgler *et al.,* 2010; Bird et al., 2008; Bird et al., 2014).

The most of empirical studies which employ the democracy as independent variable find positive correlation between tax and democracy. Bird et al. (2008) found the positive impact of better governance (absence of corruption, voice and accountability) on tax effort, which especially significant in developing countries. Bird et al. (2014) expands results to governance index, political stability and rule of law. Mutascu (2011) suggests U shape relationship between tax level and democracy. Results present that high level of taxes can be maintained in strongly democratic and strongly autocratic regimes. Türedi and Topal (2016) find a two-way causality between tax level and democracy by depending on the data of 60 developing countries through panel Granger causality test. Castro and Camarillo (2014) find the civil liberties to be having positive impact on tax level through dynamic panel data analysis on OECD countries.

There are studies contrary to the findings of positive association. Cheibub (1998) find that there is no significant difference between democracies and autocracies after controlling other factors, although tax levels are observed to be higher in democracies than autocracies. Cheibub (1998) concludes that there is no ground for arguing that

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the dictatorships are less capable of collecting taxes than democracies or vice versa. Results by Timmons (2010) show that democracy level has no immediate impact on tax levels and even tax types. Profeta et al. (2013) have not found significant correlations of both tax level and tax compositions with democratic institutions and civil liberties after controlling country fixed effects.

Figure-1. The Relationship between Democratic Governance and Tax System

In general terms, the literature suggests a mutual relationship between democratic governance and taxation. As can be presented in Figure-1, the tax system could be expected to influence the governance and the quality of political institutions by creating an effective revenue-bargaining system between citizens and the state, creating incentives for citizens to monitor governmental activities and for public authorities to regard citizens' demand. In a tax system which extracts higher tax revenue and more visible taxes, citizens become more sensitive to governmental decision making and monitor politicians and decision making process, and therefore, government depended on taxes paid by citizens become more responsive and accountable to their citizens' demands. Taxation can create an efficient social contract between rulers and citizens. On the other hand, more democratic and inclusive political governance could encourage citizens to participate in collective actions - like paying taxes – and their tax compliance. If they perceive that decision-making process is inclusive and fair in the exchange of tax to benefits, and they have a voice in the system, they consent to pay more taxes. Also, a democratic governance might have more chance to establish an efficient public administration and public policy making by building capacity through more tax revenue, and thus, more capable public administration can collect more taxes through both encouraging voluntary compliance and enforcing tax laws.

Are the current level of taxation and tax structure a consequence of political governance? Or Is the current political structure of governance a consequence of tax system? Identifying the direction of relationship requires a high-quality data and proper econometric techniques. Prichard et al. (2018) explains the continuing disagreements on the issue by mainly the data problems. Current studies' empirical strategy mostly artificially determines the direction of relationship.

In any case, the relation of public revenue to political structure could be associated with several characteristics of public financing system:

(1) the general level of taxation (tax effort; tax revenues as a share of GDP)

(2) the share of revenues in the form of tax within total public revenue

(3) the share of revenue depending on broad and visible taxes

A higher tax effort (tax-to-GDP ratio), the higher share of revenues in the form of tax within total public revenue and the higher share of revenue depending on broad and visible taxes (taxes which are paid and observable by masses) are expect to be associated more democratic governance. Current literature mostly focuses on the tax levels or tax efforts (tax-GDP ratio) at relation to democracy. Empirical evidence on the relationship of structure of public revenue to democracy is not enough because of mostly the data availability and methodological issues. A few study (e.g. Timmons, 2010; Profeta, 2013; Prichard et al., 2018) takes into consideration the non-tax revenue and the composition of taxes. Although the public choice literature examines the effect of visibility of public revenues on the size of government, public deficits and public expenditures in the context of '*fiscal illusion*', they do not empirically address the influence of such a revenue structure on the political structure.

In this study, we examine the association between democracy and both tax performance and tax mix through cross-country data in the following sections.

3. Cross-Country Examination of the Relationship Between Public Revenue and Democracy

In this section, we examine cross-country data to explore the structure of public revenue and democracy. We especially interested in if;

- A higher share of taxes as a percentage of GDP, which is used as a measure of tax effort, is associated with higher level of democracy.
- A higher share of non-tax revenue as a percentage of total public revenue is associated with lower level of democracy.
- A higher share of broad and visible taxes in the total tax revenue is associated with higher level of democracy.

Tax and revenue data is drawn from IMF Government Finance Statistics. However, the obtaining a variable which would properly represent the democracy can be controversial in part since there is no consensus on defining and measuring the democracy. In literature, three indicators are often taken to be a proxy of a country's democracy level:

- Freedom Rating (as mean of political rights indicator and civil liberties indicator) of Freedom House (2018)
- Polity IV data by Center for Systemic Peace of PRC Group (Marshall & Jaggers 2002)
- Democracy Index compiled by Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU, 2018)

We chose the EIU Democracy Index because it is more comprehensive to capture a country's democracy level, and it's also highly correlated with other two measurements as can be seen in Table-1. The EIU Democracy Index is based on five categories: "electoral process and pluralism"; "civil liberties"; "the functioning of government"; "political participation"; and "political culture". After countries are scored by these dimension, they can be classified

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into four regime types by based on their scores: "full democracy"; "flawed democracy"; "hybrid regime"; and "authoritarian regime". We will consider both scores and regime types at following section.

Table-1. Pearson Correlations between Democracy Measurements (2011-2016)			
	Polity IV (Center for Systemic Peace)	Freedom Rating (Freedom House)	Democracy Index (EUI)
Polity IV (Center for Systemic Peace)	1.00		
Freedom Rating (Freedom House)	-0.81***	1.00	
Democracy Index (EUI)	0.81***	-0.91***	1.00
*** p<0.01			

We approach the data in an exploratory way without use formal modelling and estimation techniques. Data covers to 2016 from 2011 but in order to cover more countries, we use averages of variables in this period. We mainly visually examine the data and inspect the difference between averages through one-way ANOVA analysis and post-hoc Tukey tests.

3.1. The Level of Public Revenue and Taxation

We first examine the link of total government revenue and total tax revenue as a hare of GDP to democracy level. Figure-2 demonstrates both indicators by democracy level. It is noticeable that there is no clear relationship between total government revenue and democracy despite slightly increase by democracy level, whereas total tax revenue-to-GDP increases as democracy level increases.

Figure-2. Government Revenue and Taxes (Averages of 2011-16; %GDP) by the Level of Democracy

Data Source: IMF and EUI
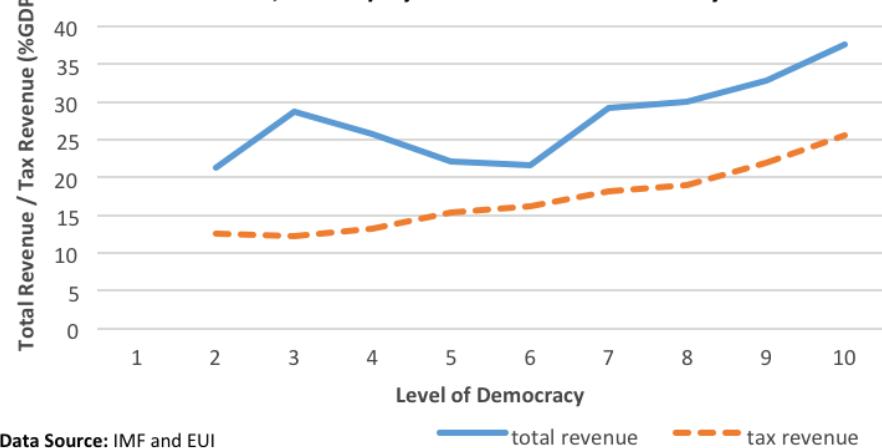
Table-2 shows the means, standard deviations and frequencies of total government revenue and total tax revenue by regime types. For total government revenue, although the full democracies have higher level of government revenue, the averages for authoritarian regimes and flawed democracies are also quite similar. Whereas, the share of total tax revenue to GDP is higher more democratic regimes than less democratic ones.
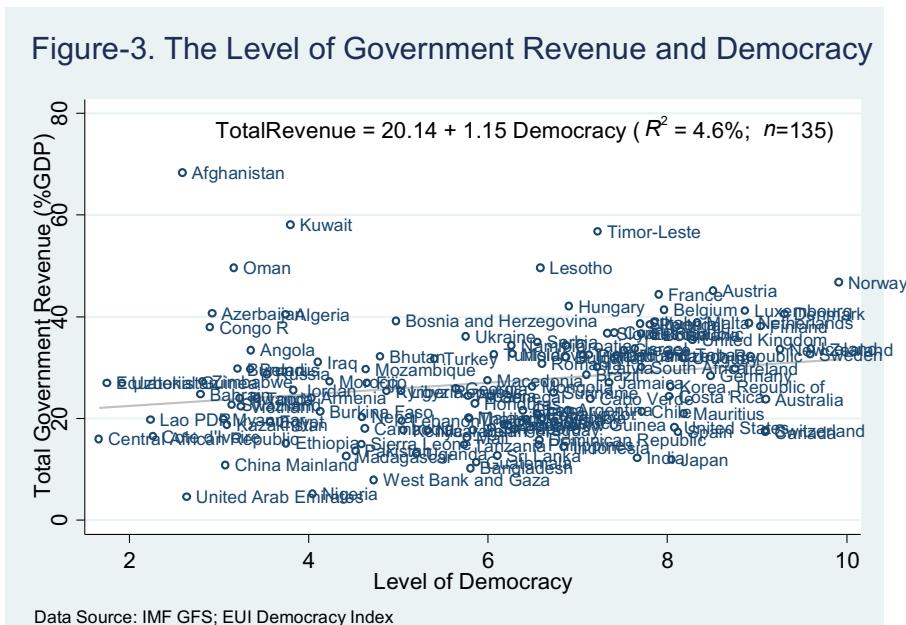
Table-2. Government Revenue and Taxes by Regime Types						
	Total Government Revenue (GDP%)			Total Tax Revenue (GDP%)		
Regime Types	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Freq.**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Freq.**
Authoritarian Regimes	27.94	13.80	28	12.80	7.63	28
Hybrid Regimes	21.24	8.05	34	14.63	5.50	34
Flawed Democracies	28.94	9.89	49	18.77	5.81	49
Full Democracies	33.14	15.32	47	20.16	6.24	47
Total	*28.35*	*12.77*	*158*	*17.24*	*6.81*	*158*
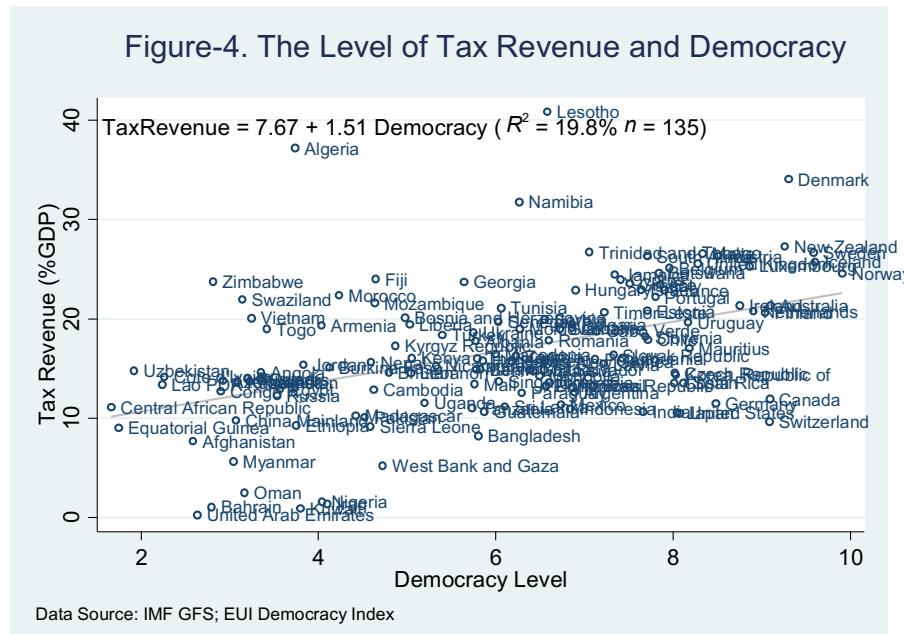
In order to statistically examine differences in total government revenue and total tax revenue by regime types, we conducted a one-way ANOVA to determine if average level of government revenue and taxes was different among regime types.

For total government revenue, ANOVA revealed statistically significant differences between regime types [$F_{(3, 154)}= 6.35; p:0.0004$]. However, A Tukey post-hoc test showed that the differences significant between only "flawed democracy" vs. "hybrid regimes" (7.69±2.71; p=0.027) and full democracy vs. hybrid regimes (11.89±2.74; p=0.000). There were no statistically significant differences among other categories.

As determined by one-way ANOVA [$F_{(3, 154)}= 11.15; p:0.0000$], the differences between total tax revenue among regime types were statistically significant. A Tukey post-hoc test produced statistically significant differences between categories except of "hybrid regimes vs. authoritarian regimes" and "full democracy vs. flawed democracy". It seems that the less democratic regimes have lower level of tax revenue than more democratic ones.

Figure-3. The Level of Government Revenue and Democracy

Data Source: IMF GFS; EUI Democracy Index

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We also looked at these relations through scatter diagrams and simple regressions on country data. Figure-3 shows that there is no a significant correlation between the share of total government revenue to GDP and democracy level of countries (R^2= 0.05) despite of a positive fitted line. On the other hand, as shown by Figure-4, the level of total tax revenue is positively associated with democracy level (R^2= 0.20).

Figure-4. The Level of Tax Revenue and Democracy

TaxRevenue = 7.67 + 1.51 Democracy (R^2 = 19.8% n = 135)

Data Source: IMF GFS; EUI Democracy Index

3.2. The Composition of Public Revenue and Taxation

As discussed in Section-2, not only the level of taxes but also the composition of public financing tools could have related to the quality of political governance. First, tax revenues must encourage democratic governance rather than other revenue like natural resource rents, grants, aids etc. This fact was discussed in the literature on 'resource curse' in detail in the case of the impact of the resource revenue. That is why that Middle East specialist suggest that these countries must collect more taxes to develop the democracy, since the autocrats of the region who finance themselves with non-tax revenue can avoid pressures to democratize in current situation (Ross, 2004).

Second, in order to stimulate the citizens to monitor the government and/or to make the political elites more responsive to citizens will, taxes must be observable by citizens. If a tax is collected in the way which recognized by the citizens, and thus, the citizens do not feel the burden of tax that they paid, we cannot expect that they react against to the tax. For instance, indirect taxes such as value added tax, in most countries (not all), included in the market transactions, and citizens may not be aware of tax, although they had paid. Whereas, direct taxes such as personal income tax, in most countries (again not all), is paid by taxpayers themselves following a declaration of tax return. In this case, it can be said that personal income tax might be more effective to encourage democratic governance than indirect taxes.

Table-3. Non-Tax Government Revenue and Natural Resource Rents By Regime Types						
	Non-Tax Revenue			Natural Resource Rents		
Regime Types	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Freq.**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Freq.**
Authoritarian Regimes	0.44	0.30	28	17.43	13.82	31
Hybrid Regimes	0.24	0.18	34	8.19	10.81	35
Flawed Democracies	0.17	0.10	48	5.04	7.54	49
Full Democracies	0.217	0.20	47	1.54	4.05	44
Total	*0.247*	*0.21*	*157*	*7.18*	*10.69*	*159*

Briefly, it can be said that the taxes rather than non-tax revenue and the broad and visible taxes rather than non-observable taxes would tend to be linked to more democratic governance and thus, to promote the development of democracy.

Table-3 shows averages non-tax revenues as a share of total government revenue and natural resource rents as a share of GDP by democracy level. It is clear that the less democratic regimes have higher level of non-tax revenue and natural resource rents.

With regard to statistical significance of differences in averages, ANOVA shows that differences in non-tax revenue (%total government revenue) and total natural resource rents (GDP%) were statistically significant among regime types. As democracy declines, non-tax revenue increases on average [$F(3, 153)= 12.05; p:0.0000$]. In a same way, more democratic regimes tend to have lower level of natural resource rents on average [$F(3, 155)= 19.32; p:0.0000$]

We also conducted Tukey post-hoc test to examine differences between categories. Accordingly, for non-tax revenue, the differences for "hybrid vs. authoritarian", "flawed democracy vs. authoritarian" and "full democracy vs. authoritarian" were statistically significant. Thus, non-tax revenue was statistically significantly higher in authoritarian regimes compared to other regime types. For natural resource rents, Tukey post-hoc test produced statistically significant differences for "hybrid vs. authoritarian", "flawed democracy vs. authoritarian", "full democracy vs. authoritarian" and "full democracy vs. hybrid regimes". Thus, natural resource rents were statistically significantly higher in authoritarian regimes and hybrid regimes than democracies.

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Figure-5. Non-Tax Revenue and Democracy
(Averages 2011-2016)

$NonTax = .56496 - .05603 Democracy$ $R^2 = 30.3\%$ ($n=134$)

Data Source: IMF GFS and EUI Democracy Index
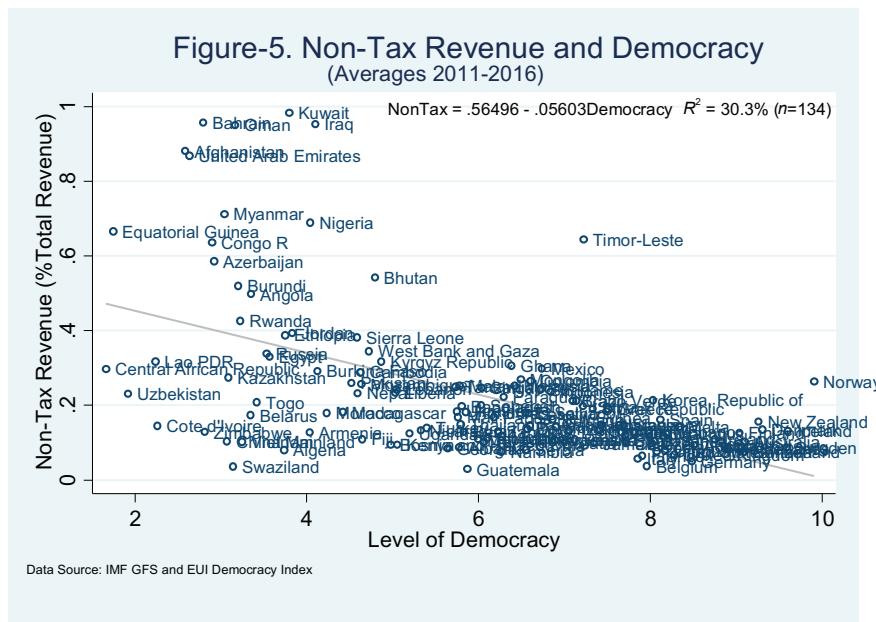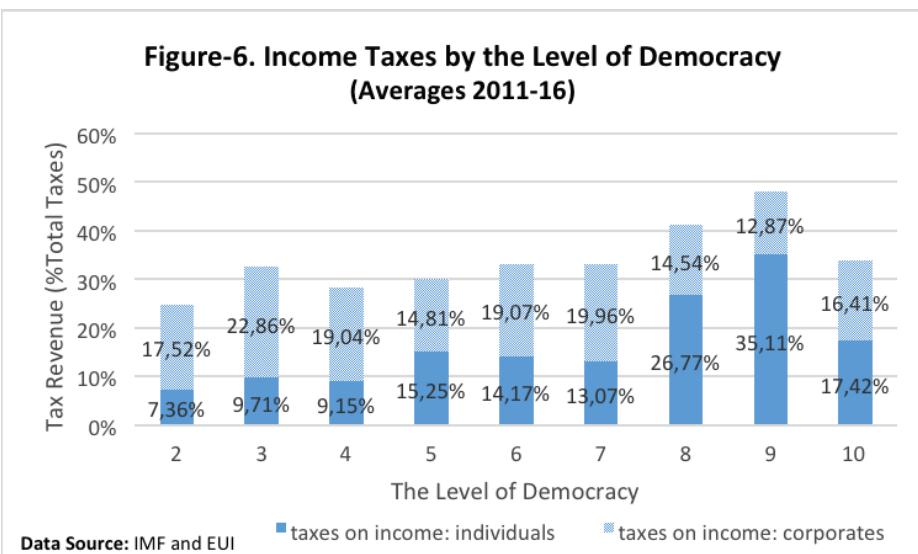
Figure-5 indicates the association between non-tax revenue and democracy. It is noticeable that the non-tax revenue is negatively associated with democracy level ($R^2= 0.30$).

Turning now to the link of tax types to democracy, a tax must be paid by large section of people and visible to taxpayers, in order to encourage democratic governance. Taxes paid by small number of people or invisible to taxpayers do not serve as a tool in revenue-bargaining process. Therefore, it can be expected that tax types have not same impact on democratization.

Figure-6. Income Taxes by the Level of Democracy
(Averages 2011-16)

Data Source: IMF and EUI

taxes on income: individuals   taxes on income: corporates
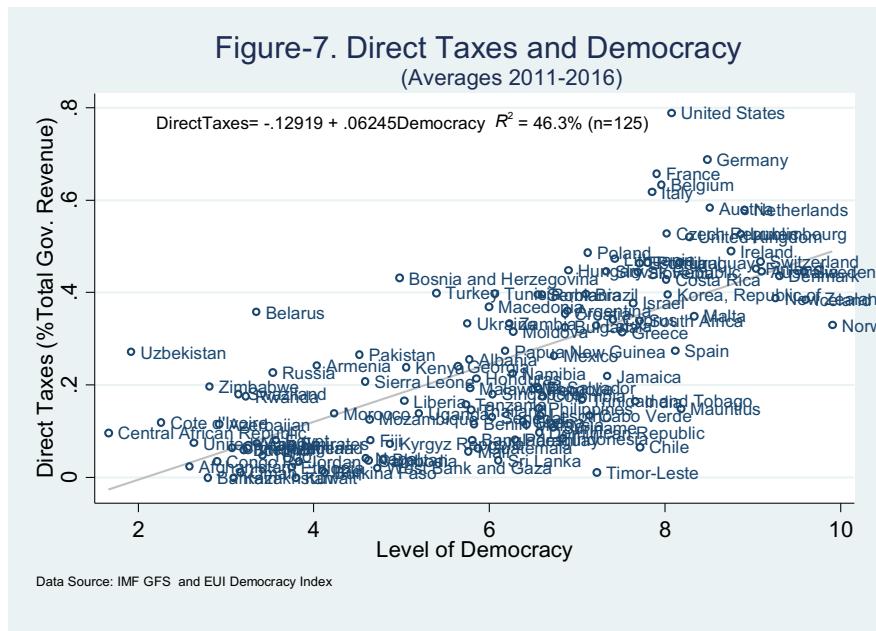
As can be seen in Figure-6, personal income tax as a mass tax is more associated with democracy level than corporate income tax. Personal income tax is a redistribution tool as well as a mass tax. It has been served as a redistribution tool at managing conflict between elites and citizens to allocate the wealth, and at gain power of the mass by moving toward democratic constitutional process (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2006; Kiser & Karceski, 2017).

| Table-4. Composition of Taxes and Democracy: One-Way ANOVA and Tukey Tests							
	Total Income Taxes	Taxes on Income: Individuals	Taxes on Income: Corporate	Taxes on Property	Taxes on Goods and Services	Taxes on Int. Trade and Transactions	Social Contributions (revenue%)
ONE-WAY ANOVA							
Authoritarian Regimes	0.33 (0.21)	0.08 (0.08)	0.22 (0.17)	0.005 (0.01)	0.39 (.22)	0.24 (0.21)	0.04 (0.09)
Hybrid Regimes	0.34(0.15)	0.14(0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	0.01 (0.02)	0.51 (0.16)	0.12 (0.10)	0.05 (0.11)
Flawed Democracies	0.38 (0.15)	0.17(0.11)	0.18 (0.13)	0.01 (0.02)	0.50 (0.19)	0.08 (0.12)	0.16 (0.15)
Full Democracies	0.36 (0.19)	0.23 (0.15)	0.12 (0.08)	0.02 (0.03)	0.46 (0.17)	0.14 (0.16)	0.12 (0.16)
	F(3, 154)= 0.59	*F(3, 144)= 8.26****	*F(3, 144)= 3.9****	*F(3, 153)= 5.09***	*F(3, 153)= 2.59**	*F(3, 154)= 6.83****	*F(3, 153)= 6.63****
TUKEY TESTS							
Hybrid vs Authoritarian	0.006 ± 0.045	0.063 ± 0.032	-0.060± 0.033	0.001 ± 0.006	**0.120 ± 0.047***	**-0.124 ± 0.038*****	0.017± 0.035
Flawed Dem. vs Authoritarian	0.047 ± 0.041	**0.085 ± 0.029****	-0.034 ± 0.030	0.005 ± 0.005	0.102± 0.044	**-0.158± 0.035*****	**0.121 ± 0.032*****
Full Dem. vs Authoritarian	0.025± 0.041	**0.144 ± 0.030*****	**-0.096 ± 0.030*****	**0.017 ± 0.005*****	0.065 ± 0.044	**-0.103 ± 0.036****	**0.084 ± 0.032****
Flawed Dem. vs Hybrid Reg.	0.042 ± 0.039	0.021 ± 0.028	0.025 ± 0.028	0.004 ± 0.005	-0.018 ± 0.041	-0.0338 ± 0.034	**0.104 ± 0.030*****
Full Dem. vs Hybrid Reg.	0.0191 ± 0.039	**0.081 ± 0.028****	-0.036± 0.028	**0.016 ± 0.005*****	-0.055 ± 0.042	0.021± 0.034	0.068 ± 0.030
Full Dem. vs Flawed Dem.	-0.022± 0.036	**0.060 ± 0.025*****	**-0.061 ± 0.025***	**0.012 ± 0.005****	-0.037± 0.038	0.055 ± 0.031	-0.036 ± 0.028
Standard deviations in parentheses. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01							

Table-4 shows the results of ANOVA and Tukey test on tax types by democracy level. Total income taxes as a share of total tax revenue is not statistically associated with democracy level. Whereas, the differences at personal income tax (income taxes paid by individuals) by democracy level are statistically significant. Except of two categories, differences between categories are also significant by Tukey test. For corporate income tax, full democracies have slightly lower ratio than authoritarian regimes and slightly higher ratio than flawed democracies. Other categories do not produce significant results. Full democracies have significantly higher level of property taxes than authoritarian democracies, hybrid regimes and flawed democracies. For taxes on goods and services, only significant result is

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for "hybrid vs. authoritarian regimes". Authoritarian regimes have significantly higher level of international trade and transaction taxes than hybrid regimes, flawed democracies and full democracies. Finally, the social security contributions seem to be positively associated with democracy level.

Figure-7. Direct Taxes and Democracy
(Averages 2011-2016)

DirectTaxes= -.12919 + .06245Democracy R^2 = 46.3% (n=125)

Data Source: IMF GFS and EUI Democracy Index

In general, what this suggests that direct taxes paid by individuals and large section of people are positively related to democracy level of countries. These taxes are personal income tax, social security taxes, property taxes, and taxes on payroll and workforce. Figure-7 presents the correlation between democracy and a sum of these four taxes. There is clear and significant positive correlation between democracy and direct taxes. The correlation coefficient is 0.46 and the most higher among all tax parameters examined in this study.

4. Conclusion

In recent years, there has been a growing interest on the nexus between democracy and taxation, especially from the perspective of how to develop democracies and to stimulate economic development in underdeveloped countries. In order to study the relationship between democracy and taxation, two perspectives can be drawn from the literature. The first argument that comes mostly from political scientist and economic sociologist argues that taxation and tax structure may help to develop democratic governance through fiscal bargaining and an established social contract by making rulers more responsive and accountable to citizens as seen from the Western democracies experience. The second argues that political regimes are decisive on the government finance, and thus, a democratic and inclusive governance may increase the voluntary compliance of citizens and the effective administrative and participatory policy making. To put it briefly, the first focuses on the argument "taxation leads to representation", the second on "representation leads to taxation". Empirical findings are somehow controversial mostly because of the lack of proper econometric techniques to overcome causal relations and the lack of proper and reliable data. In any case, the paper presumes a mutual relation between democracy and taxation. Depending on the cross-country data,

the paper explores the association between taxation (the level and composition of taxes) and democracy. The data shows that the level of tax revenue, but not total public revenue, is associated with the level of democracy. Not only the level of taxation but also the composition of public revenue is linked to democracy level of countries. Countries which depend on non-tax revenue and natural resource rents are more likely to have less democratic governments. Among tax types, the broad and visible taxes such as personal income tax, are highly correlated with democracy level while taxes paid by small number of people such as corporate income tax and invisible taxes such as consumption tax even they are paying by the large number of citizens are not related to the level of democracy of countries.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL DNA ON DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION: AN EVALUATION ON MERITOCRACY
DİJİTAL DÖNÜŞÜM SÜRECİNDE ÖRGÜTSEL DNA: MERİTOKRASİ ÜZERİNDEN BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Senem Nart*

Abstract

Digital transformation is the integration of technology into all areas of a business, and involves digital technologies for transactions throughout the organization. It changes whole business processes, activities and operations. On the other side, transformation requires broad, holistic change for organizations. When implementing a digital transformation strategy, organizations have to realize that change is part of their DNA. This means from hiring and promoting the right people to cope with fast and continuous change. Digital transformation requires new skill sets, new business models, innovation, dijital experts, creative employees. Within this framework, this study deals with the digitalization process in public institutions within the changing of organizational DNA and meritocracy; investigates strategies of the sectors being the leaders in this field and draws the attention to the necessity that the digital future should be planned strategically in puplic sector.

Keywords: Organızatıonal DNA, Digital Transformation, Meritocracy.

1. Giriş

Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinde ki gelişmeler ve bu gelişmelerin iş yaşamına girmesi, iş dünyasının bilinen tüm gerçeklerini değiştirmiştir. Bu gelişmeler bir taraftan üretim ve hizmet sektöründe verimlilik artışına yol açarken diğer taraftan iş modellerini değiştirmiş ve tüm sektörler yeniden yapılanma sürecine girmiştir (Kara, 2017, p. 356). Bu süreçte örgütlerin başarılı olabilmeleri için bazı kilit kabiliyetlerini geliştirmeleri gerekir. Drucker, "The Age of Discontinuity" adlı kitabında bilgisayarlara ve enformasyon endüstrisine dayalı "yeni bir ekonomik gerçekliğin ortaya çıktığını ifade etmektedir (1968, p. 40). Bu gerçeklikte üretkenliğin ana kaynağı bilgi ve becerilerdir. Dijital çağ olarak ifade edilen yeni düzende ayakta kalmayı ve ilerlemeyi amaç edinen organizasyonların bu faktörlerin uygulanmasını teşvik eden politika ve yönetim stratejileri geliştirmeleri gerekmektedir (Drucker 1968, pp. 40–41). Dijital dönüşüme adapte olmayı hedef edinen örgütler, dijital stratejiyi kurumsal stratejileri ile bütünleştirmek ve bu doğrultuda yeni iş modelleri geliştirmek durumundadırlar. Örgütler için dijital operasyonel yetkinlikler edinmek ve kurum kültürünü dijitalleşme sürecinde yeniden oluşturmak ise son derece önemlidir (Taş, Uçacak & Çiçek, 2017, p. 2305). Dolayısıyla dijital dönüşüm, örgütlerin DNA'sında var olması gereken genetik talimatlar arasında yer almalıdır. Dijital dönüşümü sadece bir 'teknoloji hamlesi' olarak gören örgütler yerine bu dönüşümü DNA'larının önemli bir parçası olarak değerlendiren örgütler pek çok alanda avantajlı hale gelmektedirler; hız, üretkenlik ve verimlilik artışı sağlayarak bulundukları sektörde rekabet üstünlüğü elde edebilmektedirler. Bilgi teknolojilerini etkin kullanabilen örgütlerde çalışanlar, zaman kaybına neden olan, gereksiz faaliyetlerden kurtularak uzman oldukları alana daha çok zaman ayırabilmektedir. Asili görev ve sorumluluklarının özüne daha çok yoğunlaşabilen

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çalışan, mesleki bilgilerini uygulama fırsatı elde edebilmekte böylece üretkenlik ve verimlilik artışı sağlanmaktadır (Töreci, 1999, p. 21).

Tüm sektörlerde olduğu gibi kamuda dijitalleşme konusu da süreçlerin iyileştirilmesi ve etkili hizmetlerin sağlanabilmesi için son derece önemlidir. Kamu yönetiminde bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin kullanımı çoğunlukla gereksiz bürokratik işlemlerin neden olduğu verimsizliği azaltmayı hedefleyen reform programlarıyla ilişkilendirilmektedir. Bu anlamda kamu yönetiminde bilgi teknolojileri, kamu sektöründe bürokrasiyi azaltmak için özel sektöre hâkim olan yaklaşımların kamu sektöründe de uygulanması gerekliliğini öngören bakış açısı doğrultusunda kullanılmaktadır (Cordella & Tempini, 2015, p. 279). Dolayısıyla, dijital dönüşüm özel işletmeler kadar kamu kurumlarının da yakından takip ettiği güncel bir konu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Sosyal ve teknolojik gelişmelerin devletlerin öncülüğünde yürütüldüğü dönemde, pek çok kesim tarafından devletlerin bürokratik yapılarının yavaşlığı, normal bir durum olarak değerlendirilmekteydi. Ancak teknolojik gelişmelerin bireylerin beklenti ve alışkanlıklarını temelden dönüştürdüğü bu dönemde kamu kurumları, ilgili yeniliğe ilişkin kalıcı düzenlemeler yapmak durumundadır. Çünkü kişisel hayatında teknolojinin bütün nimetlerini bir ekran üzerinden kullanabilmeye alışmış olan bir birey, kamu kurumlarından edineceği hizmette de bu kolaylığı görmek istemektedir. Bu beklentilerin farkına varan kamu kurumları ise, idari süreçlerinin ve vatandaşlarla etkileşimlerinin kısmen ya da tamamen dijitalleşmesini sağlayarak, dijital kurumlara dönüşme eğilimindedir (Buffat, 2015, p. 150). Öte yandan teknolojik gelişmelerin ortaya çıkardığı yeni iş yaşamı, uzmanlık alanlarının dışında da güncel gelişmeleri takip eden, birbiriyle bağlantılı başka alanlara da ilgi duyan "yaratıcı çalışanları" istemektedir. Dolayısıyla çalışanların uzmanlık alanları ile ilgili teori ve pratik bilgi birikimlerinin yanında, yaratıcı düşünebilme, doğru planlama yapabilme ve karar verebilme ve etkili iletişim kurabilme gibi becerilere de sahip olması gerekir. Bugün tüm bu becerilerin yanına bir de dijital beceriler eklenmiştir. Dijital çağda organizasyonlar, artık yeni üretim araçları ve ürün geliştirebilecek yaratıcılığa sahip, ileri üretim ve hizmet sistemlerini kullanabilecek teknik bilgi birikimi olan, teknolojiden, müşterilerden ve küresel kaynaklardan toplanan verileri analiz edebilecek analitik becerilere sahip, nitelikli işgücüne gereksinim duymaktadır (Öztürk & Arslanoğlu, 2018). Benzer şekilde kamu sektöründe de dijitalleşme için yetkin insan kaynağı çok önemlidir. Bu çerçevede kurumlar da meritokrasi (liyakat)'ye dayalı işe alım ve terfi sistemi uygulamak gereklidir. Aynı zamanda dijital teknolojileri temel alarak iş yapma alışkanlıklarını değiştirmeyi ve geliştirmeyi hedef alan kamu kurumları, bu yeni vizyonun çalışanların DNA'sına yerleşmesini sağlamalıdır. Dolayısıyla dijital dönüşüm, faaliyet zincirlerinde kurumların bütün halkaları tarafından bir iş kültürü olarak benimsenmelidir. Tüm bu bilgiler ışığında çalışmanın amacı, kamu sektöründe dijital dönüşüm sürecine örgüt DNA'sı ve meritokrasi (liyakat) kavramları çerçevesinde teorik bir yaklaşım sunmaktır.

2. Kavramsal Çerçeve
2.1. Dijital Dönüşüm

Dijital dönüşüm genel olarak, hızla gelişen bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin sunmuş olduğu imkânlar ve değişen toplumsal ihtiyaçlar doğrultusunda, kamu ve özel sektörün daha etkin ve verimli hizmet sunabilmesi ve hedef kitlelerinin memnuniyetini artırabilmeleri için insan, iş süreçleri ve teknoloji unsurlarında gerçekleştirdiği bütüncül bir dönüşüm olarak ifade edilebilir (Taş vd., 2017, p. 2305). Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileri geliştikçe bireylerin hayatına etki eden her nesne dijitalleşmektedir. Bu dönüşüm ile bilgiye çok daha hızlı erişim sağlanabilirken, beraberinde gelen fonksiyonellikle verimlilik artmaktadır. Dijitalleşme sayesinde gelişmekte olan ya da gelişmiş ekonomi fark etmeksizin, iş hacimleri büyümekte, istihdam alanları yaratılmakta ve rekabet üstünlüğü sağlama konusunda avantaj elde edilebilmektedir (Harvard Business Review, 2016). Accenture ve Oxford Economics'in

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yapmış olduğu bir araştırmaya göre, dijitalleşme ile 2020 yılına kadar dünyanın en büyük 10 ekonomisinde, 1,36 Trilyon Türk Lirası ek bir gayrisafi milli hasıla öngörülmektedir. Buna göre Dijitalleşmeye adaptasyon konusunda performansları yüksek olan ülkelerin gayrisafi milli hasılalarını, gelişmiş ülkelerin 0,25; gelişmekte olan ülkelerin ise 0,50 puan arttırabilecekleri tahmin edilmektedir. Bu rakamlar ise, ülke ekonomileriyle karşılaştırıldığında dijitalleşmeye adapte olan ülkelerin kazançlarını göstermektedir (Macchi vd., 2015, p. 4). İstatistiklere göre, 2005 yılında dünya ekonomisinin yalnızca yüzde 15'i dijital iken, bu rakam 2015 yılında yüzde 22'ye ulaşmış durumdadır; 2020 yılında ise dijital ekonominin küresel ekonominin yüzde 25'ini oluşturacağı tahmin edilmektedir.3 Dolayısıyla artık bu yeni dönemde, ülkelerin gelişmişlik düzeyi dijital dönüşüm sürecine adaptasyonları ile değerlendirilmektedir. Dijital dönüşüm sürecine Türkiye'nin adaptasyonunu inceldiğimizde, Uluslararası Telekomünikasyon Birliği tarafından 2017 yılında yayınlanan "Bilgi Toplumunun ölçümü" isimli çalışma göze çarpmaktadır. Ülkelerin bilgi ve İletişim Teknolojileri Gelişmişlik Endeksinin belirlendiği araştırmada, 167 ülkenin arasında Türkiye, 5,69 endeks puanı ile 70. sırada yer almıştır (Beşel, 2016).

Öte yandan hızlı teknolojik gelişme ve Bilgi Teknolojileri uygulamalarının yaygınlaşması, kamu hizmetlerinin sunumunda da önemli değişikliklere neden olmaktadır. Kamu örgütlerinin geleneksel hantal yapıdan uzaklaşarak bilgi çağının beklentilerine uyumlu, daha hızlı, verimli ve kaliteli hizmet sunan yapılara dönüşümü; bürokratik işlemlerin "kağıt dolaştırılması" esasına dayalı iş süreçlerinden kurtarılarak elektronik ortama taşınması; internet, akıllı kart ve elektronik imza uygulamaları yoluyla işlemlerin kamu kurumlarına gitmek ve kuyruklarda beklemek zorunluluğu olmadan gerçekleştirilebilmesi; kaynak kullanımında verimliliğin sağlanması, bu değişimlere örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Çağdaş dünyada artık kamu yönetimlerini yeniden yapılandırma yaklaşımlarının merkezinde, bilgi teknolojilerinin kullanımının yaygınlaştırılması yer almaktadır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, günümüzde kamu kurumları da özel kurumlar gibi "dijital çağda yönetişim" anlayışına yaklaşma eğilimindedir (Öktem & Aydın, 2005, p. 258). Dolayısıyla kamu kurumları, idari süreçlerinin ve vatandaşlarla etkileşimlerinin kısmen ya da tamamen dijitalleşmesiyle birlikte, dijital kurumlara dönüşme eğilimindedir (Buffat, 2015, p. 150). Bu doğrultuda ülkemiz de de Kalkınma Bakanlığı tarafından strateji ve eylem planları oluşturulmuştur. Bu eylem planlarının stratejik öncelik alanları ise sırasıyla; bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin iş dünyasında etkili yönetimi, birey odaklı hizmet dönüşümü, küresel rekabetçi bilgi teknolojilerinin geliştirilmesi, rekabetçi maliyet konusunda avantajlı iletişim altyapı ve hizmetlerinin oluşturulması, araştırma ve geliştirme faaliyetleriyle yenilikçiliğin geliştirilmesi, olarak belirlenmiştir.

2.2. Örgütsel DNA

İnsanların genetik özelliklerini belirleyen DNA kavramı; örgütlere de uyarlanmış ve tıpkı insan DNA'sı gibi örgütlerin genetik yapıları zamanla saptanmaya çalışılmıştır. Böylece her örgütün tıpkı yaşayan canlı organizmalar gibi kendine has bir DNA yapısının olduğu fikri yaygınlaşmıştır. Örgüt DNA'sı bir örgütün parmak izidir ve her bir örgüt üyesi ait olduğu örgütün DNA'sını taşımaktadır (Döş, 2013, p. 9). Tıpkı eşsiz bir organizma yaratmak için doğadaki gerçek DNA'nın talimatlarına ihtiyaç duyulduğu gibi, örgüt DNA'sı da bir örgütün nasıl işlev görmesi gerektiğini belirler. Örgütlerin yapısı, karar hakları, teşvik sistemleri ve bilgi akışı işlevleri sayısız şekilde birbirine bağlandığında bir örgütün DNA'sını oluştururlar (Dehoff, Jaruzelski ve Kronenberg, 2008). Gareth Morgan (1986), örgüt DNA'sını çalışanların örgütün misyon ve gücünü anlayıp benimsemesini sağlayan ve örgütü bir arada tutan vizyon, değerler ve amaca yönelme hissi olarak tanımlamaktadır. Govindarajan ve Trimble (2005) ise, örgütün yapı, iş gören, kültür ve sistematiği arasında ki etkileşim olarak tanımlar. Buna göre örgütün DNA'sı işgören, örgütün ana yapısı, örgüte egemen olan kültür ve örgütün kendi sistemi bir araya gelmesi ve birbirleriyle etkileşim sonucu oluşur (Çetin, 2014).

Örgütler DNA'larını oluştururken aynı zamanda küresel boyutta her türlü yeniliğe ve değişime adapte olmak durumundadır. Özellikle örgütlerin dijital teknolojileri temel alarak iş yapma alışkanlıklarını sürekli geliştirmelerinin gerekli olduğu dijital dönüşüm sürecinde, yenilikçi fikirlerin ve teknolojilerin örgüt DNA'sına işlenmesi son derece önemlidir. Teknolojik gelişmelere adapte olmada, yenilikçi fikirlerin ve teknolojilerin kurum ve çalışanların DNA'sına işlenmesi, dijital dönüşümün, üretim ağının tüm halkaları tarafından bir iş kültürü olarak benimsenmesi son derece önemlidir. Öte yandan dijital dönüşümü, yalnızca bir "teknoloji hamlesi" şeklinde değerlendiren örgütler geride kalırken, bu dönüşümü kurum DNA'larının önemli bir parçası haline getiren örgütler; hız, performans, verimlilik, yenilikçilik ve yaratıcılık konularında ilerlemekte ve böylece rekabet üstünlüğü elde edebilmektedirler. Bu açıdan dijital dönüşüm, örgütlerin DNA'sında var olması gereken, genetik talimatlar arasında yer almalıdır. Neilson, Pasternack ve Mendes (2004, p. 96) sağlıklı örgüt yapısını belirlemeye çalıştıkları araştırmalarında, örgütsel DNA'nın yapı taşlarının ne kadar iyi ya da kötü ayarlandığını araştırmışlar ve sonucunda bünyelerinde her türlü değişime çabuk uyum sağlayan, zeki ve yetenekli insanların çalıştığı örgütleri, sağlıklı örgüt tipi şeklinde tanımlamışlardır (Hamilton, 2005). Dolayısıyla örgütlerin DNA'larını ve sağlıklı yapılarını belirlemede, bilgi temelli ekonomiye, teknolojideki sürekli ve hızlı değişimlere adapte olmak, bu süreçte daha nitelikli insan gücü toplamak ve çalışanların temel yeteneklerini güçlendirmek son derece önemlidir.

2.3. Meritokrasi (Liyakat)

Meritokrasi kavram olarak ilk defa 1958'de Michael Young'ın "Meritokrasinin Yükselişi" isimli kitabında kullanılmıştır (Canman,1995, p. 17). Young kitabında, hakkaniyetli bir şekilde yetki vermek adına baskı ile yönetilen üst kesim ve kendilerini üst kesimden koruyamayan bir alt kesim toplumu tanımlamıştır (Celarent, 2009, p. 322). Bu toplum içerisinde, iyi ya da kötü herkesin verdikleri çaba kadar hak ettiklerini yaşadıklarını varsaymış ve meritokrasiyi hicvetmiştir. Daha sonra bu kavram orijinal anlamından biraz uzaklaşarak bugünkü manasını kazanmıştır (Alvarado, 2010, p. 33). Liyakat ilkesi tez Buna göre meritokrasi (liyakat), toplum içerisinde değerlerin ve seçkin bireylerin etkili olmasını savunan bir görüşün adı olup, üst mertebelerde zeki, çalışkan ve mesleki becerileri bulunan kişilere yer verilmesi gerektiği anlamına gelmektedir (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 355).

Bir örgüt içerisinde değerlendirdiğimizde ise meritokrasi, işletmede işin gereklerini her anlamda karşılayan işgörene işin teslim edilmesi demektir. "Dar anlamda, belli bir göreve en uygun kişinin getirilmesi, geniş anlamda ise etkili ve verimli bir personel sisteminin kurulmasına olanak sağlayan kural ve uygulamalar bütünü" olarak ifade edilir (K. Demirci, 2008, p. 298). Meritokrasi (liyakat) kavramı başta Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve tüm dünya ülkelerinde kayırma, yandaşı olanı işe alma gibi durumlara tepki olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu kavram ülkelerin çalışma alanında özellikle kamu sektöründe personel seçme, atama ve yükseltme aşamalarında gördükleri aksaklıkların ortadan kaldırılması amacıyla geliştirdikleri bir ilkedir (Sezer, 2006, p. 68). Ayrıca tüm dünyadaki genel düşünce, kamudaki memurların özelliklerini arttırmak ve liyakati tamamıyla hakim kılmak amaçlıdır (Smith, 1988, p. 30). Meritokraside, yetenekli olan bireyleri ortaya çıkaran ve yeteneksiz bireyleri uzaklaştıran bir performans değerlendirme sistemini görmek mümkündür (Morgan, Sisak & Vardy, 2012, p. 4). Böylece yapılması gereken işler, yetenekli ve uzman bireyler tarafından gerçekleştirilir ve verimlilik artışı söz konusu olur (Fettahlıoğlu & Demir, 2014, p. 178).

Dünyayı incelediğimizde bilişim konusunda gelişen ülkelerin en önemli ortak özelliği meritokrasidir, çünkü bu ülkelerde insanlar bilgilerine ve kabiliyetlerine göre değerlendirilirler. Örgütler nezdinde incelediğimiz de ise, yaşamlarını daha etkili ve verimli bir şekilde devam ettiren örgütlerin yeteneğe göre mevki verme sistemini (meritokrasi) benimsediklerini görebilmekteyiz. Özellikle teknolojik değişimlere adapte olan örgütler, teknik

bilgiye göre bir hiyerarşi oluşturmaktadır (Krogh, 2003). İlgili alanda yetenekli bireyleri bulmak, geliştirmek ve elde tutabilmek, örgütlerin dijital stratejilerini oluşturma ve başarı elde etmelerinde bir zorunluluktur. Dijital dönüşümlerini gerçekleştirmek için yola çıkan örgütler, gerekli yetkinlikler, yapılanma ve bu yetkinlikleri yönetebilmek için organizasyonel tasarımlarını meritokrasi sistemi çerçevesinde belirlemelidirler. Kamuda dijitalleşme meselesi ise hem süreçlerin iyileştirilmesi hem de hizmetlerin geliştirilmesi için son derece önemlidir. Kamuda dijitalleşme için yetkin insan kaynağının önemi vurgulayan ve Fujitsu tarafından yayınlanan, PACT (People, Actions, Collaboration, Technology) dijital dönüşüm araştırması, kamu sektöründe dijitalleşmenin durumu hakkında önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Buna göre araştırmaya katılan ve kamuda yer alan dijital liderlerin %35'i kamuda başarılı bir dijital dönüşüm için insan kaynağının önemini vurgulamıştır. Yine kamuda yönetici pozisyonunda yer alan katılımcıların %70'i kurumlarında dijitalleşmede öncülük edecek yetkin personel sayısının yetersiz olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Sonuç olarak, diğer birçok sektörde olduğu gibi kamu endüstrisinde de dijitalleşme alanında hizmet verebilecek yetkin çalışan noksanlığı göze çarpmaktadır Fujitsu (2018). Bunun başlıca nedeni meritokrasi sisteminin uygulanmayışıdır. Etkin bir şekilde uygulanan kamu yönetiminde meritokrasi sistemi; işe alımda bilgili, yetenekli ve başarılı kişilerin seçilmesini, hizmet içindeki ilerleme ve yükselmelerde yine bu kıstaslara göre bir değerlendirme yapılmasını amaçlar (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 362).

Sonuç

Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerindeki hızlı gelişmeler ve bu teknolojilerinin örgütsel faaliyetlerde yaygın bir şekilde kullanılmaya başlanması, kamusal kesimde yeniden yapılanma çalışmalarının odak noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Kamu kurumlarının bilinen temel sorunlarından birisi sunulan hizmetlerin oldukça yavaş yürütülmesi dolayısıyla hizmet alan tarafların zaman konusunda sıkıntılar yaşamasıydı. Bu soruna kalıcı çözümler getirebilecek en önemli ve değerli faktör olan bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileri, artık kamu sektörünün de gündeminde yer almaktadır. Dijital dönüşüme adapte olmaya çalışan kamu kurumlarının dönüşüm sürecini tamamlaması durumunda yürütülen işlemlerin hızlanması sağlanabilecek sunulan hizmetin kalitesi artacaktır. Bu doğrultuda, kamu sektöründe yürütülecek dijital dönüşüm çalışmalarının dijital yol haritasının, kurumlar tarafından sahiplenmesi ve koordineli bir şekilde çalışılmaların sağlaması gereklidir. Öte yandan birçok alanda olduğu gibi dijitalleşme bir devlet politikası olarak benimsenmeli, bu alanda yapılacak çalışmaların etkinlik kazanmasında kilit unsur olmalıdır.

Kamuda dijital dönüşüm sağlanması ile dışa kapalı ve merkeziyetçi, sorumluluk üstlenmeyen, siyasallaşmaya ve kayırmacılığa neden olan, hizmet alıcısıyla iletişimi kopuk bir yönetsel anlayıştan vatandaşla etkili iletişimi oluşturan, zamanı etkin kullanabilen, maliyetleri azaltan ve etkinliği esas alan; yalın, rekabetçi ve esnek bir örgüt yapısına doğru bir değişim gerçekleştirilebilmektedir. Bu değişimin sağlanabilmesi ve etkin bir biçimde uygulanabilmesi ise, yönetsel alanda yetişmiş bilgili, tutarlı ve değişime açık kamu çalışanlarına bağlıdır. Diğer bir ifade ile bu sürecin başlıca aktörleri nitelikli insan gücüdür. Dolayısıyla kamu kurumlarında dönüşüme paralel stratejik insan kaynakları planlamalarının gerçekleştirilmesi oldukça önemidir. Dijital dönüşüm sürecine teknolojiyi yakından takip edebilecek, mevcut teknolojiyi ve yeni teknolojileri geliştirebilecek ve olgunlaşan teknolojilerin uygulayıcısı durumunda olan işgücünün oluşturulmasına yönelik planlamalar dahil edilmedir. Endüstri 4.0 yetenek yönetimi Bu çerçevede karşımıza Meritokrasi (liyakat) kavramı çıkmaktadır. Meritokrasi sistemi öncelikle ciddi ve uzun vadeli bir insan kaynakları planlamasını amaçlar. Bu amaç doğrultusunda sistem içinde tüm alanlarda şeffaf, anlaşılabilir ve somut olarak değerlendirilebilen iş tanımları, performans kriterleri ve değişime uyum sağlayan bir örgüt DNA'sı yer almalıdır. Sonuç olarak, teknoloji, dijital dönüşüm için tek başına yeterli bir faktör değildir; en yetenekli ve bilgili kişilerin işe alınması ve bu kişilerin kurum bünyesinde tutulması, dijital dönüşüm yolculuğunda

kritik önem taşımaktadır. Çünkü bilgi ve beceri eksiklikleri, dijital dönüşüm yolunda en büyük engel teşkil etmektedir. Dolayısıyla, yetkin ve uzman insanların kamu kurumlarında görev alması için sağlanması gereken şartların belirlenmesi, yeni teknolojiyi kaldıraç olarak kullanmaya olanak sağlayacaktır. Öte yandan kurumlar, DNA'larını dijital dönüşümü güçlendirmek için tasarlamalı ve geliştirilmelidirler; bunu ise dijital dönüşüme tam manasıyla odaklanarak gerçekleştirebilirler. Kurumlar, operasyon, süreç, ürün ve hizmet geliştirme açısından sürekli gelişime olanak tanıyan güçlü bir teknoloji altyapısı oluşturmanın yanı sıra; yenilikçi iş modelleri ve örgüt kültürü oluşturulmalı, olgunlaştırılmalı ve içselleştirilmelidirler. DNA'sı çevik olan ve dijital olgunluğu olan kurumlar, dijitalleşmeyi "bir transformasyon projesi" olarak görmek yerine süreçleri iyileştirerek yaratıcı yeteneklerin uyum odaklı çalışma anlayışını benimsemektedirler. Bu doğrultuda dönüşüme adapta olmaya çalışan örgütlerin, emsal teşkil edecek örgütleri ve dönüşüm yolculuklarını inceleyerek, bir organizasyon tasarımı oluşturmaları faydalı olabilir.

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VALUE ADDED TAX EFFICIENCY IN TURKEY[*] / TÜRKİYE'DE KATMA DEĞER VERGİSİ VERİMLİLİĞİ

Sevda Akar[**]

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the trend of value-added tax (VAT) efficiency ratio and the effect of the global financial crisis to this trend in Turkey. The efficiency of the VAT is calculated with the method proposed by Keen (2013). For this purpose, the quarterly data includes the VAT revenue as a share of GDP, the VAT standard rate, the share of consumption in GDP are gathered from the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT) within the period between 2006 Q1 and 2018 Q1. The results show that the constant trend of VAT efficiency ratio turns into an upward trend after the financial crisis. The reduction of the VAT rate in some sectors after the crisis caused an increase in both government and household consumption. Thus, the increase in consumption results in the increase in VAT revenue and the higher efficiency ratio.

Keywords: Value-Added Tax, Efficiency Ratio, Global Financial Crisis, Turkey

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'de katma değer vergisi (KDV) verimlilik oranını ve küresel finansal krizin bu eğilime olan etkisini araştırmaktır. KDV'nin verimliliği, Keen (2013) tarafından önerilen yöntemle analiz edilmiştir. Bu amaçla, üçer aylık veriler kullanılarak, veri seti aralığı 2006q1:2018q2 olarak belirlenmiştir. Çalışmada yer alan GSYH'nin bir payı olarak KDV geliri, KDV standart oranı, GSYH içindeki hane halkı tüketim payı değişkenleri Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası Elektronik Veri Dağıtım Sistemi (EVDS)'den alınmıştır. Sonuçlar, mali krizin ardından KDV verimlilik oranındaki sabit eğiliminin yükseliş eğilimine dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. Kriz sonrası bazı sektörlerde KDV oranının düşürülmesi hem hükümet hem de hane halkı tüketiminde artışa neden olmuştur. Böylece tüketimdeki artış, KDV gelirindeki artışa ve daha yüksek verimlilik oranına sebep olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: KDV, Verimlilik Oranı, Küresel Finansal Kriz, Türkiye

1. Giriş

Katma Değer Vergisi (KDV), muamele vergisi türleri arasında en gelişmiş yapıya sahip olan vergidir. Bu sebeple tüm dünya ülkelerinde süratle genel kabul görmeye başlamış ve Türkiye'de olduğu gibi tüm dünya ülkelerinde vergi gelirleri arasında en önemli paya sahip olmuştur. KDV'yi, ara malların ve hizmetlerin bir önceki üretim aşamasında yapılan alışların vergi matrahından indirilmesine imkan veren veya her üretim aşamasında oluşan katma değeri vergileyen yayılı bir muamele vergisi olarak tanımlamak mümkündür.

Merkezi yönetim bütçe gelirleri arasında en fazla hasıla getiren bu vergi bütçe disiplini açısından büyük önem arz etmektedir. Bu nedenle KDV verimliliği kavramı ile bu verginin etkinliğini analiz etmek, bütçe gelirlerini arttırmak, vergi kaçakçılığını ve kaçınmayı önlemek adına büyük önem taşımaktadır. Çalışmanın, Türkiye'de son dönemde KDV'nin verimliliğini incelemesi ve küresel krizin verimlilik oranı eğilime olan etkisini değerlendirmesi ve öneriler sunması açısından literatüre katkı yapması beklenmektedir.

Çalışma şu şekilde organize edilmiştir: birinci bölümde teorik ve ampirik literatür ele alınmış, ikinci bölümde Türkiye'de KDV'den kısaca bahsedilmiş ve küresel krizde KDV'ye yönelik alınan önlemler ifade edilmiş, dördüncü bölümde çalışmanın veri ve metodoloji kısmına yer verilmiş ve son olarak çalışma sonuç bölümüyle tamamlanmıştır.

2. Literatür

Tüketimin vergilendirilmesinin temel gerekçelerinden biri, gelir vergilerinden ziyade tüketim vergilerinin tüketimi azalttığına, tasarrufları teşvik ettiğine ve böylece daha yüksek ekonomik büyümeye neden olacağı varsayımıdır.

KDV, en çok gelir sağlayan ve en yaygın kullanılan vergiler arasında olması nedeniyle birçok vergi sisteminde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Gebauer ve Parsche, 2003: 40). KDV'nin yaygın kullanımı, dolaylı vergilere kıyasla vergi gelirlerini artırmada algılanan verimliliğinden ve etkililiğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. KDV'de uyum oranlarını belirlemek, KDV uygulamasındaki sorunlu alanları tespit etmek ve verimliliği arttırmak için önemlidir (Giesecke ve Nhi, 2010: 3).

Musgrave (1972)'e göre KDV yaklaşımını, daha az gelişmiş iş yapıları, vergi idareleri ve uyum seviyeleri olan ülkeler için tercih edilebilir bir seçenektir. Ufier (2017: 1165)'e göre ise vergi gelirlerindeki farklılaşmayı azaltmak ve bütçe açıklarını kapatmak amacıyla vergi gelirlerini arttırmak isteyen ülkeler genellikle KDV'yi değerlendirmektedir. Özellikle Uluslararası Para Fonu (IMF), vergi reformu talep eden ülkeler için bu verginin uygulanmasını savunmaktadır. Mali açıkların giderilmesinde yüksek vergi oranları, düşük vergi oranlarına göre daha etkin olması sebebiyle tercih edilmektedir. McClellan (2018: 1) ise düşük vergi gelirlerinin teorik olarak ekonomide karışık bir etkiye sahip olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Daha düşük vergi oranları eşzamanlı olarak bir yandan yatırım için daha fazla harcanabilir gelir yaratırken, diğer yandan kamu malları için oluşturulacak fonları azaltmaktadır.

KDV verimliliğini "C-verimlilik" oranı ile belirlenmek mümkündür. Bu oran, iki kısımda incelenmektedir: ilki uyum açığı ve ikincisi politika açığıdır. Bu şekilde vergi sistemindeki toplam KDV açığı politika ve uyum açığının eklenmesiyle bulunmaktadır. Standart KDV oranından daha düşük KDV oranları veya temel mallar ve hizmetler için sıfır vergi oranı uygulanması, kanunda belirtilen bazı kişileri vergiden muaf tutma politika açığını, vergi kaçakçılığı ve vergi kaçınma durumları ise uyum açığını oluşturmaktadır (Keen, 2013: 1).

Literatürde KDV verimliliğini çeşitli yönleriyle ele alan ve birçok ülke için farklı dönemlerde analizler gerçekleştiren çalışmalar mevcuttur. Bunlardan ilki Agha ve Haughton (1996)'ya aittir. Agha ve Haughton (1996: 303), 1987 yılı için 17 Ekonomik İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Örgütü (OECD) ülkesinden alınan bir örneklemden yararlanarak KDV uyumunun belirleyicilerini analiz etmiştir. Ülkelerin özelliklerini ve KDV oranlarını temsil eden değişkenlere karşı bir uyum indeksi oluşturulmuştur. Çalışmada, (1) daha yüksek bir KDV oranı daha düşük vergi uyumuyla ilişkili olduğu ve bu işlemin gelir artırıcı KDV oranını %25'in altında sınırladığı; (2) uyumun, birden çok KDV oranından daha düşük olduğu ve (3) yönetim için harcanan fazladan 1 $'ın, vergi gelirlerini 12 $ arttırdığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu sebeple KDV oranı düşürülürse, vergi tabanın genişletilebileceği ileri sürülmüştür.

Tanzi ve Davoodi (2000: 20)'e göre KDV verimliliğini ölçen KDV verimliliği oranı (VAT efficiency ratio), KDV gelirlerinin gayri safi yurt içi hasıla (GSYH)'ya standart KDV oranına bölünmesiyle elde edilmektedir. Bu oran 1 ile sıfır arasında sınırlandırılmıştır. Daha yüksek bir oran, daha verimli bir KDV sistemini yansıtmaktadır. Daha düşük bir oran ise, KDV sisteminde yaygın muafiyetlerin, sıfır oran uygulamasının, vergi kaçakçılığının ya da zayıf vergi idaresinin olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Çalışma sonuçları yüksek yolsuzluk algısı olan ülkelerde KDV verimliliği oranlarının düşük olduğunu göstermektedir.

WoonNam, vd. (2001: 1), öncelikli olarak Avrupa Birliği (AB)'de KDV'de meydana gelen kaçınma ve kaçırma miktarını ele almıştır. Mali yıl içinde hesaplanan potansiyel ve fiili vergi gelirleri arasındaki ilişki büyük ölçüde, vergi yükümlülüğü yaratılması ile KDV tahsilatı arasındaki zaman gecikmesi problemi nakit olarak ayarlanabildiğinde ülkenin KDV'den kaçırma ve kaçakçılık oranı belirlenebilmektedir.

WoonNam, vd. (2001: 5) 'e göre;

$$Vergi\ Toplama\ Performası\ Oranı = \frac{Toplanan\ KDV\ Gelirleri}{Hesaplanan\ Potansiyel\ KDV\ Gelirleri} \tag{1}$$

Bu tahsilat oranı her zaman yüzde 100'den az olacağından, fark vergi kaçağı oranı olarak ifade edilmektedir (Gebauer ve Parsche, 2003: 40);

$$KDV\ Kaçırma\ Oranı = 100 - Vergi\ Toplama\ Performansı\ Oranı\ (\%) \tag{2}$$

Aizenma ve Jinjarak (2005: 4), çalışmasında KDV tahsilat verimliliğinin kilit yapısal ve politik ekonomik faktörlere bağımlılığını araştırmaktadır. Çalışma sonuçları politik istikrarsızlığın ve kutuplaşmanın vergi verimliliğini azaltma eğiliminde olduğunu göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, daha az şehirleşme, daha az ticaretin açık olması ve daha yüksek tarımsal pay gibi uygulama maliyetlerini artıran ekonomik yapılar, KDV'nin tahsilat verimliliğini azaltmaktadır.

Mello (2009: 27), vergi mükellefi ile vergi otoritesi arasındaki etkileşimlerin modellenmesi yoluyla farklı bir vergi kaçınma oyunu geliştirmektedir. Çözüm, işbirlikçi olmayan Nash dengesi ile ifade edilmektedir. Ampirik çalışma, KDV uygulayan OECD üyesi ve OECD üyesi olmayan ülkeler için çözüm sunmaktadır. Tahsilatın bir payı olarak yasal vergi oranının tüketim payını ifade eden KDV verimliliği, KDV oranının düşmesine, vergi gelirlerindeki idari maliyetlerin payının düşmesine, ürün piyasasında düzenleyici çerçevenin daha rekabetçi olmasına ve hukukun üstünlüğü ve hükümet etkinliği gibi ülkenin yönetim göstergelerinin iyi olmasına bağlı olarak değiştiği tespit edilmiştir. Çalışmada OECD ile OECD üyesi olmayan ülkeler arasındaki KDV verimliliğinde fark edilebilir bir farklılık bulunmamıştır.

Giesecke ve Nhi (2010: 3) çoklu KDV oranları, muafiyetler, kayıt oranları, iade kısıtlamaları, kayıt dışı faaliyetler, yurt içi yerleşik olmayanların vergilendirilmesi ve beyan edilmemiş ithalatları kapsayan uygulamaların Vietnam'da KDV uyumuna etkilerini incelemiştir. Çalışmanın Vietnam'da KDV uyum oranına ilişkin tahminleri, en popüler uyumluluk ölçümü (toplama etkinliği) tarafından hesaplanandan yaklaşık %11 puan daha yüksektir. Toplama etkinliği ile KDV uyum tedbiri arasındaki fark, Vietnam'ın KDV rejiminin yasal ve yapısal özelliklerinin bireysel katkılarına ayrışmasını kolaylaştırdığını göstermektedir.

Keen (2013: 1), çalışmasında AB üyeleri için, politika boşluğunun uyum boşluğundan çok daha fazla olduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışma sonuçları ayrıca, ülkeler arasında oran farklılaşması ve muafiyetlerin geniş bir yelpazede oldukça farklı olduğuna işaret etmektedir.. Sokolovska ve Sokolovskyi (2015), KDV verimliliğini tahmin etmeyi

amaçlamaktadır. Gelişmekte olan ve geçiş ülkelerinin büyük bir bölümünde KDV, bütçe gelirinin ana kaynağı olan birincil mali işlevi yerine getirmektedir. Örneğin, Ukrayna'da 2014 yılında KDV'den elde edilen gelir, toplam vergi gelirinin %51'ini, Moldova'da ise %58,2'sini oluşturmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, özellikle bu ülkelerde var olan yolsuzluk ve vergi kaçakçılığı biçimindeki kayıt dışı ekonomi, KDV verimliliğini azaltan önemli bir vergi açığına yol açmaktadır. Bu noktada KDV verimliliği, toplanan KDV'nin optimizasyonu ile artırılabilir.

Thackray, vd., (2015: 2)'e göre C-verimlilik oranı, KDV'nin nispi performansını ölçmeyi sağlamaktadır. KDV son tüketim vergisidir ve hane halkları tarafından nihai tüketim, genellikle KDV için vergi matrahının en büyük kısmıdır. Bu nedenle, ilke olarak, KDV tahsilatlarında GSYH payı olarak, standart KDV oranlarındaki ve nihai tüketimin GSYH'ye olan nispi payındaki bir değişiklik ile açıklanabilir. Çalışmada, Finlandiya'nın C-verimlilik oranı, Avrupa Birliği üye ülkelerinde gözlenen en yüksek C-verimlilik oranları arasında bulunduğu gözlenmiştir.

Canıkalp, vd. (2016: 18) vergi açığını, vergi mükellefinin karşılaşması gereken tutar ile fiilen ödediği tutar arasındaki vergi yükü farkı olarak tanımlamaktadır. Çalışmasında vergi açığını Katma Değer Vergisi çerçevesinde değerlendirmektedir. Bu çerçevede Türkiye'de KDV gelir oranının 0,004 ile 0,009 arasında değiştiğini tespit etmiştir. Bu değerler, muafiyet, kesintiler ve vergi kaçakçılık düzeyini etkileyerek uyum açığının bir bileşenini oluşturmaktadır.

Ionuţ-Constantin, vd. (2017: 551), AB üye devletleri için Katma Değer Vergisi açığını ve bileşenlerini analiz etmektedir. Çalışma sonuçları Romanya'nın, diğer AB üye devletleri arasında en büyük uyum açığına ve aynı zamanda en düşük politika açığına sahip ülke olarak ön plana çıktığını göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte Romanya, teorik açıdan en büyük KDV açığı payına sahip ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır.

Bikas, vd. (2017: 267) ise, KDV gelirlerinin AB üye ülkeleri bütçeleri üzerindeki etkisini ve standart KDV oranı dinamiklerini ve KDV tahsilat verimliliğini analiz etmektedir. 2005-2015 yılları arasında AB üye ülkelerinde KDV'den elde edilen gelir, toplam gelirlerin ortalama % 21,6'sına tekabül etmektedir. Aynı dönemde KDV gelir tahsilat verimliliğinde Lüksemburg, Hırvatistan, Kıbrıs, Estonya ve Bulgaristan'ın en yüksek; İtalya, Yunanistan, İngiltere, Polonya ve İspanya'nın ise en düşük değerlere sahip olduğu gözlenmiştir.

Cupak ve Toth (2017: 3), Slovakya'da KDV indiriminin verimliliğini ve mali etkilerini değerlendirmiştir. Çalışma bulgularına göre, vergi indirimi, bir mal için talebin fiyat esnekliği veya malın çeşitli ikameleri olması durumunda daha verimli olma eğilimindedir. Vergi indirimi yapılacak gıda kategorilerinde nitelikli seçimin yapılması vergi verimliliğini arttırabileceğini göstermektedir.

Mohanty, vd. (2017: 1), çalışmalarında 2000-2001 ile 2014-2015 dönemlerinde Hindistan'da KDV verimliliğini incelemektedir. Çalışma sonuçları Hindistan'da kentleşme oranının, fatura ve tahsilat verimliliğinin, banka kredi oranlarının ve tarım sektörünün payının KDV verimliliğini olumlu yönde etkilediğini, kayıtdışı imalat sektörü ve hizmet sektörü payının ise KDV verimliliğini olumsuz yönde etkilediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, Hindistan'da KDV uygulaması sonrasında genel vergi verimliliğinin azaldığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Hodzic ve Çelebi (2017: 79), AB-28 üye devletleri ve Türkiye'de 2009-2013 dönemine kadar olan süreçte, verimliliği de dikkate alarak KDV'ni analiz etmiştir. Analiz sonuçları, 2013 yılında en yüksek verimlilik oranının (50.8) Hırvatistan'a ait olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu durum 2013 yılında Hırvatistan'ın katma değer vergisi gelirlerinin, devlet bütçesindeki GSYH'ya oranının, Türkiye (9.0) ile kıyaslandığında çok yüksek (12,7) olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

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AB ve Türkiye'de mevcut KDV sisteminin karmaşık olması sebebiyle, KDV sisteminin daha verimli ve daha basit olması gerektiği önerilmektedir.

Ueda (2017: 1), gelişmiş ekonomilerde KDV gelirlerinin döngüsel hareketlerini anlamak için, 2000 ve 2014 yılları arasında uyum ve politika boşluklarındaki değişimleri ayrıştırarak C-verimlilik oranındaki değişiklikleri analiz etmektedir. Çalışma sonuçları, C-verimliliğinin döngüselliğinin, çıktı açığı ile her iki boşluğun korelasyonuyla açıklandığını göstermektedir. Uyumluluk açıklığının döngüselliği kısa ömürlü ve yüksek uyumluluk boşlukları olan ülkelerde daha büyüktür. Politika boşluklarının döngüselliği ise, politika parametrelerindeki değişiklikleri değil, hane halkı tüketimine ve davranışa bağlı olan değişimleri yansıtmaktadır.

McClellan (2018: 1) çalışmasında, vergi gelirlerindeki düşüşün ekonomik büyüme üzerindeki etkilerini incelemiştir. Çalışma sonuçları, vergi yaptırım önlemlerinin artırılmasının ekonomik büyümeyi azalttığını, buna karşılık vergi gelirleri tahsilatının artmasının ise ekonomik büyümeyi artırdığını göstermektedir. Kısacası bu sonuçlar, daha büyük yaptırım tedbirlerine başvurmadan önce gelir arttırıcı reformlara odaklanılmasını gerektiğine işaret etmektedir. López-Laborda ve Peña (2018: 155) ise, finansal hizmetlerin vergilendirilmesinde "mobil oran" yöntemi ile finansal hizmetlerin katma değerinin vergilendirilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Bu yaklaşım ile KDV gelirinin, KDV verimliliğinin ve vergi tarafsızlığının arttırılabileceği ileri sürülmektedir.

3. Türkiye'de Katma Değer Vergisi ve Kriz Döneminde KDV'ye Yönelik Alınan Önlemler

Türkiye'de, 1984 yılında 3065 sayılı "Katma Değer Vergisi Kanunu" kabul edilmesiyle 01.01.1985 yılında KDV yürürlüğe girmiştir. Bu tarihten itibaren kanunda oran farklılaştırılması (%1, %8, %18) ve istisnaların çoğaltılması gibi birçok değişiklikler yapılmış, bu durumda verginin yapısının bozulmasına neden olmuştur. Türk vergi sisteminde harcamalar üzerinden alınan vergilerin en önemlisi olmakla birlikte bütçe gelirleri ve vergi gelirleri içinde KDV gelirleri önemli bir yer tutmaktadır (Tablo 1).

Tablo 1: Katma Değer Vergisi Tahsilatının Bütçe Gelirleri ve Vergi Gelirleri İçindeki Payı (%)

Yıllar	Toplam KDV	Toplam KDV/Genel Bütçe Gelirleri	Toplam KDV/Vergi Gelirleri
2006	3561953,00	23,58	30,90
2007	3749710,00	25,67	30,62
2008	3424173,00	23,17	28,45
2009	6596621,00	31,02	36,26
2010	6089644,00	29,00	33,86
2011	6363977,00	28,60	32,30
2012	7132627,00	27,04	30,87
2013	8557014,00	28,04	31,99
2014	9177783,00	24,95	29,82
2015	10600718,00	27,27	30,22
2016	12602383,00	29,24	31,58
2017	15444401,00	29,05	33,02
2018	16320034,00	27,24	30,02

Kaynak*: Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası EVDS'den elde edilen veriler ile oluşturulmuştur. *2018 yılı, 2018q4'e kadar olan verileri kapsamaktadır.*

Türkiye'de küresel krizin yaşandığı 2008 yılında alınan önlemlere KDV indirimleri ve istisnaları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Vergi Konseyi (2009: 32-34)'e göre ilk uygulamada 17 Mart 2009 tarihinden 15 Haziran 2009'a kadar uygulanmak üzere 150 metrekarenin üzerindeki konut teslimlerinde uygulanacak KDV oranı %18'den %8'e indirilmiştir. İkinci bir düzenleme ile 30 Mart 2009 tarihinden 30 Haziran 2009'a kadar uygulanmak üzere, bilgisayar, fotokopi, yazıcı, hesap makineleri gibi ofis cihazları, mobilyalar, aydınlatma cihazları gibi bazı eşyalar ile bazı sanayi ve iş makinelerinin KDV oranı %8'e indirilmiştir. Aynı süre için bina ve bağımsız bölüm şeklindeki işyeri teslimlerinde uygulanacak KDV oranı da %8'e indirilmiştir. Üçüncü uygulamada ise 15 Nisan 2009 tarihinden 30 Haziran 2009'a kadar uygulanmak üzere, römork, forklift, kesintisiz ve stabilize güç kaynakları, telefon, işlemci, bellek, elektrik iletkenleri, koltuk, sandalye, bambu mobilya gibi kimi makine, elektronik alet ve mobilyaların KDV oranı %8'e indirilmiştir. 16 Haziran 2009 tarihinden 30 Eylül 2009'a kadar uygulanmak üzere, belirlenen yatırımlar için katma değer vergisi istisnası getirilmiş ve işlemci, yazıcı, bellek, kesintisiz güç kaynakları gibi bazı elektronik aletler ile mobilyaların KDV oranı %8 olarak yeniden belirlenmiştir.

4. Veri ve Metodoloji

Bu çalışmada toplam KDV gelirleri, hane halkı son tüketim harcamaları, KDV'nin standart oranı, GSYH ve kukla değişken kullanılarak, KDV'nin verimlilik oranının izlediği trend regresyon analizi ile incelenmiştir. Üçer aylık verilerle analizin gerçekleştirildiği çalışmanın, veri seti aralığı 2006q1-2018q1 olarak belirlenmiştir. Veri setinin başlangıç tarihinin belirlenmesinde dikkate alınan husus, 5018 sayılı yasanın 2003 yılında yürürlüğe girerek, 2006 yılında tüm merkezi yönetim kurumlarında uygulanmaya başlaması ile merkezi yönetim bütçe gelirlerinin ve giderlerinin hesaplama yönetiminin değişmesidir. Çalışmada toplam KDV gelirleri ve hane halkı son tüketim harcamaları GSYH'ya oranlanarak kullanılmış, standart KDV oranı ise %18 olarak belirlenmiştir. Analizde kullanılan tüm veriler TCMB Elektronik Veri Dağıtım Sistemi (EVDS)'den elde edilmiştir. Çalışmada kullanılan değişkenlere ait özet istatistik değerleri Tablo 2'de sunulmuştur.

Tablo 2: Değişkenlere Ait Özet İstatiksel Tablosu

	Toplam KDV Gelirleri/GSYH	Hane Halkı Son Tüketim Harcamaları/GSYH	GSYH
Ortalama	2.158	62.089	318997606.732
Medyan	2.162	61.486	306215476.29
Minimum	3.544	68.599	464491409.38
Maksimum	1.289	59.074	214254085.07
Standart Sapma	0.573	1.987	65991973
Çarpıklık	0.179	1.139	0.361
Basıklık	2.344	4.206	2.083
Jarque-Bera	1.141 (0.565)	13.577 (0.001)	2.782 (0.248)
Gözlem	49	49	49

Çalışmanın teorik altyapısında ayrıntıları açıklanan ve literatürde yaygın olarak kullanılan Keen (2013)'in KDV verimlilik oranı denklem (3)' de gösterilmiştir.

$$\frac{V}{Y} = \tau_s E^C \left(\frac{C}{Y} \right)$$

(3)

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Denklem 3'de E^C, KDV verimlilik oranını, τ_s standart KDV oranını, C hane halkı son tüketim harcamalarını, V toplam KDV gelirlerini ve Y, GSYH'yı göstermektedir. Denklem (3) düzenlenip E^C eşitliğin bir yanında yalnız bırakılırsa denklem (4) elde edilir.

$$E^C = \frac{V}{\tau_s C} \tag{4}$$

Denklem (4)'de E^C değerinin sıfıra yakın değer alması, KDV'nin tahsilat verimliliğinin düşük olduğuna işaret etmektedir (Aizenma ve Jinjarak, 2005: 5). Çalışmada denklem (4) kullanılarak hesaplanan E^C'nin incelenen dönem içindeki eğilimini belirlemek için denklem (5) tahmin edilmiştir.

$$E^C = \beta_0 + \beta_1 TREND + \alpha_1 D_1 TREND \tag{5}$$

Denklem 5'te yer alan $TREND$ değişkeni doğrusal zaman eğilimini göstermektedir. 2008 küresel krizinin KDV verimliliğinin eğiliminde anlamlı bir değişime yol açıp açmadığını inceleyebilmek için D_1 kukla değişkeni kullanılmıştır. D_1 kukla değişkeninin ne şekilde tanımlandığı denklem (6)'da açıklanmıştır.

$$D_1 = \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} 0, & 2009Q1'e\ kadar \\ 1, & 2009Q2\ ve\ sonrası \end{array} \right\} \tag{6}$$
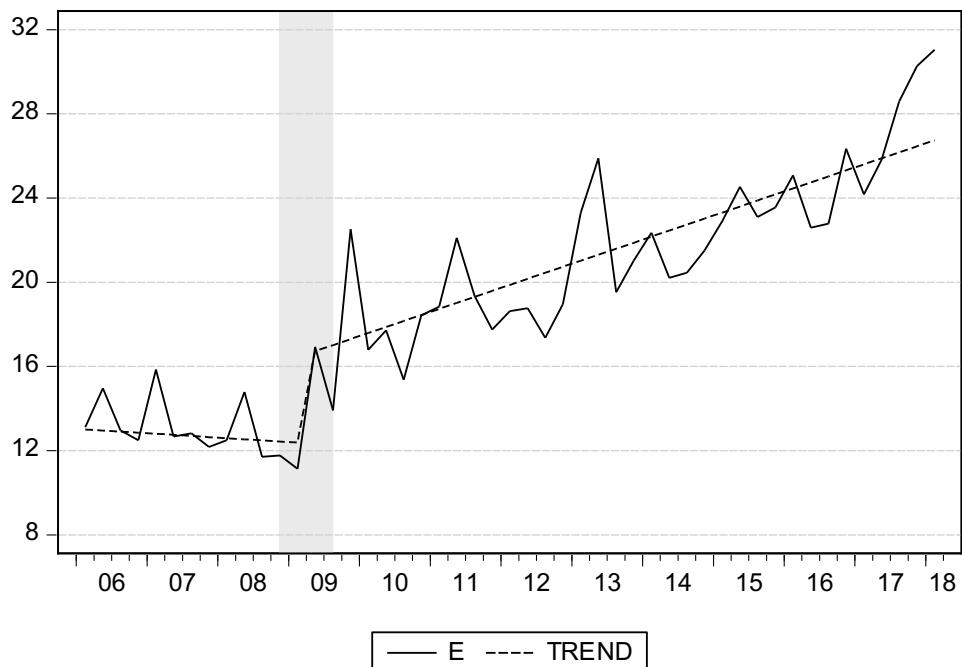
Kukla değişken tanımlanırken küresel krize kadar ve küresel krizden sonraki eğilimi inceleyebilmek adına kriz başlangıcı kriz etkilerinin en yoğun hissedildiği 2008q4 ve 2009q3 döneminin ortası olarak seçilmiştir. Şekil 1 bu dönemi ve seçilen tarihe göre eğilimde yaşanan değişimi açıkça göstermektedir. Denklem (5)'in en küçük kareler tahmin sonuçları Tablo 3' de raporlanmıştır. Tahmine ilişkin tanı testleri incelendiğinde otokorelasyon ve heteroskedastisite problemi olmadığı ve hata terimlerinin de normal dağıldığı belirlenmiştir.

Tablo 3: Tahmin Sonuçları

Parametreler	Değerler
β_0	13.00151*
β_1	-0.052001
$\alpha_1 D_1$	0.338238*
R^2	0.850
Düzeltilmiş R^2	0.843
$F - İstatsitik$	130.656*
Tanı Testleri	
$Breush - Godfrey$: Otokorelasyon LM	0.381
$Breush - Pagan - Godfrey$: Heteroskedastisite Testi	1.098
$Jarque - Bera$: Normallik Testi	5.623

* %5 düzeyinde istatiksel olarak anlamlı

Tablo 3' de sunulan tahmin sonuçları incelendiğinde β_1 parametresinin istatistiksel olarak anlamlı olmadığı görülmektedir. Bu durum kriz öncesi KDV verimliliğinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı, belirgin bir zaman eğilimi olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. $\alpha_1 D_1$ parametresi ise istatistiksel olarak anlamlıdır. Pozitif işaretli bu parametre kriz sonrası dönemde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir artış eğiliminin varlığını işaret etmektedir. Şekil 1 bu sonuçları teyit etmektedir. Krize kadarki dönemde hemen hemen sabit olan, belirgin bir eğilim göstermeyen verimlilik, kriz sonrası ise açık bir artış eğilimine girmiştir.

Şekil 1: Küresel Kriz Döneminde KDV Verimliliği ve Zaman Trendi

5. Sonuç

KDV, 1970'li yıllarda popülerlik kazanarak, süratle tüm dünya ülkelerinde genel tüketim vergisi olarak uygulama alanı bulmuştur. Türkiye'de KDV 1985 yılından itibaren yürürlüğe girmiş ve özellikle vergi gelirleri içindeki payının yüksek, tahsilatının basit ve verimli olması sebebiyle bu tarihten itibaren çok sık değişikliklere maruz kalmıştır.

Çalışmada trend regresyon analizi ile Türkiye'de kriz öncesi KDV verimliliğinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı, belirgin bir zaman eğilimi içinde olmadığını tespit edilmiştir. Buna karşılık küresel kriz sonrası dönemde ise KDV verimliliğinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir artış eğiliminin olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu sonuçlara göre küresel kriz sonrası dönemde krizin etkilerini hafifleten mali önlemlerin alınması KDV verimliliğini arttırdığı iddia edilebilir. Özellikle KDV'de vergi indirimlerinin uygulanması, BA ve BS[1] formların 2008 yılı ve sonrası dönem

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1   Bilanço esasına göre defter tutan mükelleflerin belirli bir oranı aşan mal ve hizmet alımları için "Mal ve Hizmet Alımlarına İlişkin Bildirim Formu BA" ile mal ve hizmet satışları için "Mal ve Hizmet Satışlarına İlişkin Bildirim Formu BS" ile bildirmeleri konusunda hususunda yükümlülük getirilmiştir.

için her ay verilmesi, KDV beyannamesinde oranın ve matrahın ayrıştırılarak beyanı zorunluluk haline getirilmesi, vergi idarelerinin etkinliğinin arttırılması etkili olmuştur. **Katma Değer Vergisi mükelleflerinin oto-kontrolünü sağlayan bu** formların internet ortamında düzenli olarak verilmesi, belirtilen esaslara göre verilmemesi halinde tek özel usulsüzlük cezasının uygulanması KDV tahsilatını arttıran düzenlemeler olmuştur.

Bundan sonraki çalışmalara, son dönemde kamu maliyesinde yaşanan mali reformların KDV gelirleri tahsilatındaki etkileri dikkate alınarak, KDV verimliliğinin farklı yöntemler, farklı değişkenler, farklı ülkeler, farklı veri ve zaman seti için analiz edilebileceği önerilebilir.

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THE ANTECEDENTS OF WORK ALIENATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY EMPLOYEES

Sima Nart, Senem Nart, Cemal Çelik

Abstract

The most critique issue invested by technology companies that represent the new economy is human resources. Information technology employees considered the driving power of growth of the new economy. For this reason, the understanding of the nature of knowledge workers in the job environment is seen as a considerable research area. The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of nature of work/task and job stress on work alienation in Information Technology Employees. A quantitative survey was carried out among the one of the largest technology companies in Istanbul, Turkey. The analysis of collected data is not yet complete. A model of work alienation for information technology employees in terms of the predictor variables will tested using required analysis. Research on alienation in the present times is somewhat limited. In this context, it is expected that the findings to be obtained will reveal the work alienation among the knowledge workers and the factors predicting it.

Keywords: Work Alienation, Job Stress, Information Technology Employees

1. Introduction

Since the industrial revolution, the most important structural changes in many areas have been realized with the rapid progress of information technologies. The development of technology and the widespread use of the internet have made it possible to separate production steps and to enable production activities to take place at different locations. Rapidly developing information sector has encompassed the efficiency, R & D and innovation activities of all sectors by entering into almost all sectors and the daily life and by growing out of being a typical business area. It has particularly become effective in having the countries which are industrialized and consider informatics as important achieve competitiveness in many areas. While the factor that determined the level of development of the countries during the the periods when the technology was not developed that much was their military power, this assessment has yielded its place to technology today. It has been observed that the countries investing in technology and making progress in this area can be economically more developed and remain less dependent on the external world. The countries that can adapt to the information technologies on the country basis and support their widespread use are undoubtedly more advantageous in terms of growth and productivity. Studies in the field of economic growth indicate that investments in information technologies create a direct impact on growth. The researches in this area point out that the use of information technology alone realizes about 80 percent of the productivity gains in the economies (İmamoğlu & Soybilgen, 2014). Hence, the information and communication sector is one of the most developing and most essential sectors of the world in terms of "Industry, Technology and Employment". According to the Information Economy Report 2017, the total size of the sector is more than 2 trillion dollars and about 100 million employees are being employed in the sector. When we make assessments for Turkey, the total size of the sector in 2017, 116.9 billion TL, and the employment is around 128 thousand (TUBİSİAD, 2017).

In view of its high employment potential and the added value it creates, many developing countries are trying to adapt their economic structures to digital transformation for the sake of not lagging economicly behind. For this reason, the informatics sector is considered as the new development force of the economy and is therefore defined as the "strategic sector". The knowledge strategy has now been regarded as an inseperable part of the development program of the countries. The most important asset of the sector which has such a strategic importance is the information sector employees who are educated and qualified human resources. When we examine the ratios of employees of the information sector worldwide; while the share of the information sector experts in the OECD countries in the total employment varies between 2% and 5%, this rate is only 1.7% inTurkey (TBMM, 2012, p.152). On the other hand, the demand for labor in the information sector in our country has been increasing, new job definitions and qualification requirements have been formed and the employment rates have been changing. On the other hand, as in many other sectors, employees in this sector may also face a psychosocial risk due to non-corporate practices. According to the researes conducted in relation with the sector, the employees have been adversely affected due to the negative organizational and individual attitudes, behaviors and practices which show continuity. Therefore, one of the most important issues ignored in the informatics sector is determining the reasons underlying the negative attitudes of the employees towards their works (Türkmen, 2016, p.1). The employees, because of the dynamic and ever-changing nature of the industry, must constantly learn and acquire new skills in order to remain updated in their professions. They also need work environments where they can exhibit their expertise and creativity at the same time. Otherwise, their existing qualities get depreciated, remain inefficient and eventually productivity decreases (Chilton, Hardgrave & Armstrong, 2010). In the light of all this information, it is very important to investigate the factors negatively affecting the job satisfaction of the sector employee due to the importance of the information technology sector and its unique work characteristics. In particular, the report-centric approaches presented by traditional business platforms, cumbersome and complicated infrastructures, workload, pressures on the rapid implementation of analytical application requests from business units, prevent the IT staff from devoting time to their areas of expertise. The organizational structure and work environment which have not been designed for a technology-based work environment cause frustrations to be formed in the employees and consequently to experience alienation against their works. Researches designed for IT sector employees are needed because the findings of researches traditionally conducted may be insufficient due to the unique characteristics of the sector. The aim of working in this direction is to set out the determinants that affect the alienation of IT employees to work. By analyzing the relationships included in the research model developed after the literature review, the determinants that affect the tendency of IT employees to work alienation have been specified.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1 Work Alienation

The concept of alienation was first described by Hegel (1910) as the disconnection of the individual from his or her self. Later this concept was extensively studied by Marx (1844/1975) in terms of social and economical aspects. While trying to explain the effects of the capitalist labor process on the workers, Marx emphasized that the individual's loss of control over his labor create a sense of alienation by arguing that creative action is an essential element of human nature and that it can mostly be met at work (Kohn, 1976; Mottaz, 1981). Human naturally has a structure suitable for working, producing and creating value to ensure and protect his existence and prosperity. So he spends a significant part of his life at work. This chracteristics leads him to establish a special relationship

with the work and the work environment in which he has created value (Mottaz, 1981, p.515). On the other hand, the meaning loss of the work, since it bears the meaning of the loss of control on the produced, eventually value created processes, causes the ties with the work environment to weaken (Maddi, 2004). Accordingly, Marx considered alienation as a "restriction of human creativity" in his famous work of 1844 Manuscripts. While explaining the concept of alienation, the author focused on the labor process. The labor capital relationship in the capitalist system hinders the creativity of the individual and transforms the work into a meaningless activity; alienation is therefore a natural part of this system and is inevitable (Marx, 1844/1975). In the labor process, the individual sells the labor he owns to the capitalist. The capitalist who buys the labor with the objective of gaining profit will organize the works in such a way to provide efficiency and reduce the costs. Due to the nature of the work in the modern work environments grown out in this process, especially the excessive work sharing and the authority gathered in the official authority, the individual relinquishes the right of controlling the production process and the fate of the product he produced with his labor and loses his capacity to express himself in the working process. This process, which does not allow the individual to develop his physical and mental powers freely, contrarily creates fatigue and mental collapse makes his work activity a degrading and tormenting experience and the individual gets alienated to the product, he produces, to the nature, to the other people, and ultimately to his own self. (Madlock & Martin, 2012; Mottaz, 1981; O'Donohue & Nelson, 2012; Shantz, Alfes &Truss, 2014).

As pointed out above, alienation the Marxist approach is considered as an objective reality of the system rather than a subjective state of mind. The nature of the alienation has later been explained later on the basis of existentialist thought with a psychological approach. In this approach, alienation is also accepted as an inevitable part of human life and is regarded as subjective emotional state of mind resulting from objective working conditions (Mottaz, 1981). In short, the Marxist approach explains the concept on the basis objective conditions while the existentialist approach on the basis of emotions. As it is seen seen, alienation evolves as a result of subjective experiences of the human, and it becomes increasingly profound along with feelingsing that emotion, mind and body unity or integrity gets disrupted. This deepening "expresses the feelingsing of recession or seperation of the human from his work, from the product he has created with his own labor, from his personality". Thus, "that the harmony of the individual with the social, cultural and natural environment decreases, his control over both social and business environment becomes ineffective leads him to be seized by a feelingsing of loneliness and despair". (Tükel, 2012, p.39). Blauner (1964), who made important contributions to the literature of alienation to work defines alienation as "the state in which the conditions such as autonomy, responsibility, social interaction and self-actualization which reveal the value of the individual as a humanbeing have not been fulfilled" (Hull, Friedman and Rogers, 1982, p.32).

In the literature, the concept of alienation has been dimensioned in different forms, but the most valid classification belongs to Seeman. Seeman in his work titled "On the Meaning of Alienation," pointed out that alienation has 5 dimensions as powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement (1959, pp. 783-791). After Seeman, Blauner dealt with alienation in four dimensions, as "powerlessness", "meaninglessness", "isolation" and "self-estrangement" (1964, pp. 18-26). Levin, unlike Blauner, dimensioned the feelingsing of social loneliness by classifying it with the absence of criteria (Tolan, 1993, p. 313). Middleton, on the other hand, took the dimensions of Seeman's scale as the basis, but he differently used six dimensions by adding the dimension of cultural alienation (Elma, 2003, pp. 25-26). In Guttman's work, alienation was classified as powerlessness, normlessness, self-estrangement, and cultural distancing (Kohn, 1976, pp. 115-116).

Within the scope of the study, the dimensions of powerlesness, self-estrangement, and meaninglessness have been discussed. According to this; powerlessness has been defined as the state in which the individual does not have right of word on what he produces and in the activities of the working process (Seeman 1959; Uysaler, 2010, p. 46). In other words it is "lack of control and freedom on the work done (Shepard, 1971, pp. 13-14). *Meaninglessness* is the inability of the employees to make sense of the work they are doing, to conceive the goals of the organization and the affiliation of the works they are doing with each other's affairs (Kanungo, 1982b, p. 26). In such a case, the employee thinks that his own contribution and control in the production process is minimal (Mottaz, 1981, pp. 516-517). As for *self-alienation,* Fromm explains, in his book "The Healthy Society", as "the individual considers himself as a stranger" (1955, p. 120). According to Marx, the form of mass production brought by capitalism, by taking the liberty of the individual, causes him to add nothing to the product he produces and to become self-alienated (Kuru, 2009, p. 15). Seeman also explains definition of the person who is self-alienated mentioned by Marx as that the individual does not feelings comfortable, "at home" in the working environment (Uysaler, 2010, pp. 50-51). According to Seeman, the feelingsing of self-alienation is "that any behavior of the individual does not correspond to his expectations towards the future, that the indiviual behaves differently getting out of these expectations" (1959, pp. 789-790). In this case, the employee can not get satisfaction from the work he is doing and considers the work as an instrument (Blauner, 1964, pp. 18-26).

2.2. Antecedents of Work Alienation

2.2.1. Job Autonomy and Work Alienation

Kanungo defines work alienation as work conditions that deprive the individual from the control over the production processes, the interaction with his colleagues and customers, and the ability of the individual (1992, p. 416). Especially in the organizational structures where centralization and formalism are at a high level, alienation to both work and social interaction are increasing (Aiken & Hage 1966, p.504). In the performed researches, it has been revealed that work alienation originates from structural conditions such as centralization, strict rules, policies and processes which are observed in bureaucratic structures and restrict the individual's autonomy and participation in decisions (Allen & Lafollett, 1977; Gaziel & Weiss, 1990; Greene, 1978; Ramaswami, Agarwal & Bhargava, 1993). Autonomy in the work environment is defined as the freedom of the employees to decide on how they will fulfil their duties and to have control over their work (Tolay et al., 2012, p. 452). The employees with autonomy develop skills in the issues of thinking independently in the work environment and developing new methods of dealing with problems at the same time (De Jong & Kemp, 2003, p.190). That the individuals act as the result of thinking independently helps create a work environment in which the individual feelingss himself sufficient, develop self-sufficiency and emerge creative works (Gümüşlüoğlu & Ilsev, 2009, p.462). On the other hand, lack of control and autonomy during the production process; not being able to take part in the executive decisions, not being able to choose the people to work with, lacking the ability to supervise the work leads the employee to a feelingsing of powerlesness (Blanur, 1964). The employees who have become powerless are in an emotion as their lives are determined not by their own will but by the system or by the ones who are in the superior position (Hoy, 1972), thus, their need for self-realization, self-esteem (Kanungo, 1992) and autonomy cannot be satisfied and they become alienated against their works (Turgut & Kalafatoğlu, 2016, p. 31). In the literature, it is possible to encounter the studies indicating that the sense of autonomy is effective on the feelingsing of work-alienation (Kanungo, 1982; Deci & Ryan, 2004; Berardi, 2010; Ambrose et al., 2002). Gradney, Fisk and Steiner (2005) have found out in their studies they carried out on the American and French employees that the employees who

believe that they are autonomous in their working environment experience less feelingsings of powerlessness. Similarly, Özkoç (2016) in his study on the employees of the lodging enterprises, he has determined that the level of autonomy in the working environment has a direct impact on the work alienation tendency. (This research has been conducted to determine the direct impact of lodging enterprise employees' perception of job autonomy level on decreasing work alienation tendency).

Based on this, the first hypothesis developed in the scope of this research aim is to measure the effect between job autonomy and work alienation.

Hypothesis1: *Employees' perceptions of job autonomy affect their sense of work alienation negatively.*

   H1a: Employees' perceptions of job autonomy affect their sense of powerlessness negatively.

   H1b: Employees' perceptions of job autonomy affect their sense of meaninglessness negatively.

   H1c: Employees' perceptions of job autonomy affect their sense of self-alienation negatively.

2.2.2. Role Conflict and Work Alienation

When the relevant literature is examined, it has been observed that the task variety and the task identity are also the antecedents of work alienation (Shantz et al., 2015). The Individuals who enjoy doing various tasks and who are able to associate their works with the goals of the organization have low possibility of work alienation (Atay and Gerçek, 2017: 325). The disagreement experienced between the roles requires by the work and the employee's own nature causes alienation (Mendaza & Lara, 2007, p. 57; Mottaz, 1981, p. 515). This framework is another variable role conflict that can be handled. The role conflict is the state of "compliance of the the individual who is supposed to perform more than one role at the same time with one of the role requirements than the other" and additionally, "the conflict of the roles assumed by the individual or the roles of different individuals" (Gökçe & Şahin, 2003, p. 146). Gullahorn (1956, p. 299) has defined the role conflict as "the situation created by the conflicting demands which are expected from the individual within the scope of the role relations". Accordingly, the individual is faced with the pressure to fulfill the conflicting role expectations and feelingss the threat of possible sanctions to emerge from failure. In such a situation, the individual experiences stress and naturally exhibits less effective performance (Nart, 2015). Chiaburu Thundiyil, T. and Wang, in their research aimed at revealing the causes and consequences of work alienation, have determined that there is a direct and positive relationship between the role conflict and alienation (2014, p. 27). Similarly, Michaels Dubinsky, Kotabe and Lim (1996), in their study on salespeople in the US, Japan, and Korea have determined that role conflict is effective on work alienation. Another study was carried out by Agarwal (1993, p. 732). The researcher in this study, tried to determine whether the effect of the role conflict on the alienation change in different cultures or not. As the result of the study, while the role conflict for salespeople in the United States is not the antecedent of alienation, the role conflict causes alienation for the salespeople working in India. Again Korman Wittig-Berman and Lang. (1981), in their research that they investigated the factors affecting the managers and the specialists experiencing the sense of alienation in the working environment, have revealed that conflicting role responsibilities cause work alienation. Accordingly, especially the inter-role conflict is a major source of job dissatisfaction and alienation for both managers and employees. With this framework, the second hypothesis developed in the scope of this research aim is to measure the effect between role conflict and work alienation.

Hypothesis2: *Employees' perceptions of role conflict affect their sense of work alienation positively.*

  H2a: *Employees' perceptions of role conflict affect their sense of powerlessness positively.*

  H2b: *Employees' perceptions of role conflict affect their sense of meaninglessness positively.*

  H2c: *Employees' perceptions of role conflict affect their sense of self-alienation positively.*

2.2.3. Feelings of Acceptance and Work Alienation

According to the category of need for receiving respect / respectability included in Maslow's needs hierarchy model, which consists of five stages; satisfying the requirements for success, appreciation and being respected increases the motivation of the individual. Accordingly, the feelings of acceptance expressed as being appreciated, respected, praised, acknowledged, or recognized by others in the work environment can be evaluated within Maslow's need for being respected. An employee whose work is not accepted and appreciated by either the managers or by his colleagues is likely to have motivation problems. The feelings of acceptance is the approval, appreciation, or acknowledgement of the positive behaviours or achievements of an individual or a team (Caligiuri et al., 2010; Gostickve Elton, 2007; Tessema et al., 2013). This feelingsing is one of the strongest motivational factors; enriches the energy of the employee towards realizing the organizational goals and objectives (Imran et al., 2014). Acceptance is therefore one of the easiest ways to keep employees happy and productive (Darling et al., 1997; Tessema et al., 2013). Acceptance by the colleagues in the work environment and the support received from the colleagues have an important role in having especially the employees cope with stress and tension at the workplace (Beehr, Jex, Stacy & Murray, 2000; Brotheridge, 2001; Gillen, Baltz, Gassel, Kirsch &Vaccaro, 2002). Karasek, Triantis & Chaudhry, 1982). Imran, Ahmad, Nisar and Ahmad (2014) have found out in their research they performed on the pakistani library staff that there is a positive relationship between the appreciation and job satisfaction of the employees in the working environment. Similarly, Tessema Ready and Embaye (2013) have dtermined in their study they performed on the American, Malaysian and Vietnamese employees that the satisfaction of acceptance has a significant effect on job satisfactions. Acceptance Lim (2018); Seyrek and Kavak 2016 have revealed a positive relationship between the feelings of acceptance and job satisfaction in their study towards information technology employees. In another study conducted by Banai and Reisel (2007) on Hungarian employees, they have determined that the form of supportive management reduces the feelingsing of work alienation. In the view of these explanations, the third hypothesis developed in the scope of this research aim is to measure the effect between feelings of acceptance and work alienation.

Hypothesis3: *Employees' perceptions of feelings of acceptance affect their sense of work alienation negatively.*

  H3a: *Employees' perceptions of feelings of acceptance affect their sense of powerlessness negatively.*

  H3b: *Employees' perceptions of feelings of acceptance affect their sense of meaninglessness negatively.*

  H3c: *Employees' perceptions of feelings of acceptance affect their sense of self-alienation negatively.*

2.2.4. Percieved Organizational Justice and Work Alienation

Work alienation occurs as the result of the frustration that the employee experiences in relation with his position in the organization (Hoy, Blazovsky & Newland, 1983). In general, the employees consider and regard how the decisions are taken within the organization and whether a discrimination is made or not between the ones who have been influenced by the consequences generated by those decisions. On the other hand, if the employees come

to the conclusion that there is injustice in the organizational decisions and the administrative activities, they put a distance between the organization and themselves by reacting in their way with their feelingsings of resentment and anger (Bağcı, 2013, p.168). Another concept that is effective on work alienation in this direction is the organizational justice. Organizational justice, on the other hand, is the justice that the individual perceives towards the practices within the organization (Moon et al., 2008, p.85). The employees who are involved in a particular organization bring in the knowledge and skills they possess as capital, and they turn these into investment on behalf themselves by using them for organizational purposes in the course of time. As the result of these investments made, they go into the expectation to achieve various benefits such as fair wages, promotions, premiums, bonuses and recognition according to the contribution rate they have made to the organization. These expectations are explained by the concept of procedural justice which is one of the justice dimensions and is widely discussed in the literature. Procedure justice is the judgments on whether the decisions concerning the employees working in the organization are taken fairly or not (Folger & Konovsky, 1989, p. 126). In other words, it is the degree of being fair in the decisions, in the strategies being followed and in the policies specified for the working conditions. This type of justice deals with the utilization of the correct methods while managing the processes such as conflict resolution, decision making or resource allocation (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998, p. 26).

It is expected that the sense of justice in the decisions taken will create a positive impact on the loyalty of the employees (Blodgett, 1997, 189). The fact that the practices in the institutions are based on consistent, unprejudiced, impartial and ethical standards creates a feelingsing of loyalty in the employees towards the organization. If an employee observes that there is an inequality or an unbalanced behavior in the justice process, he will not be satisfied with his work and his sense of justice will be impaired (Eren, 2007, p.543). In such a situation, employees will exhibit negative behaviors such as alienation and aggression towards the organization and the work they are doing. (St-Pierre & Holmes, 2010, p. 1170). It is possible to encounter studies supporting this hypothesis in the literature. Sookoo (2014), in his study that he discussed the dynamics of the organizational injustice and work alienation in the public sector in Trinidad, has found out that the employees who believe that they work in an unfair environment experience a sense of alienation against their works. (Nair, & Vohra, 2010) have stated that the low organizational justice perception is the behaviors such as aggression and retaliation which are observed as the result of work alienation andthat the procedural justice is influencial on alienation. Again, Merkhe (2015) has found out that the ones who work in international schools in Amman and who are in managerial positions have experienced alienation in the working environment, and that one of the important factors in this has been the procedural justice perception of employees (Merkhe, 2015). Similarly, Howard and Cordes (2010) have found out procedural justice and work alienation negatively. The studies conducted in our country also support these findings; Zengin and Kaygın (2016), in their studies on bank employees, have found that organizational justice has a negative impact on organizational alienation. Ceylan and Sulu (2010), in their study on health workers, have found that procedural justice creates a significant impact on powerlessness which is one of the dimensions of work alienation. Zengin and Kaygın (2016) have found out in their study they conducted on bank employees that organizational justice has a negative impact on organizational alienation. Within the framework of the theories, the fourth hypothesis developed in the scope of this research aim is to measure the effect between procedural justice and work alienation.
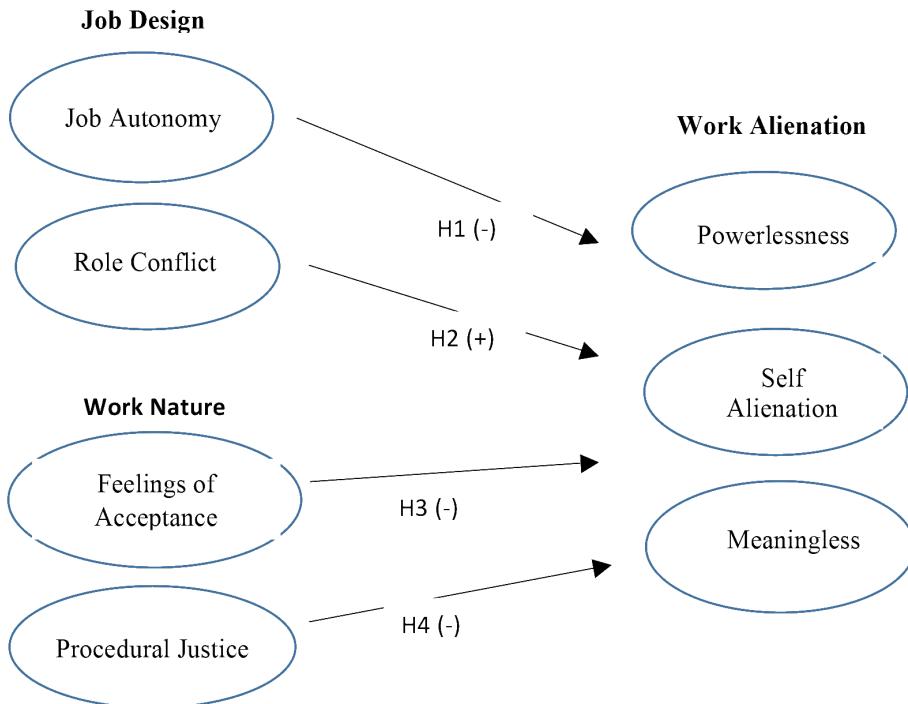
Hypothesis4: *Employees' perceptions of procedural justice affect their sense of work alienation negatively.*

   H4a: *Employees' perceptions of procedural justice affect their sense of powerlessness negatively.*

   H4b: *Employees' perceptions of procedural justice affect their sense of meaninglessness negatively.*

   H4c: *Employees' perceptions of procedural justice affect their sense of self-alienation negatively.*

Figure 1. Research Model

3. Method

3.1. Sample and Procedure

The sample were drawn different organizations in the information technology sector in Istanbul, Turkey's largest metropolitan city, based on purposive sampling. The sample comprised IT employees working in different areas such as software, hardware, programmers, data analysis etc. Data were collected from 172 IT employees across seven medium- sized and small companies. The majority (% 66,9) of the respondents were male respondents. Considering education level, graduates comprised the majority (% 68), and remaining (% 32) comprised postgraduate degree. By job levels, programmer (% 45), followed by software engineer respondents (% 37), network manager forming remaining 18 percentage.

An online survey tool was designed to obtain the necessary data to analyze the effects specified in the research model. In order to find the e-mail addresses of IT employees, firstly the company's web pages were used. In addition, messages were sent to social media sites (social networking sites, discussion forums and blogs) and online

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professional communities used by IT employees, and IT employees were asked to fill out a questionnaire. In all, 172 usable questionnaires were obtained.

3.2. Measures

A review of the literature indicated that there was much variability in how alienation has been measured. In this context, it was decided that the scale used by Turgut and Kalafatoğlu (2016) previously in Turkey is appropriate in this study. The scale developed by Mottaz (1981) and adapted to Turkish by Sayu (2014) and revised. This scale consists of three sub-dimensions, namely powerlessness (six items), meaninglessness (four items) and self-alienation (seven items), and a total of 17 items.

In the literature, generally organizational justice consists of three dimensions; distributive justice, interactional justice and procedural justice. Procedural justice was taken as an antecedents in this study within the scope of work alienation of IT employees. To measure procedural justice the scale developed by Colquitt et al. (2001) was used. The scale consists of 7 items. Feelings of acceptance and job autonomy scales were adapted by Lim's (2008) study to analyze the job satisfaction of IT employees in academic libraries. Each of the scales consists of four items. Items were on a Likert scale of 1 to 5. To measure the perceived role conflict, Rizzo, House and Lirtzman (1970) and consists of 8 items were used. Items were on a Likert scale of 1 to 7.

3.3. Findings

In the factor analysis applied to the work alienation scale, the basic component method and the Varimax Rotation method are used. It was also control whether the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) sample adequacy test value was greater than 0,50 and the Bartlett Sphericity test was significant at 0,05 significance level (Hair et al., 1998). Factor analysis applied to the work alienation scale, which is conceptually assumed to be composed of three sub-dimensions, also showed a three-factor structure in this study. The total variance of these three factors is 62, 61%, and the Eigen values of each factor are 7, 00, 1, 69 and 1,39 respectively. Each expression is at least 0.56 percent below the dimensions they conceptually represent. The reliability analysis applied to the whole of the scale showed a high alpha value (α =0,92). Reliability analysis applied to each dimension obtained from factor analysis also yielded high alpha levels. All the values of factor analysis and reliability analysis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Factor Analysis Results of the Work Alienation Scale

	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Explained Variance (%)
Powerlessness				
W3	,783			22,60
W2	,683			
W1	,674			
W6	,668			
W4	,667			
W5	,585			

	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Explained Variance (%)
Self- Alienation				
SA2		,807		20,11
SA3		,750		
SA1		,675		
SA4		,660		
SA5		,606		
Meaninglessness				
M1			,810	19,89
M3			,779	
M2			,670	
M4			,663	

Explained Total Variance: % 62,61 KMO: 0.82

As stated in the research model, a second factor analysis was applied to determine the independent variables assumed to affect the work alienation. KMO value, percentage of variance explained and factor loadings of each dimension are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Factor Analysis Results of Antecedents of Work Alienation

	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Explained Variance (%)
Procedural Justice				
PJ1	,746			19,10
PJ2	,732			
PJ4	,711			
PJ5	,704			
PJ3	,696			
PJ6	,624			
Job Autonomy				
JA1		,868		19,90
JA4		,816		
JA3		,809		
JA2		,767		
Feelings of Acceptance				
FA1			,878	16,54
FA2			,830	
FA4			,792	
FA3			,764	
Role Conflict				
RC2			,787	15,86
RC1			,785	
RC3			,782	
RC4			,732	

Explained Total Variance: % 68, 33 KMO: 0,77

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As a result of the second factor analysis, four factor dimensions are revealed. Variables with a factor loading of less than 0,50 are not included in the analysis. Cronbach's Alpha values indicated that all the scales were reliable ranging from 0,80 to 0 ,91, all greater than the benchmark of 0,70.

Before doing the regression analyses to test the hypotheses we determined that no violations of the assumptions of regression were observed. A correlation test was applied to look for possible signs of multicollinearity. Correlations of variables were not high enough to be of concern for regression analysis. Although not reported here in a table, the greatest variance inflation factor (VIF) statistic in the model was 4,5, substantially less than the conservative cut-off of 10 suggested by Hair et al. (1998), and maximum 5 indicating a problem with multicollinearity by Hutcheson and Sofroniou (1999).

In order to assess the validity of 3 main and sub hypotheses in this study, we employed the method of regression analysis. In the first regression analysis, the effects of the independent variables in the research model on the powerlessness, the first dimension of work alienation, were examined. The results of the regression analysis for how predictive job related variables on dependent variable are presented in table 3.

Table 3. Regression Analysis for Powerlessness

	Dependent Variable (Powerlessness)			
	β	Sig.	Adjusted R²	F
Independent Variables			0,559	55,132
Procedural Justice	-, 520	0,000*		
Job Autonomy	-,240	0,000*		
Feelings of Acceptance	-,127	0,027**		
Role Conflict	,072	0,211		

*Correlation is significant at 0.01 level

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level

When the values in the table 3 are examined it is seen that regression coefficients of *procedural justice, job autonomy,* and *feelings of acceptance* are statistically significant. The *role conflict* is not explanatory the change in powerlessness. The results showed that the H1a, H3a, and H4a hypotheses are supported by data collected from the sampled group. H2a is rejected.

In the second regression analysis, the effects of the independent variables in the research model on the *self-alienation*, the second dimension of work alienation, were examined. The results of the regression analysis are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Regression Analysis for Self- Alienation

	Dependent Variable (Self- Alienation)			
	β	Sig.	Adjusted R^2	F
Independent Variables			0,33	22,296
Procedural Justice	-, 315	0,000*		
Job Autonomy	-,165	0,019**		
Feelings of Acceptance	-,171	0,015**		
Role Conflict	,156	0,028**		

*Correlation is significant at 0.01 level

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level

Independent variables, as shown in Table 4, explains the changes in perception of self- alienation (Corrected R^2 =, 33; F = 22,296; p <, 005).However, it is *procedural justice* that has the most explanatory power. Except from the *role conflict* other variables influence self-alienation in the negative direction. In this context, all sub-hypotheses related to self-alienation are accepted (H1c, H2c, H3c, and H4c).

In the third and last applied regression analysis, the effects of independent variables on *meaninglessness* were examined. The results of the regression analysis are presented in table 5.

Table 5. Regression Analysis for Meaninglessness

	Dependent Variable (Meaninglessness)			
	β	Sig.	Adjusted R^2	F
Independent Variables			0,35	24,377
Procedural Justice	-, 141	0,076		
Job Autonomy	-,069	0,316		
Feelings of Acceptance	-,295	0,000*		
Role Conflict	,347	0,000*		

*Correlation is significant at 0.01 level

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level

Table 5 shows that the regression model is statistically significant (Corrected R^2 =, 35; F = 24,377; p <, 005). When the significance values are examined only the *feelings of acceptance* and *role conflict* are explanatory on *meaninglessness*. *Role conflict* has more explanatory power than *feelings of acceptance* according to beta values. While *Feelings of acceptance* influences the *meaninglessness* perception of IT employees in the negative direction, it appears that *role conflict* affects the positive direction. In this context, H3b and H2b were accepted as sub-hypotheses related to meaninglessness, and two other sub-hypotheses were rejected.

4. Conclusion

In this study, variables related to job design and work nature, which are antecedents of IT employees' perceptions of work alienation, are analyzed. The findings of the research indicate that the perception of work alienation, which consists of three sub-dimensions, can be explained at different levels by the determinants. Feelings of

acceptance, job autonomy, and procedural justice increase the work alienation perception of IT employees. Beside, if the role conflict perceptions of IT employees decrease, perceptions of work alienation also decrease. In other words, feelings of acceptance, job autonomy and procedural justice have negative effect on work alienation, and role conflict has positive effect.

When a detailed assessment of powerlessness, self-alienation, and meaningfulness, which are the sub-dimensions of work alienation, it is seen that feelings acceptance is explanatory in each dimensions. This findings point out to the design and development of a positive work nature for IT employees with their co-workers.

As the Alffecetive Events Theory theory suggests, emotions influenced by the characteristics of the environment in which the individual is located can determine the individual's perceptions. In this context, there may be a conflict between environmental characteristics such as central decision-making, division of labor, and autonomy and competence needs from the individual's basic psychological needs. This situation can make the individual alienated.

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CITIZENS, IMMIGRANTS AND THE "UNDOCUMENTED"*

*Tuba Kanci***

Abstract

The neoliberal turn from the 1980s onwards, and the reactions to it, brought the death of the citizen as we know --the worker citizen, the welfare-state citizen-- and introduced new concepts like the market citizen, consumer citizen, cosmopolitan citizen, and vice versa. This paper focuses on the DREAMERs movement which helped politicize large segments of the non-status migrant youth population in the United States and challenged how we understand political community and political subjectivity. This "undocumented" immigrant youth, through social mobilization and social movements, enacted themselves as the activist citizens of the communities they live in, asking for and succeeding in getting recognition, and social, political and economic rights despite the lack of legal membership to the community.

Keywords: Immigrants, citizenship, the "undocumented"

Introduction

This paper focuses on the "undocumented" youth movement, *DREAMERs,* which helped politicize the non-status migrant youth population in the United States. The movement in fact challenged how we understand political community and political subjectivity. Through social mobilization and social movements, large segments of this non-status migrant youth enacted themselves as the activist citizens of the communities they live in, asking for and succeeding in getting recognition, and social, political and economic rights despite the lack of legal membership to the community.

The DREAMERs movement took its name from the federal Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which was first introduced to the Senate in 2001. Since then it has been reintroduced a number of times, yet it repeatedly failed to pass. The act offers conditional permanent resident status to children and youth who came to the US at the age fifteen or younger, and who has been living in the US continuously for at least five years before the enactment of the act (The White House, 2010; 112th Congress, 2011-2012). The supporters of the DREAM Act formed a campaign to gather public support and created a public image of the DREAMer to cleanse the youth from the stigma attributed to them: an undocumented youth "deserving" the right to stay in the country with her/his American character, lack of agency in her/his unauthorized status, and successful student identity (Allard, 2015, p. 480).

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What follows will first discuss the transformation of the concept of citizenship, and then analyze this transformation in relation with the non-status immigrant youth movement DREAMERs focusing on specific organizations within this social movement.

Transformations of the Concept of Citizenship

With the formation and proliferation of nation-states, citizenship came to be identified with nationhood, and citizenship policies differed from a nation to another again as part of the concept of nationhood. In the post-World War II era, as Keynesianism took hold of economic administration of the nation-states, and as the nation-state became the sole power in economy and administration, individuals were begun to be defined in relation with the nation-state which led rights to be defined primarily in the nation-state scale. On the other hand, throughout the course of the 20th century, migration continued to cause changes in the nature of citizenship, and rights (Brubaker, 1990). The neoliberal turn from the 1980s onwards, the reactions to it, and globalization brought the death of the citizen as we know --the worker citizen, the welfare-state citizen-- and introduced new concepts like the market citizen, consumer citizen, cosmopolitan citizen, ecological citizen, global citizens, and vice versa. In fact, the enhancing studies on citizenship, emphasizing claims for different rights, are the results of economic, social and cultural conditions brought with these changes. Today, citizenship has multiple definitions, which point out political, economic and social changes, and it is increasingly defined as performative claim of demands as apart from its previous definition which mainly referred to status and legal rights (Isin & Turner, 2002).

Citizenship in this context can be studied as a dynamic concept, open to challenges, modifications and transformations through the practices of political subjectivities who are constructed by the very power-relations that they enact upon. Acts of citizenship are those acts that produce citizens and their others (Isin & Nielson, 2008, p. 37). They can be examined through their grounds and consequences. These grounds and consequences are created by the activist citizens who also become activist through scenes–which involves both performance and disturbance. Consequently, activist citizenship is looking for rights that have never been written, with acts of citizenship being performative claims of demands for rights.

For research purposes, a distinction is made here between the active citizen and the activist citizen. In the first one, citizenship is the consequence of a status, and therefore pre-political. The active citizen engages in the invited spaces of participatory governance. S/he acts on the grounds that are already produced and follows already written scripts. The activist citizen, on the other hand, creates scenes through which it also creates itself, and can write new scripts through social mobilization and social movements (Thompson & Tapscott, 2010). Citizenship is enacted as claims rather than as only membership (see also, Sassen, 1996; Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Soysal, 1997; Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002; Scholtz, 2006). Building upon this theoretical work, the following analyzes the DREAMERs movement and acts of citizenship by this youth focusing upon their civil society activism and social mobilization.

The DREAMERs and the Acts of Citizenship

The DREAMERs youth movement, and the involved youth indeed recreated themselves as the activist citizens of the communities they live in, looking for rights that have never been written, through their performative claims of demands for rights. They succeeded in getting recognition, and social, political and economic rights despite the lack of legal membership to the community. With the supporters of the DREAM Act forming a campaign to

gather public support, national and regional level immigrant rights organizations created their organizations for non-status immigrant youth. *United We Dream*, founded in 2007 with the help of the National Immigration Law Center (NILC), became a place where the messages of the DREAM Act campaign were produced. The regional level immigrant rights organizations like the *Center for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles* (CHIRLA) also created their own organizations for the undocumented youth; i.e. the *California Dream Network*. (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015, p. 88). *California DREAM Network* (CDN) was founded in 2003, and it has become an important part of the undocumented youth movement in the US. It is a statewide organization made up of various college campus organizations. The organization focuses primarily on the undocumented student issues such as providing legal help, trying to create consciousness, public debate and action, as well as immigration reform. Within time, these youth organizations challenged the campaign's undocumented youth image, they went beyond the scripts written for them, and wrote new scripts through social mobilization. They took on confrontational forms of direct action, such as occupations, hunger strikes, long marches. They (re)created their identities; they organized "coming out of the shadows" events and presented their identities as "undocumented and unafraid", and "undocuqueers" (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015, p. 89).

Although the DREAMERs movement did not succeed in passing the DREAM Act bill, it gained local and state-level victories. States like California, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin passed laws that provide undocumented students with the opportunity to go to university. In various states, the undocumented students who have attended and graduated from the state's primary and secondary schools are now receiving in-state tuition as other state residents (American Immigration Council, 2011). The movement also helped to pressure the Obama Administration to pass *Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals* (DACA) in 2012. This prosecutorial discretion provided temporary residency --a renewable two years of deferred removal from the US—to the DREAM Act eligible youth. In November 2014, the Obama Administration expanded DACA to all the undocumented children and youth that have been living in the US since 2010, and created *Deferred Action for Parents of Americans* (DAPA) (Department of Homeland Security, 2015). DACA and DAPA in fact do not confer lawful status to non-status migrant population but makes it possible to receive employment authorization for the period of deferred action.

What follows focuses specifically on a regional immigrant youth organization, *Orange County Immigrant Youth United*, and their specific actions, campaigns in the period between 2010-2015.

The *Orange County Immigrant Youth United* (OCIYU) is a part of the undocumented immigrant youth movement in the US. The OCIYU defines itself as "an undocumented immigrant youth-led organization that advocates for the rights of undocumented immigrants to live lives free from exploitation and persecution" (Orange County Immigrant Youth United, 2015a). It is established in 2004 under the name *Orange County Dream Team* with a group of high school, college and university students, and as a part of the campaign for supporting the DREAM Act. Since its foundation, the OCIYU organizes educational workshops on access to higher education, on existing policies affecting the undocumented community, and on intersectional identities. It tries to create consciousness, public debate, and activism; works to organize and mobilize the undocumented youth as well as the broader migrant community for immigration reform. The organization also provides legal help, and scholarships through grassroots fundraising events.

The OCIYU members define themselves as "undocumented and unafraid." Since 2010, the OCIYU has been organizing annual "Coming Out of the Shadows" events where the undocumented immigrant youth openly declare themselves as undocumented and unafraid (Orange County Immigrant Youth United, 2015a). They exert that although voting is important, and should be undertaken, it is the most minimal form of civic engagement. It is the undocumented immigrant organizing, mobilization and activism that brought their community the biggest victories --like the extension of DACA and DAPA. They argue that against criminalization, deportations, and racism, a strong organizing strategy needs to be built up (Servin 2017; De Anda 2017).

Since its foundation, the OCIYU organized and/or participated numerous immigrant rights campaigns and activities. Two of the most recent and most influential ones, one at the federal and the other at the state level, are *Not One More Deportation Campaign* and *Health for All Campaign.*

The OCIYU has been an active participant of the *Not One More Deportation Campaign* (#Not1More) that started in 2013. The campaign is a national one aiming to end detention and deportation of all immigrants in the US, by "pressuring the President to use administrative powers to provide relief and terminate deportation programs." The OCIYU took the lead in California and helped organize the first action taking place in Santa Monica in May 2013. They were also present in "shut down ICE (*Immigration and Customs Enforcemen*t)" events, taking place through protest and peaceful civil disobedience (Not1More Deportation Campaign, 2015). In the Spring of 2014, they focused their activities on Congressional representatives, and publicly asking and challenging them. They asked the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) members to call out for the President. They organized a press conference at the office of the Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez; the representative for California's 46th congressional district, Orange County. In its aftermath, three OCIYU members staged a sit-in at the Washington D.C. office of the Congresswoman. They demanded that she "publicly" support expansion of DACA to all undocumented people (San Roman, 2014). The DACA expansion and DAPA came by November 2014, and as Hairo Cortes, the program coordinator of OCIYU, stated "This was a very hard-fought thing to win", and "it wouldn't have happened in the first place if it had not been for [us] acknowledging that we do have power in organizing and advocating for ourselves." Cortes added: "As long as we don't forget that, we'll always be in a position to take that next step and win more protections for the rest of our community members. That's the way to move forward" (Gerda, 2014).

At the state level, the OCIYU has been a part of the *Health for All Campaign* (#Health4All) in 2015 that aims to make healthcare more accessible to the undocumented people in California. For instance, on May 2015, the members of OCIYU participated in a die-in protest in Sacramento to highlight the importance of comprehensive healthcare act (Orange County Immigrant Youth United, 2015b). As a result, a bill passed the California Senate that would allow the undocumented immigrants to get healthcare coverage (MCGreevy, 2015).

The OCIYU, working on immigrant issues, demands the expansion of existing citizenship rights, and citizenship status to non-citizens. They are arguing that they had done enough to "earn citizenship" (Hincapie, 2015). They are also asking for the improvement of social and political aspects of citizenship rights. Although certain social rights and benefits have been forthcoming for the undocumented immigrants, whether these in-between statuses can be considered as a path to citizenship is questionable. Thus, the expectations of the OCIYU and most undocumented migrants are not met.

The OCIYU use both institutionalized channels of participation and deliberation, and civil disobedience acts, and demonstrations. However, using the institutionalized channels of participation and deliberation is rather hard –if not completely blocked-- for them since their presence in the country is considered illegal. The OCIYU argues that the recent favorable changes with respect to issues related to immigrants –DACA and DAPA acts, tuition equity, drivers' licenses, healthcare for undocumented immigrants-- came about through "organizing." The organization undertakes protest acts using both traditional methods and social media. It uses traditional media and social media very effectively in its acts. It is through these acts that these individuals and communities, who reside within the polity but lack voice, gain voice and empowerment; i.e. as the recent *#MyOwnAdvocate* Campaign (2014). With the #MyOwnAdvocate Campaign, the undocumented immigrants ask for self-representation, that is a seat at the table in the negotiation meetings with the President that relate to immigrant issues, arguing that "equality demands that people have a voice in policy discussions affecting their lives" (Mr. President, No More Meetings About Us Without Us, 2014).

Conclusion

As Glover argues referring to Benhabib "the 'irony' of current citizenship practices in the US is that while certain social rights and benefits have been forthcoming for aliens, 'the transition to political rights and the privileges of membership remains blocked or is made extremely difficult' (2003, p. 422)" (as cited Glover, 2011, p. 210). Although the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 barred documented and undocumented immigrants from getting social benefits, the scene has changed in the last decade to accommodate pro-immigrant measures, i.e. most recently, a bill passed the California Senate that would allow the undocumented immigrants to get healthcare coverage (MCGreevy, 2015). Efforts were also being done to couple certain social rights with political rights through such acts like "New York is Home" (Markowitz, 2015, p. 902). It can be considered as the "first modern bill to advance a concept of state citizenship" beyond the constitutional guarantee. The proposed bill extends state citizenship as it aims to give the undocumented migrants state citizenship which would involve extension of political voice through political rights such as the right to vote and hold public office, as well as the right to access to state public programs and benefits such as public healthcare, and the right of protection against mistreatment (Markowitz, 2015, p. 905).

However, such developments seem to come to a halt with the change of presidency and administration in the US since 2017, as the US administration officially change its stance towards immigration. The movement yet tries to hold onto the legal improvements they gained in the past. The undocumented youth who took part in civil society organizations have made collective action possible and created solidarity amongst the non-status youth and continue their performative demands. Especially in the last decade, through their citizenship acts, they increasingly involved different segments of the population in their mobilization.

Depending on this analysis, it can be argued that this youth movement have deconstructed the conceptual and ideological packages of citizenship. The undocumented immigrant youth recreated themselves as the activist citizens of the communities they live in through their performative claims of demands for rights and challenged how we understand political subjectivity and community.

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CONTINGENT LIABILITIES: FISCAL RISKS, COSTS AND MEASURES / KOŞULLU YÜKÜMLÜLÜKLER: MALİ RİSKLER, MALİYETLER VE ÖNLEMLER

Tülin Altun*

Özet

Doğal afetler, bankacılık sisteminde yaşanan krizler, yerel yönetimlerin, kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerinin ve kamu özel sektör ortaklıklarının devlet garantili borçlarının temerrüde düşmesi devletin koşullu yükümlülüklerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. Koşullu yükümlülükler büyük mali maliyetler doğurabilmekte ve mali krize yol açabilmektedir. Türkiye'de de bankacılık sektöründeki krizler ve doğal afetler önemli koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerine neden olmuştur. Bütçe ve kamu borç stokundaki artış mali sürdürülebilirliği tehlikeye sokmuştur. Kamu maliyesinin temelinin sağlamlaştırılması ve uzun dönem mali sürdürülebilirlik için, koşullu yükümlülüklerin niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak tanımlanması, koşullu yükümlülük analizlerinin bütçe sürecine ve diğer mali analizlere dahil edilmesi, mali riskleri azaltacak yasal ve idari düzenlemelerin yapılması, risklerin yayılması için şeffaflık temelinde kamu mali yönetim ilkelerinin oluşturulması gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Koşullu yükümlülükler, mali riskler, mali maliyetler kamu mali yönetimi

Abstract

Natural disasters, crisis in the banking system, the default on state-guaranteed loans of local governments, state-owned enterprises and public-private partnerships cause contingent liabilities realization. Contingent liabilities realization can create huge fiscal costs and can lead to fiscal crisis. In Turkey, crisis in the banking system and natural disasters led to significant contingent liabilities realizations. The increase in budget deficit and public debt stock have put fiscal sustainability at risk. The qualitative and quantitative definition of contingent liabilities, the inclusion of contingent liability analyzes in the budget process and other financial analyzes, making legal and administrative regulations to reduce financial risks, set out public finance management principles on the basis of transparency for spread of risks are required for consolidation of public finance and long term sustainability.

Keywords: Contingent liabilities, fiscal risks, fiscal costs, public finance management

1. Giriş

Devletin karşılaştığı mali riskler, bütçede ya da diğer mali analizlerde raporlanan risklerin çok ötesinde olabilir. Ekonomik büyüme hızındaki bir düşüş, doğal afetler, bankacılık sisteminde yaşanan bir kriz, yerel yönetimlerin ya da KİT'lerin borçlarını ödeyememesi gibi durumlar gerçekleştiğinde, bir anda önemli mali kaynaklara ihtiyaç duyulabilir. Yeterli mali alanın bulunmaması, kamu borçlarında ciddi artışlara sebep olabilir. Bu nedenle sadece bütçe açıkları ve kamu borç stokları analizleri gibi geleneksel mali sürdürülebilirlik analizleri, kamu maliyesinin karşılaşabileceği riskleri tam olarak göstermemektedir. Mali sürdürülebilirliğin tam olarak analiz edilebilmesi için

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bilinen tüm kamu varlık ve yükümlülüklerinin değerini, muhtemel ekonomik ve demografik gelişmeleri hesaba katmak gerekmektedir.

Devletin mali risk kaynakları, koşullu yükümlülükler ve makroekonomik riskler olarak iki ayrı boyutta ele alınabilir. Ekonomik büyüme hızındaki beklenmedik bir düşüş, kamu gelirlerindeki ani bir azalma, döviz kurunun aşırı değerlenmesi vb. riskler makroekonomik risklerdir. Özellikle döviz kurunun aşırı değerlenmesi bir yandan kamu borç stokunda artışa yol açarken diğer yandan bankacılık sektöründeki bir krize de yol açabilmektedir (Cebotari vd., 2009). Diğer mali risk kaynağı olan koşullu yükümlülükler ise gelecekte belirli olaylar gerçekleşmedikçe ortaya çıkmayan yükümlülüklerdir (IMF, 2013). Mali risk yaratan koşullu yükümlülükler, bankacılık sektörüne, kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerine (KIT), yerel yönetimlere ve kamu özel ortaklıklarına verilen garantilerden ve doğal afetlerden kaynaklanan yükümlülükler (Cebotari vd., 2009) olarak kategorize edilebilir. Bu tür yükümlülüklerin ortaya çıkması, kontrol edilemeyen içsel ve dışsal faktörlere dayandığı için değerinin doğru bir şekilde tahmin edilmesinde ve muhasebeleştirilmesinde güçlükler bulunmaktadır. Fakat koşullu yükümlülükler kamu maliyesi için büyük bir risk oluşturmakta, ortaya çıkması halinde mali krizlere yol açabilmektedir. Bu nedenle koşullu yükümlülüklerin niteliği, ortaya çıktığı takdirde yaratacağı mali etki, gerekli ödemelerin yapılabilmesi için ayrılan karşılıklar gibi konulara ilişkin mali analizlerin yapılması önem arz etmektedir. Bu bağlamda Dünya Bankası, IMF gibi uluslararası kuruluşlar, kamu maliyesi analizlerinde, varlık ve yükümlülük perspektifine göre yeni araçlar geliştirilmesi konusunda çalışmalar yapmaktadır. Kamu borçlarının öngörülebilirliği ve tahmin edilebilirliği, ülkelerin borçluluk seviyelerinin doğru şekilde tespiti için 2011 yılında IMF önderliğinde, 9 farklı uluslararası organizasyonun[1] işbirliği ile "Kamu Sektörü Borç İstatistikleri Kullanıcı ve Derleyicileri için Kılavuz" hazırlanmıştır (IMF, 2013). Söz konusu kılavuz, borç istatistiklerinin kalitesini ve güncelliğini iyileştirmek ve kayıt uygulamalarının bütünlüğünü teşvik etmek için ülkelere tavsiyeler sunmaktadır. Koşullu yükümlülüklerin potansiyel etkilerinin analiz edilebilmesi için ilgili bilgilerin ek bilgi tablolarında sunulmak üzere derlenmesini önermektedir. Türkiye'de de Kamu Net Borcu istatistiklerinde, kısmen Kılavuz ile uyumlu şekilde koşullu yükümlülüklerin kaydı yapılmaktadır (Vayvada Derya, 2015). Bununla birlikte Türkiye dahil birçok ülkede tüm koşullu yükümlülüklere ilişkin analizler yapılmamakta, sadece bazı açık yükümlülüklere ilişkin bilgiler ilgili analizlerde yer almaktadır. Örtük yükümlülükler ise büyük oranda ihmal edilmektedir. 1990'larda Asya'daki finansal kriz, 2000'lerde küresel finansal kriz, doğal afet hasarlarının tazmini gibi finansal ve finansal olmayan birçok alanda açık koşullu yükümlülüklerin yanı sıra örtülü koşullu yükümlülüklerin gerçekleşmesi kamu borç stokunda önemli artışlara yol açmıştır. Türkiye'de de bankacılık krizleri ve doğal afetler, kamu kesiminin açık ve örtük bazı yükümlülüklerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada mali risk yaratan koşullu yükümlülükler, bu yükümlülüklerin mali hesaplara dahil edilebilmesi ve risklerin azaltılması imkanları değerlendirilmekte ve Türkiye'de gerçekleşen önemli koşullu yükümlülüklerin mali maliyeti örneklendirilmektedir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde koşullu yükümlülüklerin kamu maliyesi üzerinde ne tür riskler yarattığı ele alınmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümde Türkiye'de bankacılık sektöründen ve doğal afetlerden kaynaklanan koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerinin mali maliyetleri gösterilmektedir. Türkiye'de KİT'lerin ve yerel yönetimlerin borçlarına ve KÖİ'lere verilen garantiler de koşullu yükümlülük kapsamındadır. Ancak 1982-1984, 1994 ve 2001 yıllarında bankacılık sektöründe yaşanan krizler ve 1999 yılında yaşanan Marmara Depremi, 2011 yılında yaşanan Van Depremi kamu kesimine önemli maliyet yükleyen koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmeleridir. Bu nedenle sadece bu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerinin mali maliyeti gösterilmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde koşullu

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[1] Bank for International Settlements, Commonwealth Secretariat, Eurostat, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Clup de Paris,United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, World Bank.

yükümlülük risklerinin mali analizlere dahil edilmesi imkanları ve riskin azaltılması için geliştirilebilecek kamusal politikalar değerlendirilmiştir.

2. Koşullu Yükümlülükler ve Mali Riskler

Koşullu yükümlülükler kendi içerisinde açık ve örtük koşullu yükümlülükler olarak iki ayrı kategoride değerlendirilebilir. Açık yükümlülükler yasalar ya da sözleşmeler ile belirlenir. Örtük yükümlülükler ise yasalara ya da sözleşmelere dayanmayan ancak kamuoyunun beklentileri ve politik baskılar nedeniyle devletin üstlenmek zorunda olduğu yükümlülüklerdir. Yerel yönetimlerin, kamu kuruluşlarının ya da özel sektörün yaptığı borçlanmalara verilen devlet garantileri açık koşullu yükümlülükler kapsamındadır. Öğrencilere ya da küçük işletmelere verilen krediler, bireysel emeklilik, ticari banka mevduatları ya da afetleri kapsayan sigorta programlarına verilen garantiler de açık yükümlülükler kapsamındadır. Kamu ya da özel sektör kuruluşlarının devlet garantisi kapsamında olmayan borçları, garanti kapsamına alınmayan emeklilik, sosyal güvenlik, istihdam fonları, afet yardımları, çevresel zararlar ise örtük koşullu yükümlülükler arasında sayılabilir (Bova vd., 2016).

Tablo 1: Devletin Koşullu Yükümlülükleri

Yükümlülükler	Koşullu Yükümlülükler
Açık (Yasalardan ya da sözleşmelerden kaynaklanan yükümlülükler)	• Devlet borcu dışında, alt hükümetlerin (ve yerel yönetimleri) ve kamu ve özel sektör girişimlerinin borçlanmalara verilen garantiler • Çeşitli borç türleri için verilen koruyucu devlet garantileri (mortgage, öğrenci kredileri, tarım kredileri, küçük işletme kredileri) • Devlet tarafından verilen ticaret ve döviz kuru garantileri • Özel yatırımlarda devlet garantisi • Devlet sigorta programları (mevduat sigortası, bireysel emeklilik fonlarından gelir, ürün sigortası, taşkın sigortası, savaş riski sigortası)
Örtük (Kamuoyunun ve çıkar gruplarının baskısı nedeniyle devletin üstlenmek durumunda olduğu ahlaki yükümlülükler)	• Borçlarını ödeyemeyen alt hükümetin (ve yerel yönetimlerin) ya da kamu/özel girişimlerin garanti kapsamında olmayan borçları • Bankacılık başarısızlıkları (varsa devlet sigortasının dışındaki destekler) • Özelleştirilen kuruluşların borçlarının temizlenmesi. • Garantisiz bir emeklilik fonu, istihdam fonu veya sosyal güvenlik fonu başarısızlığı (küçük yatırımcıların korunması) • Olası negatif net servet ve/veya merkez bankasının yükümlülüklerinde temerrüde düşmesi (döviz sözleşmeleri, döviz kurunu koruma, ödemeler dengesi) • Diğer kurtarma çağrıları (örneğin, özel sermaye akışlarındaki bir geri dönüş) • Çevre kurtarma, afet yardımı, askeri finansman

Kaynak: *Polackova Brixi, H. & Mody, A. 2002). Dealing with Government Fiscal Risk: An Overview. In Polackova Brixi, H. & Schick, A. (Eds.). Government at Risk: Contingent Liabilities and Fiscal Risk. The Word Bank, Oxford University Press (A Copublication), p. 23.*

Yukarıdaki tabloda sıralanan tüm koşullu yükümlülükler devlet açısından mali bir risk yaratmamaktadır. Cebotari vd. (2009), bankacılık sektörüne, kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerine (KIT), yerel yönetimlere ve kamu özel ortaklıklarına verilen garantiler ve doğal afetleri mali risk yaratan koşullu yükümlülükler olarak kategorize etmektedir. Bu tür

koşullu yükümlülükler, sistemik etkide bulunabilmesi ve/veya aynı anda ortaya çıkabilmesi nedeniyle devlete önemli mali yükler getirerek mali krizlere yol açabilmektedir.

2.1. Bankacılık Sektörüne Verilen Garantiler

Bankalara ilişkin koşullu yükümlülükler arasında, hem mevduat sigortası programları gibi açık garantiler hem de bankacılık krizi sırasında sağlanabilecek banka borçları garantileri gibi örtülü garantiler bulunmaktadır. Bankacılık krizlerinin reel ekonomi üzerindeki yaygın olumsuz etkileri, kamu kesiminin bu sektöre açık ve örtülü garanti sunmasının temel gerekçesidir.

Devlet garantilerinin kamu maliyesine hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı maliyetleri vardır. Bir bankacılık krizi sırasında, merkez bankalarının bankalara likidite desteği sağlanması, bankaların yeniden sermayelendirilmesi, daha önceden açık yükümlülük olarak tanımlanmış mevduat sahiplerinin zararlarının tazmin edilmesi şeklinde yapılan kamu müdahaleleri doğrudan maliyetleri oluşturmaktadır. Daha önce likidite desteği sağlanmasından kaynaklanan zararlar için merkez bankasının yeniden sermayelendirilmesi de doğrudan maliyetler kapsamındadır. Dolaylı maliyetler, faiz oranlarının reel ekonomiye olumsuz etkilerinden kaynaklanır. Bankacılık krizi risk primini yükseltir ve faiz oranlarını artırır. Tüketim ve yatırım harcamalarının azalması toplam talebi düşürür ve GSYİH büyümesi olumsuz etkilenir. Bu etki, kamu gelirlerinde azalmaya yol açar ve kamu harcamaları üzerinde baskı oluşturur. Risk primindeki artış, likidite kısıtı ve olası döviz kuru değişiklikleri, faiz harcamalarının artmasına yol açar. Doğrudan ve dolaylı maliyetler brüt kamu borç oranlarında artışla sonuçlanır (Amaglobeli vd., 2015).

2.2. Doğal Afetler

Doğal afetler önemli insani ve ekonomik kayıplara yol açabilmektedir. Afet sonrası ekonomik zararların tazmini görevinin devletin örtük yükümlülüğü altında olduğu düşünülmektedir. Devlet hem ekonomik nedenlerle dolaylı maliyetlere katlanmakta, hem de politik gerekçelerden dolayı afet zararlarının tazmin edilmesi için önemli doğrudan maliyetleri üstlenmektedir. Deprem, sel, fırtına vb. doğal bir afet meydana geldiği zaman, kamu kesimi, çadır kentler kurmak, yıkılan binaların yenisini yapmak, çöken altyapıyı onarmak, eğitim ve sağlık tesisleri kurmak, kamu bankalarının görev zararlarını tazmin etmek, sosyal güvenlik fonları aracılığıyla afetzedelere yardım götürmek, kira yardımı yapmak gibi doğrudan mali maliyetler üstlenmektedir. Afet bölgesindeki üretim kayıpları nedeniyle vergi gelirlerinin azalması, vergi mükelleflerinin vergi borçlarının ertelenmesi veya silinmesi, sosyal güvenlik prim borçlarının ertelenmesi gibi dolaylı maliyetler de ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bazı ülkelerde afetlere karşı bütçeden ayrılan bir tahsisat ile afet fonları oluşturulmaktadır. Ancak bu fonlar sadece acil harcamaları karşılayabilmektedir. Belirli bir bölgeyi etkileyen ve şiddetli olmayan bir doğal afet, bütçeden yapılacak harcamaların artmasına bütçe açıklarının beklenenden fazla olmasına yol açacaktır. Ancak büyük bir afet mali sürdürülebilirlik için önemli riskler barındırmaktadır. Afetin şiddeti ve etkilediği alanın büyüklüğü arttıkça kapsamlı politik eylemler yürütmek gerekmekte ve ortaya çıkan mali sorunlar kamu maliyesi üzerinde kalıcı etkilerde bulunabilmektedir.

2.3. Alt Hükümetlerin/Yerel Yönetimlerin, KİT'lerin ve KÖİ'lerin Borçlarına Verilen Garantiler

Üniter yapılı ülkelerde yerel yönetimlerin borçlanmasına izin verildiği durumlarda bu borçlar merkezi hükümetlerin koşullu yükümlülükleri kapsamındadır. Federatif yapılarda da, alt hükümetlerin vergi özerkliği olmadığında, federal devletin alt hükümetin borçları konusunda koşullu yükümlülükleri bulunmaktadır. Bu koşullu yükümlülükler

hem merkezi yönetimin hem de yerel yönetimlerin sorumsuz mali davranışları nedeniyle önemli mali riskler yaratabilmektedir. Merkezi yönetim, yerel yönetimlerin borçlanmalarına herhangi bir sınır getirmediğinde, yerel yönetimler ortak havuz probleminden dolayı dolayı aşırı borçlanabilmekte ve borçlarını ödeyemediğinde merkezi yönetimin koşullu yükümlülüklerinin gerçekleşmesine neden olmaktadır. Aynı şekilde merkezi yönetimler de borçlanmaya ilişkin bir sınırlama (mali kural) ile karşı karşıya olduğunda bu sınırlamaları belediye tahvilleri aracılığıyla aşabilmektedir. Bazı ülkelerde kamu borçlarına mali kurallar ile sınır getirilmektedir. Ancak bu ülkelerde yerel yönetimlerin borçları mali kural kapsamında olmadığı takdirde, merkezi hükümet belediye tahvillerini, genel yükümlülük kapsamındaki tahvillerin ikamesi olarak kullanabilmekte, borçlanmayı yerel yönetimlere devredebilmektedir (Kiewiet & Szalky, 1996; Bunch, 1991).

Kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerinin faaliyetlerinden doğan maliyetler genellikle vergi gelirleri ile karşılanır. Ancak bazı durumlarda hükümetler, KİT'leri sübvanse etmek yerine borçlanmasına izin vermektedir. Böylelikle bütçesini zorlamadan, KİT'ler aracılığıyla kamu hizmetleri sunabilmektedir. Böyle bir yaklaşım, bütçe açıklarını azaltmakla birlikte, KİT borçları temerrüde düştüğünde kamu borçlarında artışa yol açmaktadır. KİT borçlarına verilen garantiler, mali oportünizm nedeniyle finansal açıdan karlı olmayan yatırımların yapılabilmesine neden olabilmektedir. Alternatif yatırımlar arasındaki seçim politik süreçte belirlenmekte ve aşırı risk alınabilmektedir. Borçlara verilen devlet garantileri, riskin kamuya transfer edilmesine neden olmaktadır (Easterly & Servén, 2003).

Hükümetler, yatırımcıları çekmek için kamu özel ortaklıkları kapsamında yapılacak yatırımlara çeşitli garantiler sunmaktadır. Özellikle altyapı yatırımları için bu tür bir garantinin sunulması uygun olabilmektedir. Çünkü bu tür yatırımlar önemli batık maliyetleri içermektedir. Ancak KÖİ'ler potansiyel verimlilik artışını sağlayabilmekle birlikte, hükümetler tarafından borç kısıtlamalarını aşmak için kullanılabilmektedirler. Bu garantiler yerel yönetimlerde ve KİT'lerde olduğu gibi başlangıçta bütçede gider olarak görünmemekte ve kamu borç stokunda bir artışa yol açmamaktadır. Ancak gerçekleşmesi halinde mali yük oluşturmaktadır. Bu yük sonraki hükümetlere devredilebilmektedir. Bu nedenle mevcut hükümetlerin, kamu hizmetlerini KÖİ kapsamındaki yatırımlar ile sağlama yönünde politik motivasyonları bulunabilmektedir. Boordman & Hellowel (2016), büyük bankalar, inşaat firmaları vb. kamu hizmeti sunan firmaların lobi gücü olması ve siyasal partilere destek vermesi nedeniyle, yatırımcıların çıkarlarını destekleyen garantili KÖİ'lere yönelik bir politik yanlılığın da olabileceğini söylemektedirler. Siyasal karar alma sürecinde KÖİ'lere doğru böyle bir yanlılık, maliyet etkin yatırımların yapılamamasına neden olabilmektedir. Örneğin maliyeti kamu borçlanması aracılığıyla karşılanacak olan çok daha maliyet etkin bir projenin yerine KÖİ projesi tercih edilebilmektedir.

3. Türkiye'de Önemli Mali Yüke Neden Olan Koşullu Yükümlülük Gerçekleşmeleri

Bu bölümde Türkiye'de bankacılık sektöründen ve doğal afetlerden kaynaklanan koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerinin mali maliyetleri gösterilmektedir. 1982-1984, 1994 ve 2001 yıllarında bankacılık sektöründe yaşanan krizler ve 1999 yılında yaşanan Marmara Depremi, 2011 yılında yaşanan Van Depremi kamu kesimine önemli maliyet yükleyen koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmeleridir. Bu nedenle sadece bu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerinin mali maliyeti gösterilmiştir.

3.1. Bankacılık Sektöründen Kaynaklanan Koşullu Yükümlülük Gerçekleşmeleri

Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası liberalizasyon programı finansal kesimdeki reformların belirleyicisi olmuştur. Faiz oranları üzerindeki sınırlamaların kaldırılması ve serbest piyasalara daha fazla rol verilmesi aracılığıyla finansal derinliğin

sağlanması ve yatırımlar için kaynak yaratılması hedeflenmiştir. Ancak bu serbesti faiz yarışına neden olmuş ve 1982 yılında finans sektöründe krize yol açmıştır. Zor duruma düşen birçok bankaya Destekleme ve Fiyat İstikrar Fonu'ndan ve Merkez Bankası kaynaklarından kredi verilmiştir. İflas eden finans kuruluşlarının yükleri de kamu bankalarına devredilmiştir (Köne, 2003). Türkiye'de 1982-1984 dönemindeki bankacılık krizinin mali maliyeti GSYİH'nın %2,5'i kadardır. Kamu borçlarında %12,3'lük bir artışa yol açmıştır (Laeven & Valencia, 2012).

1994 yılındaki bankacılık krizi sonrasında yeniden yapılandırma dönemi boyunca doğrudan ve dolaylı (yarı mali[2]) mali maliyeti GSYİH'nın %1,1'i kadardır (Hoggart vd., 2002).

1998-2001 yılları arasında birçok banka TMSF'ye devredilmiştir. 2001 krizinden sonra BDDK'nın TMSF'deki bankalara 18,006 trilyon TL kaynak aktarmıştır (Çolak, 2001). 2001 krizinden sonra bankaların finansal yeniden yapılandırması için özel tertip tahvil verilmek suretiyle 23 katrilyon lira harcanmıştır. Kamu bankalarının sermayelerinin güçlendirilmesi amacıyla Hazineden 3 katrilyon TL ve 1,7 katrilyon özel tertip tahvil ihracıyla 4,7 katrilyon kaynak aktarılmıştır. 1997-2002 döneminde TMSF kapsamındaki bankaların mali yapılarının güçlendirilmesi, yeniden yapılandırılması için Hazine 16,9 milyar dolar değerinde özel tertip tahvil ihraç etmiş, TMSF'nen 2,2 miyar dolar aktarılmıştır. Kamu ve TMSF'ye alınan özel bankaların zararları ve yeniden yapılandırılmaları için Hazineden yaklaşık 38 milyar dolar kaynak aktarılmıştır. Bu tutar kriz öncesi GSMH'nin %19'u kadardır (Yay vd., 2004). 2000 yılındaki bankacılık krizinin mali maliyeti GSYİH'nın %32'si kadardır. GSYİH'nın %15,3'ü kadar kamu borçlarında artışa neden olmuştur (Laeven & Valencia, 2012).

3.2. Doğal Afetlerden Kaynaklanan Koşullu Yükümlülük Gerçekleşmeleri

Türkiye, tektonik oluşumu, jeolojik yapısı, topografyası ve meteorolojik özellikleri gibi nedenlerle, her zaman doğal afet tehlikelerine sahip olan bir ülkedir. Depremler, heyelanlar, su baskınları, erozyon, kaya ve çığ düşmeleri ve kuraklık başlıca doğal afetlerdir (Ergünay, 2007). Özellikle depremler önemli can ve mal kayıplarına yol açmaktadır. Aşağıdaki tabloda Türkiye'de 1990 yılından bu yana meydana gelen ve önemli ölçüde can ve mal kayıplarına yol açan depremlerin yıkıcı sonuçları ile ilgili bilgiler yer almaktadır.

Tablo 2: Türkiye'de Depremlerin Yol Açtığı İnsani ve Ekonomik Kayıplar

Deprem	Tarih	Can Kaybı	Ekonomik Kayıp (Milyon $)
Erzincan	1992	633	750
Dinar	1995	94	100
Çorum Amasya	1996	0	30
Ceyhan	1998	145	500
İzmit Körfezi (Marmara)	1999	17480	13000
Düzce	1999	763	750
Sultandağı	2002	42	96
Bingöl	2003	177	135
Elazığ	2011	51	-
Simav	2011	3	244
Van	2011	644	1500

Kaynak: *Doğal Afet Sigortaları Kurumu (2012). Faaliyet Raporu*

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2   Yarı mali maliyetler doğrudan bütçeye yansımayan ancak kamu maliyesinde ve ekonomiye dolaylı ve gecikmeli olarak yansıyan maliyetlerdir. Örneğin nakit dışı kağıt ihracı yoluyla bankalara yapılan sermaye desteklerinin faiz ve enflasyon maliyetleri.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

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1999 ve 2011 yılında önemli can ve mal kayıplarına yol açan iki deprem önemli ekonomik kayıpların yanı sıra kamu kesimine önemli mali maliyetler doğurmuştur. 1999 yılında yaşanan deprem sonrasında barınma (çadırkent, prefabrik konut, kalıcı konut), eğitim (okulların onarımı, yeni okul ve derslik yapımı), sağlık tesisleri (prefabrike ve kalıcı hastane yapımı), vergi ve prim kolaylıkları (hasara uğrayan taşıtların yenilerinin alınmasında taşıt alım vergilerinin alınmaması, kredi ve hibelerin vergi istisnası kapsamına alınması, SSK , Bağ-Kur prim borçlarının ertelenmesi), krediler (depremzedelerin bankalardan kullandıkları kredilerin ertelenmesi, çiftçilere ve işletmelere yeni kredi açılması), sosyal yardımlar (Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Fonu'ndan barınma, onarım, işyeri, sakatlık ölüm yardımları ve acil yardımlar sağlanması) olmak üzere toplamda deprem bölgesine yönelik 2 katrilyon 211,5 trilyon harcama yapılmıştır (DSP Grup Başkanlığı, 2001).

2011 Van Depremi sonrasında, deprem bölgesindeki ihtiyaçların karşılanması için AFAD ve Başbakanlık kaynaklarından 512 milyon TL acil yardım ödeneği gönderilmiştir. İnsani yardım hesaplarından yapılan harcamalar, diğer Bakanlık, Kamu Kurum ve Kuruluşları Harcamaları, Kızılay, diğer STK'lar, özel sektör harcamaları, uluslararası yardımların maliyeti ve kalıcı konutlar için TOKİ'ye ayrılan tutarla birlikte toplam maliyet 4.8 milyar TL'yi bulmuştur. Tamamlanacak olan ilave konutlar ile gerçekleştirilecek proje ve yatırımların maliyetleri hesaplandığında toplam tutarın 5,5 milyar TL'ye ulaşması tahmin edilmektedir (https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2388/Odenekler-Harcamalar-Kampanyalar). Yurtdışından gelen malzemelerin tutarı, insani yardım hesaplarından yapılan harcamalar, STK'lar, özel sektör ve Kızılay'ın yaptığı harcamaların toplam tutarı 463.611.913 TL'dir. Dolayısıyla kamu kaynakları ile karşılanan (karşılanacak) 5 milyar liralık bir maliyet söz konusudur.

4. Koşullu Yükümlülük Risklerinin Azaltılması İçin Kamusal Politikalar

Mali risklerin yönetimi için sağlam bir kamu mali yönetimine ihtiyaç vardır. Mali riskleri azaltacak yasal ve idari düzenlemelerin yapılması, fonların oluşturulması, devlet taahhütlerinde tüm paydaşların rollerinin ve sorumluluklarının belirlenmesi, mali risk yönetiminin bütçe sürecine ve diğer mali analizlere entegre edilmesi (Cebotari vd., 2009) vb. teknik, hukuki ve politik birçok husus mali risk yönetiminin başarısını etkileyecektir. Koşullu yükümlülüklerin yönetimi, yükümlülük ortaya çıkmadan öncesi ve yükümlülük gerçekleştikten sonrası için plan yapılmasını gerektirmektedir. Risklerin maliyet etkin şekilde azaltılması, tüm risklerin üstlenilmemesi önceden alınacak önlemleri içermektedir. Risklerin tamamının ortadan kaldırılması mümkün olmadığı için, sonrasında, risklerin paylaşımına ilişkin plan yapmak da gerekmektedir.

4.1. Mali Risk Ortaya Çıkmadan Önce Riski Azaltacak Önlemler

Mali risklerin niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak tanımlanması, analiz edilmesi, bu analizlerin diğer mali analizlere entegre edilmesi ve bu bilgilerin kamuoyuna açıklanması, şeffaflığı artırarak, ekonomik verimliliğin artırılmasına ve borçlanma maliyetlerinin azaltılmasına yardımcı olabilmektedir (Cebotari vd., 2009). Mali şeffaflık finansal piyasaların ülkenin gerçek mali durumunu değerlendirmesini kolaylaştırarak, kredi notunun artmasını sağlayabilmekte ve uzun vadede devlet borçlanma maliyetlerini azaltabilmektedir. Bireylerin ve iş çevrelerinin optimal tüketim ve yatırım kararları almalarını sağlayarak ekonomik etkinliği artırabilmektedir.

Bununla birlikte bazı örtük yükümlülükleri kamu mali hesaplarına dahil etmek hem teknik sebeplerden ötürü hem de ahlaki tehlikeden dolayı mümkün değildir. Örneğin doğal afetlerin gerçekleşmesi halinde ortaya çıkabilecek zararlar tam olarak hesaplanamamaktadır. Ancak afetin gerçekleşme olasılığı ve ortaya çıkabilecek zararlara ilişkin

rakamlar kamu mali hesaplarına nazım kayıt olarak düşülebilir. Bu kayıtlar mali durumun sürdürülebilirliğini değerlendirmek için kullanışlı olabilir (Freeman vd., 2003). Ancak bu durum ahlaki tehlike problemini beraberinde getirebilmektedir. Örneğin doğal bir afet durumunda merkezi hükümetin afet yardımı yapacağını bilen yerel yönetimler ve/veya hanehalkları afet öncesi koruma önlemlerini almayarak (Kunreuther vd., 2013; Raschky & Weck-Hannemann, 2007) afetin yol açacağı mali risklerin artmasına neden olabilmektedirler. Bankacılık sisteminde tüm mevduatların devlet garantisi altında olduğu algısının yaratılması hem mudiler hem de finansal kuruluşların rasyonel olmayan kararlar almasına yol açabilmektedir. Bu durum hem devletin mali risklerini artırmakta hem de risklerin doğru bir şekilde maliyetlendirilmemesi nedeniyle bankacılık sektörünün sağlıksız gelişmesine neden olabilmektedir. Ahlaki tehlike problemine karşı izlenecek en etkili yol, koşullu yükümlülüklere ilişkin düzenleyici ve denetleyici kurumlara ilişkin çerçevenin iyileştirilmesidir.

Bankacılık sistemine, doğal afetlere vb. risklere yönelik regülasyonların yapılması riskleri azaltacaktır. Tahakkuk esasına göre muhasebe standartlarının kabul edilmesi, varlık ve yükümlülük çerçevesinde bir muhasebe sisteminin oluşturulması, kamu maliyesinin durumunu netleştirecektir. Yerel yönetimlerin, kamu kuruluşlarının, merkezi yönetim içinde bakanlıkların ve özel sektörün koordineli çalışması, yetki ve sorumluluklarının belirlenmesi hesap verebilirliği artıracaktır. Koşullu yükümlülüklerin tek bir merkezden yönetilmesi açıklığı artıracaktır (Cebotari vd., 2009).

Düzenleyici ve denetleyici kurumlara ilişkin çerçevenin iyileştirilmesi, bankacılık sisteminin kırılganlını azaltarak bir bankacılık krizi çıkma olasılığını ve krizin boyutunu azaltmaktadır. Zayıf kurumlar ise kriz yönetimi politikalarının etkin olmamasına neden olabilmekte ve krizin büyüklüğünü ve mali maliyetlerini artırabilmektedir (Amaglobeli vd., 2015).

Bankacılık sektöründen kaynaklanan risklerin kamu mali hesaplarına dahil edilebilmesi için öncelikle niceliksel değerinin belirlenmesi gerekmektedir. Bunun için kullanılabilecek yöntemler şunlardır (IMF, 2014):

- Garantilerin itibari değeri (veya garanti kapsamındaki maksimum zarar), beklenen ve beklenmeyen maliyeti ve garantinin tahmini piyasa değeri ölçü olarak kullanılabilir.
- Finansal sektöre verilen örtük garantileri de içeren koşullu alacak analizi kullanılabilir.
- Kredi derecelendirme bilgileri ölçü olarak kullanılabilir. Kredi derecelendirme kuruluşları, bankalara hem sıradan kredi notu verir hem de devlet desteklerini inceleyerek bağımsız bir derecelendirme yapar. İki derecelendirme arasındaki fark, devletin örtük garantilerine ilişkin tahmini bir bilgi sağlar.

Doğal afetlere karşı afet öncesi alınacak önlemler çoğunlukla regülasyon faaliyetlerinden oluşmaktadır. Merkezi hükümetler ve yerel yönetimler, doğal afet gerçekleşmeden önce, arazi kullanımının planlanması, bina standartlarının geliştirilmesi, taşkın risklerine karşı barajların oluşturulması, erozyona karşı ağaçlandırma faaliyetleri vb. düzenlemeleri hayata geçirerek, doğal afetlerin yol açtığı hasarı azaltmaya çalışabilirler.

Yerel yönetimler ve KİT'lerin garantili borçlarından doğan yükümlülüklerin azaltılması geniş kapsamlı yapısal reformları gerektirebilmektedir. Üniter yapılı ülkelerde ve vergi özerkliği olmayan federatif yapılı ülkelerde, yerel yönetimlerin ve alt hükümetlerin borçlanmaları çoğu zaman merkezi yönetim tarafından kısıtlanmaktadır. Bu durum garantili borç yükümlülüğünden kaynaklanan mali riskleri azaltabilmektedir. Bununla birlikte merkezi yönetim anayasal ya da yasal düzeyde bir borçlanma kısıtı (mali kural) ile karşı karşıya olduğunda bu sınırı aşmak için yerel yönetimleri veya diğer kamu kuruluşlarını kullanmaya çalışabilmektedirler. Maliyet etkin olmayan kamu

projelerini hayata geçirebilmek için yerel yönetimleri veya KİT'leri kullanmak isteyen politikacıların mali açıdan sorumsuz kararlarını engelleyebilmenin yolu mali şeffaflıktan geçmektedir. Literatürde mali şeffaflığı artırmak için, varlık ve yükümlülük çerçevesinde bir muhasebe sisteminin oluşturulması, koşullu yükümlülük analizlerinin diğer mali analizlere entegre edilmesi gibi teknik düzenlemelere ilişkin önerilerin yanı sıra politikacıların hesap verebilirlik temelinde mali karar almalarını sağlamak için mali sorumluluk yasaları, mali konsey önerileri de bulunmaktadır. Mali konseyler, mali durumu değerlendiren bağımsız bir gözlem mekanizması görevi üstlenerek, mali şeffaflığı artırabilmektedir.

KÖİ'lerden kaynaklanan mali riskleri yönetmek için fayda ve potansiyel mali riskleri içerecek şekilde düzenleyici bir çerçeve oluşturulması gerekmektedir. Bu çerçeve dört unsurdan oluşmaktadır. Bunlar (Jin &Rial, 2016):

- İyi proje seçimi: Projeler, fayda maliyet analizi temelinde seçilmelidir. Yatırım projeleri, orta vadeli mali planlara ve kamu yatırım planlarına dahil edilmelidir. Maliye bakanlığı borçların sürdürülebilirliğini tehlikeye atacak olan projeleri reddedebilmelidir.
- İyi kurumsal çerçeve: Projenin mali karşılanabilirlini incelemek için Maliye Bakanlığı içinde KÖİ birimi oluşturulmalıdır.
- İyi yasalar: Bir KÖİ yasası oluşturulmalı ya da mevcut mevzuat KÖİ'leri kapsayacak şekilde iyileştirilmelidir.
- İyi muhasebe ve raporlama: KÖİ'ler, bütçe belgeleri, mali tablolar ve kamu sektörü istatistiklerinde kaydedilmeli ve raporlanmalıdır.

4.2. Mali Risk Ortaya Çıktıktan Sonra Alınacak Önlemler

Koşullu yükümlülüklerden kaynaklanan risklerin tamamen ortadan kaldırılması mümkün olmamaktadır. Koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleştikten sonra bunların kamu maliyesinde bir krize yol açmaması için alınabilecek iki tür önlem söz konusudur. Bunlar, doğabilecek maliyetler için mali alanın oluşturulması ve riski yayacak düzenlemelerin yapılmasıdır.

Koşullu yükümlülüklerin gerçekleşmesi olasılığına karşılık bütçeden her yıl bir pay ayrılarak fonların oluşturulması acil harcamalar için mali alan yaratacaktır. Ancak koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleştiğinde ortaya çıkan mali sorun kalıcı olduğunda bu fonlar yeterli olmayacaktır. Maliyetleri ilgili tüm taraflara yayacak sigortacılık sistemi, kamu kesiminin üzerindeki riskleri azaltacaktır.

Bankacılık sektöründe mevduat sigortası programları hem kriz olasılığını azaltmakta (Amaglobeli vd., 2015) hem de riski yaymaktadır. Doğal afetlere karşı yaptırılacak sigortalar da riskin potansiyel risk altındaki kişilere yayılmasını sağlamaktadır. Ancak sigortacılık piyasasında hem piyasa başarısızlıkları hem de davranışsal başarısızlıklar nedeniyle optimal sigorta kapsamına ulaşılamamaktadır. Zorunlu sigorta, prim sübvansiyonu, kamu sigorta programları, kamu-özel işbirliği uygulamaları gibi kamusal müdahaleler ile bu başarısızlıklar çözülebilmektedir.

5. Sonuç

Bankacılık sektörüne, kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerine (KIT), yerel yönetimlere, kamu özel ortaklıklarına verilen açık ve örtük devlet garantileri ve doğal afetler mali risk yaratan koşullu yükümlülüklerdir. Bir bankacılık krizi sırasında, devlet, bankalara likidite desteği sağlayarak, bankaları yeniden sermayelendirerek ve/veya mudilerin

zararlarını tazmin ederek mali maliyetler üstlenebilmektedir. Bankacılık krizi, reel ekonomi üzerindeki olumsuz etkisi nedeniyle büyüme hızını da olumsuz etkilemektedir. Bir yandan koşullu yükümlülük gerçekleşmelerinin yol açtığı harcama baskısı artmakta diğer yandan kamu gelirleri azalmaktadır. Bankacılık krizi devlete doğrudan ve dolaylı maliyetler yükleyerek mali bir krizle sonuçlanabilmektedir. Merkezi yönetim ekonomik, mali ve politik gerekçeler ile yerel yönetimlerin, KİT'lerin ve KÖİ'lerin borçlarına garanti verebilmektedir. Bu garantiler politik gerekçeler ile verildiğinde hem maliyet etkin olmayan kamu projelerinin hayata geçirilmesine neden olmakta hem de borçlar temerrüde düştüğünde bir anda kamu borç stokunda artışa yol açabilmektedir. Doğal afetlerin neden olduğu ekonomik zararların tazmini büyük ölçüde örtük devlet yükümlülükleri kapsamındadır. Hem vatandaşlar hem de merkezi ve yerel yönetimler yeterince afet öncesi koruma önlemi almayarak, afet sonrası hasarların ekonomik maliyetinin artmasına yol açmaktadır. Afetin etkilediği bölge büyüdükçe ve şiddeti arttıkça zararların devlet tarafından tazmin edilmesi için politik baskı artmaktadır. Ancak mevcut mali kaynaklar yeterli gelmemektedir. Koşullu yükümlülüklerin kapsamının ve olası maliyetlerinin bütçede, kamu borç yönetimi raporunda ya da diğer mali analizlerde yer almaması kamu maliyesine ilişkin risk ve belirsizlikleri artırmaktadır. Mali risklerin doğru bir şekilde yönetilmesi ve kamu maliyesinin sağlamlaştırılması için koşullu yükümlülüklerin neden olabileceği ekonomik ve mali etkilerin dikkate alınması gerekmektedir. Koşullu yükümlülüklerin nitelik ve niceliğinin tanımlanması, mali alan oluşturulması, tüm paydaşların yetki ve sorumluluklarının belirlenmesi, riskleri azaltacak ve yayacak regülasyonların yapılması mali risk yönetiminin başarısını etkileyecektir.

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UNIVERSAL BASIC INCOME IN THE COMING FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ERA: EVALUATION OF SOME PRELIMINARY EXPERIMENTS

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Abstract

We are living in a World with a huge inequality and rising unemployment. While the growing inequality is apparently related to "the winner takes all" motto of neoliberal globalization, rising unemployment seems the natural result of the 4th Industrial Revolution (4th IR), which leads to the replacement of human labour with robots and deep neural networks. If the benefits shared fairly, be able to work less should be a good thing. If not, however, we can not think of a sustainable future. A sustainable future requires at least guaranteeing everyone a universal basic income (UBI). Although giving money to everyone for doing nothing sounds both expensive and to encourage people to be lazy, as this paper will provide evidence from some UBI experiments have been done in several countries, the exact opposite seems true on both accounts. This paper will evaluate the experiments carried out in Alaska (the US), Manitoba (Canada), and India.

Keywords: Universal basic income, negative income tax, the fourth industrial revolution, unemployment, poverty alleviation, Alaska, Canada, India

1. Introduction

The welfare state has been under attack and greatly pared back in many countries since the 1970s. Undesirable facts are that while the following neoliberal globalization in the last four decades led to a dramatic increase in inequality, exponentially advancing technology like robots and deep neural networks started to replace human labour, creating structural unemployment (Akar & Erdogdu, forthcoming). The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4th IR) that we have started to experience is likely to reshape the current production form and socio-economic structure substantially. In this context, there is a comprehensive reform of the existing social systems under consideration, namely, a transition from means-tested social benefits to an unconditional basic income (UBI).

Basic income gives people a financial foundation in an uncertain future. According to the BIEN (2018: 1), "A basic income is a periodic cash payment unconditionally delivered to all on an individual basis, without means-test or work requirement." If technological unemployment happens on a mass scale, UBI should ensure decent living conditions for all members of society, because some of them lose their ability to secure themselves by participating in the labour market due to technological unemployment (Specianova, 2018: 13).

As indicated in the Annual Report 2016-2017 of Government of India, Ministry of Finance (7 April 2017), "Universal Basic Income is a radical and compelling paradigm shift in thinking about both social justice and a productive economy. It could be to the twenty-first century what civil and political rights were to the twentieth." While UBI thrives on the idea of social justice and agency to the poor, it is also argued to be facilitating administrative efficiency and overall development in the society.

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Although giving money to everyone for doing nothing sounds both expensive and to encourage people to be lazy, as this paper will provide evidence from UBI kind experiments carried out in three countries, the exact opposite seems true on both accounts. This paper will evaluate these experiments. The following part will briefly look at the origin and essence of the UBI idea. The third part will review the pilot UBI experiments in Alaska (the US), the fifth part mincome experiment in Manitoba (Canada), and the pilot UBI experiments in India. The sixth part will evaluate the findings of these two experiments. The last part concludes.

2. Universal Basic Income

The need to settle an income that provides stability and a standard of living has long been debated. Regardless of the name used, e.g. Basic Income, Minimum Income, Basic Income Guarantee, Universal Basic Income - the principles are based on the same idea that Montesquieu presented in 1778: "The state owes all its citizens a secure subsistence, suitable food and clothing, and a manner of life that is not contrary to good health" (Cercelaru, 2016: 118).

The idea of an unconditional basic income has three historical roots. This idea first appeared at the beginning of the 16th century. The idea of an unconditional one-time grant first appeared at the end of the 18th century. In the middle of the 19th century, the two joined together for the first time for an unconditional basic income. UBI would be an amount sufficient to secure basic needs as a permanent earnings floor no one could fall beneath and would replace many of today's temporary benefits, which are given only in case of emergency, and/or only to those who successfully pass the applied qualification tests.

UBI is defined as a universal, individually and unconditionally paid benefit that must be sufficient to allow a dignified human existence (BIEN, 2018). It represents a regular cash payment to every citizen. The payment is independent of the size of a person's income, his/her wealth or the size of his/her family, nor is it subject to unemployment or any other conditions. Every citizen should be entitled to the same amount of basic income. For children, UBI is considered at a lower rate than for adults. A "sufficiently large" UBI is often considered to be equivalent to the official poverty threshold, is 50-60% of the median income (Raventos, 2007).

In the second half of the 20th century, the growing interest in UBI in the United States (US), Canada, and Europe arose from the need to simplify the current welfare system, which had high administrative costs and was not transparent enough. The UBI in the form of a negative income tax was considered by prominent economists like Milton Friedman and James Tobin in the 1960s as a possibly more efficient instrument of social policy in the fight against poverty. By contrast, UBI critics expressed concerns particularly about the decline in labour supply caused by the introduction of such a scheme (Specianova, 2018: 13-14).

There is a fear that an insured income would lead people to drop work. As some of the UBI experiments below show however that there was no significant drop in the workforce due to these programs. One of the other concern against the distribution of UBI is a worry for conspicuous spending, especially for males of the household on drugs, gambling or alcohol. Available evidence says just the opposite.

The conception of UBI has gained popularity in recent years and is getting some traction in political discourse worldwide. On the left, it is regarded as a simple antidote to poverty. On the right, it is viewed as a means to demolish complex welfare bureaucracies while meeting some social transfer obligations without weakening work

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incentives significantly (Bardhan, 2017: 39). One thing going in favour of UBI is that it attracts the support of people from different parts of the political spectrum. Advocates of basic income practice include philosophers, economists, politicians, Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, trade union leaders, futurists and others.

3. UBI Experience in Alaska (US)
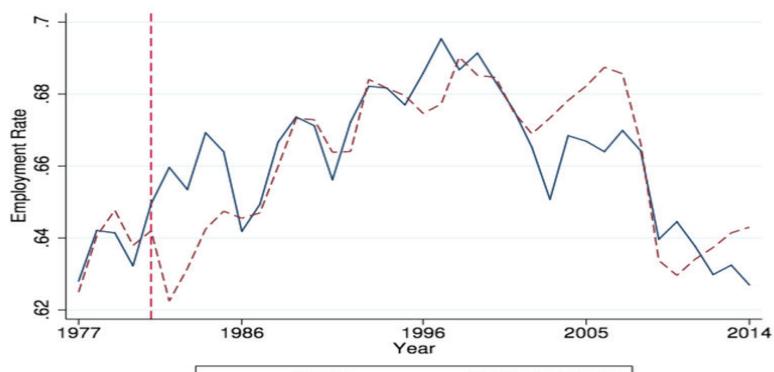
The introduction and development of the only genuine universal basic income system in existence to this day took place in Alaska (US). Alaska has a form of basic income called the Permanent Fund Dividend (PFD). PFD originated in the 1970s, with a sudden influx of money due to revenue from newly exploited Alaskan oil reserves.

Since the implementation of the program in 1982, everyone who has been officially resident in Alaska for at least six months – currently around 650,000 people – has received a uniform dividend every year, whatever their age and number of years of residence in the State. This dividend corresponds to part of the average interest earned, over the previous five years, on the permanent fund set up using the revenue from oil mining.

Initially, the dividend was only a few hundred dollars per person. It has since increased at an approximate rate of $500 per decade. Alaska's House of Representatives has passed a bill which sets the state's annual PFD at approximately $1,600 per person next year (Bott, 2018, April 7). PFD is not a living wage by any means, and it does not satisfy the basic requirement of UNI. Nevertheless, it is a truly universal cash transfer program (Matthews, 2018, February 13).

In an evidence review, Marinescu (2017: 4) synthesized the empirical results from Alaska and came to the conclusion that cash transfers did not lead to fewer working Alaskans. Much other research, confirms the same conclusion. Jones and Marinescu (2018), for example, employed a synthetic control[1] method to find out the employment effect of the negative income tax that applied in Alaska. Figure 1 shows employment effect of PFD.


Figure 1: Employment Rate, 1977-2014

(a) Employment Rate: Alaska vs. Synthetic Alaska

Source: *Jones and Marinescu (2018).*

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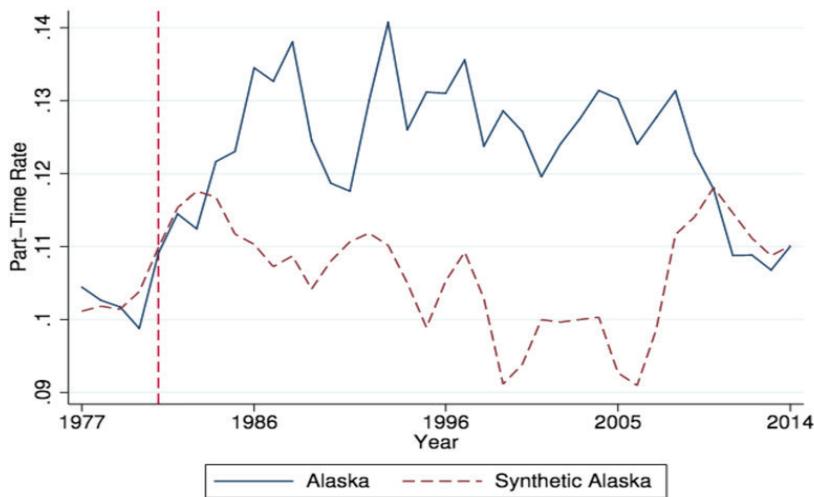
1 A statistical method used to evaluate the effect of an intervention in comparative case studies. It involves the construction of a weighted combination of groups used as controls, to which the treatment group is compared.

Some years Alaska has higher employment than its synthetic counterpart, other years it does not, but overall, they remain very close to each other. Therefore, the cash payments do not appear to have much effect. To test how robust their findings are, Jones and Marinescu (2018) also compared Alaska's employment rate to that of every single other state as well as DC, using every year of data they have, from 1977 to 2014 (1,836 comparisons). The average difference between Alaska and other states in all those comparisons is -0.0004, vanishingly close to zero.

Figure 2: Part-Time Rate, 1977-2014

Source: *Jones and Marinescu (2018).*

Jones and Marinescu (2018) find evidence that the checks, on the margins, reduced work hours. But they conclude that this was mostly offset by the increased spending the checks enabled, which in turn helped businesses hire more.

4. The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment (Mincome)

Manitoba, the Canadian province, became the location for one of the most well-known social experiment of the last century. In 1973, Manitoba and the federal government signed a cost-sharing agreement: 75 per cent of the $17-million budget would be paid for by the federals and the rest by the province (Lum 2017, March 1). Mincome[2] was a guaranteed annual income experiment comprised a randomized controlled trial in the city of Winnipeg and rural Manitoba. A so-called "saturation site" pilot project in the town of Dauphin was added in 1973. All town residents were eligible for payments in Dauphin (Calnitsky & Latner, 2017: 373).

The Winnipeg and rural Manitoba sites randomly allocated lower-income household to one of seven treatment groups and a control group. The families in the treatment groups received an income guarantee or minimum cash benefit according to the family size that was reduced by a specific amount (35, 50 or 75 cents) for every dollar they earned by working (Hum & Simpson, 1993).

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2   Mincome differs from BIEN's definition of basic income due to being means-tested and tapered off for higher income groups.

For five years, monthly cheques were delivered to the poorest residents of Dauphin, Manitoba – no strings attached. The program was dubbed "Mincome" – a neologism of "minimum income" – and it was the first of its kind in North America. It stood out from similar American projects at the time because it did not shut out seniors and the disabled from qualification. In five years, Mincome helped one thousand Dauphin families who fell below the poverty line earn a livable income (Lum 2017, March 1).

Mincome had two main objectives, the first explicit and the second, which evolved during the experiment. The first objective was to assess the economic and social consequences of an alternative social system based on the notion of negative income tax and, in particular, to examine the responses of households and individuals to income guaranteed annual. Over time, a second objective, not explicitly stated in the design documents, has been developed to understand the administrative and logistical challenges of implementing such a system among the population (Simpson *et al.*, 2017: 86).

When the conservative government took power in 1977 - and federally in 1979 - it had no interest in putting the project into wider use. The researchers were asked to package and store the project's records in 1,800 boxes. The plethora of files could never be incorporated into any kind of statistical analysis and a final report was never published. It was only after more than 30 years that Dr Evelyn Forget, a researcher at the University of Manitoba, in 2005 to search for the mincome data. After an exhausting search, she found the records in the Provincial Archives in Winnipeg (Lum 2017, March 1).

In 2011, Forget released a paper distilling how Mincome affected people's health using census data. She found overall hospitalization rates (for accidents, injuries, and mental health diagnoses) dropped in the group who received basic income supplements (Lum, 2017, March 1). Forget reported that mainly new mothers and teenagers worked less or quit their jobs during the experiment. New mothers stayed home to take care of their babies, and teenagers worked less so they could stay in school, rather than help support their families. As a result, high school graduation rates improved during the test (Longley, 2017).

A recent study by Simpson *et al.* (2017: 86) highlights that "all the income maintenance experiments showed that a certain number of participants reduced their labour supply in the short run. Leading with this result may have overshadowed other outcomes and also overstated the longer term labour supply adjustment."

5. Some UBI Experiences in India

Practical experiments with UBI in India as a way to alleviate poverty dates back to the 18th century from which it gained momentum due to the increasing risks of social exclusion, economic downturns, and growing inequality (Sarfati, 2018, April 15). UBI was an idea in India that has been discussed for decades in both the public and private spheres. Since 2016 there has been significant discussion and debate surrounding the idea of implementing a UBI in India. The current discussion of UBI in India began due to concerns about technologically driven unemployment and poor results of current welfare programs.

Supporters believe this large-scale welfare program could be revolutionary and could provide a poverty alleviation blueprint for other developing countries. However, critics are wary of establishing such a wide-scale program because it might undermine the fragile social security architecture, cause already employed workers to drop out of labour

force and encourage idleness, and also encourage wasteful spending (Khosla, 2018, February 14). However, recent trials indicate that the majority spend their UBI on essentials, as intended (Jones, 2018, January 31).

From June 2011 to November 2012, the Independent Women's Association (SEWA) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) launched two pilot programs to study the impact of unconditional monthly transfers through a modified and controlled study. The pilot program was remarkable in three ways. First, it was universal, which means that every single test object, regardless of gender, ethnicity or wealth, has received a money transfer. Secondly, these grants were granted beyond the existing welfare program, ie they were not a substitute for payments that had already been received. Third, these two pilot programs were the youngest of the eight UBI pilots worldwide. In addition, these pilot programs were one of the first in Asia and the second experiment in developing countries (Khosla, 2018, Feb. 14).

The first pilot, Madhya Pradesh Unconditional Cash Transfer (MPUCT), funded 6,000 people in eight villages for 12 to 17 months. Against the eight villages that received UCTs, 12 similar villages did not receive the money transfer. When the pilot first started in the eight villages, each adult received Rs 200 for one year and each child received Rs 100 a month. After that period, the amount of money increased to Rs 300 for each adult and Rs 150 for each child. The second pilot was conducted in two tribal villages, one receiving UCTs and the other not. For the tribal village that received the benefit, the amounts were 300 rupees for each adult and 150 rupees for each child in a month. The pilot results were positive. The results showed that the beneficiaries began to save more and used the money wisely. They used the funds to improve their standard of living by increasing their household expenditure and, among other things, financing the education of their children (Chugh, 2018, 30 January).

Four years later in 2017, the researchers undertook a follow-up study in the tribal villages to see whether a year of basic income had any lasting effects. They were surprised to find out that even one year of basic income has had a significant impact on the living standards of the people in the village which received basic income, as compared to the control village. The analysis showed that there was a momentum effect behaviourally in alcohol decline and in women's empowerment (Jhabvala, 2017: 93, 95).

6. Conclusion

In the wake of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4th IR), there is a comprehensive reform of the existing social systems under consideration. Universal Basic Income (UBI), which calls to start permanently guaranteeing everyone at least some income, is being thought to be a possible effective measure to tackle unemployment and inequality. UBI is a radical and compelling paradigm shift in thinking about both social justice and a productive economy. Review of the issues in this study made it clear that granting an unconditional basic income for life will impact both the economy and the social life. More importantly, UBI is likely to liberate poor people to achieve more than mere survival. Without the constraint of having a job in order to ensure a certain living standard, individuals are able to develop and search for jobs that will offer them satisfaction and the opportunity to feel fulfilled.

The results of the field trials conducted in several developing countries have generally been very positive. Alaska, for example, wiped out extreme poverty giving all its residents cash for free. The negative income tax experiments in two rural states showed positive impacts on the quality of nutrition, suggesting an increase in spending on food. The Canadian negative income tax was the only experiment to track health outcomes, and it found that recipients experienced an 8.5 per cent decrease in hospitalizations compared to the control group, especially for mental health,

accidents, and injuries. In the meantime, subjective well-being was found to have increased considerably. School attendance, grades, and test scores for the children of negative income tax recipients were typically higher than the control population, especially for younger and poorer children. No evidence is found that family formation and dissolution is affected by UBI.

The experiments confirm the theoretical prediction that an increase in nonlabour income leads to a decrease in the quantity of labour supplied. The decrease is, however, slight. The most relevant results come from the field experiments from the US and Canada in which there was a few percentage points decline in labour supply and also a greater change in women's labour supply than in men's.

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THE EFFECT OF PERCEIVED OVER QUALIFICATION ON ORGANIZATIONAL SILENCE / AŞIRI NİTELİKLİLİK ALGISININ ÖRGÜTSEL SESSİZLİK ÜZERİNE ETKİSİ*

*Yavuz Tansoy Yıldırım***

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, örgütsel sessizlik türlerininaşırı niteliklilik algısı tarafından nasıl etkilendiğini analiz etmektir. Bu amaçla İstanbul'da bankacılık sektöründe çalışan kişiler arasında anket toplama yöntemi ile 183 işgören'den veri elde edilmiştir. Aşırı niteliklilik algısı için Johnson ve Johnson'ın (2010a) geliştirdiği 10 sorudan oluşan ölçek kullanılmıştır. Örgütsel sessizliği ölçmek için Van Dyne vd (2003)'nin 15 sorudan örgütsel sessizlik ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, aşırı niteliklilik algısının ilişkisel sessizliği pozitif yönde etkilediği görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aşırı Niteliklilik, Örgütsel Sessizlik, Bankacılık Sektörü

JEL Kodları: L20, M10, E50

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze how the types of organizational silence are influenced by the perceptions of the overqualification. For this purpose, data were collected from 183 occupations in Istanbul by means of collecting questionnaires among people working in the banking sector. A scale consisting of 10 questions developed by Johnson and Johnson (2010a) was used for the perception of overqualification. To measure organizational silence, a scale consisiting of 15 questions developed by Van Dyne et al. (2003) used for the organizational silence. According to the results of the research, it was seen that the perception of over qualification affects the positive relational silence positively.

Keywords: Overqualification, Organizational Silence, Banking Sector

JEL Codes: L20, M10, E50

1. Giriş

İşletmeleri yoğun bir biçimde etkileyen rekabet, yükselen müşteri beklentileri, kalite odaklılık, gelişen teknoloji ve küreselleşmenin etkileri yöneticileri işgörenlerinden yaratıcılık, sorumluluk üstlenme ve insiyatif alma davranışlarını arttırmaları beklentisi içine yönlendirmiştir (Quinn ve Spreitzer, 1997:37) Örgütlerin; kendine güvenen, potansiyel problemleri fark edip çözebilen, örgütsel bağlılığı yüksek takım çalışmasına uygun ve bilgiyi paylaşabilen işgörenlere ihtiyacı vardır (Karacaoğlu ve Cingöz, 2008:155; Aktaş ve Şimşek, 2015:206).

Örgütsel sessizliğin olumlu sonuçları yanında olumsuz sonuçları da bulunmaktadır (Lu ve Xie, 2013). Olumsuz sonuçlardan en önemlisi yöneticiler için önemli olabilecek bilgide yoksun kalma durumudur. Örgütlerde birçok işgören birçok konu ile ilgili bilgiye sahip olmakla birlikte bu bilgileri işletme yönetici ve sahiplerine bildirememektedirler (Morrison ve Miliken, 2000:706). Örgütlerde örgüt sessizliğine neden olan unsurların ne olduğu belirlenmelidir. Örgütsel sessizliğin nedenleri örgütsel, sosyal ve bireysel olabilir. Örgütsel nedenler yönetim tarzı, örgütsel iletişim yapısı, yöneticilerin geri bildirim alma korkusu, adaletsizlik, çalışanlara değer verilmemesi gibi kültürel özellikleri içerir. Sosyal nedenler, örgüt içi sosyal ağ kopukluğu, birey-grup ilişkisi olarak belirtilir. Bireysel nedenler ise kişilik, algı, önyargı, kaygı, düşük özgüven gibi özellikleri içerir.

Örgütsel sessizliğe neden olan bireysel nedenlerden birisi olarak gösterilen algı nedeninden hareketle aşırı niteliklilik algısının örgütsel sessizlik üzerine etkisini araştırmak bu çalışmanın amacıdır. Bu doğrultuda çalışmanın ilk bölümünde örgüt sessizlik ve aşırı niteliklilik kavramlarının açıklanarak teorik alt yapısından bahsedilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonraki bölümünde aşırı niteliklilik algısı ile örgütsel sessizlik arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı istatistiksel analizler ile açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırmanın verileri İstanbul'da bankacılık sektöründe faaliyette bulunan çalışanlardan elde edilmiştir.

2. Kavramsal Çerçeve

Bu bölümde aralarındaki ilişkiler test edilecek olan örgütsel sessizlik ve aşırı niteliklilik algısı kavramları açıklanacaktır.

<u>Örgütsel Sessizlik:</u>

Bireyler gündelik yaşamlarında birçok nedenden kaynaklı olarak iletişim sürecinde sorunlarla karşılaştıklarında sessiz kalabilmektedirler. Sessizlik ile ilgili ilk çalışmalardan biri olan Ayrılma-Ses-Sadakat (1970) isimli kitabın yazarı Hirschman işgörenlerin düşük iş tatmini ile karşılaştıklarında işten ayrılma ile açıktan ifade etme arasında bir tercihte bulunacağını belirterek bireylerin ses çıkarmaması bir durumda da acı çekeceğini ifade etmiştir (Küçükaltan vd, 2015).

Örgütsel ses, örgütsel değişimin güçlü bir kaynağıdır (Bowen ve Blackmon, 2003). Örgütte işlerin işleyişine yönelik fikirlerin rahatlıkla ifade edilmesi tüm paydaşların lehine olması nedeni ile sessizliğin örgüte fayda sağlamayacağı açıktır.

Morrisom ve Milliken (2000:707) örgütsel gelişimin önündeki önemli engellerden biri olarak gösterdikleri örgütsel sessizliği, işgörenlerin, örgüte ilişkin sorunlar ile ilgili olarak görüş ve düşüncelerini ifade etmemeleri olarak tanımlamışlardır. Örgütsel sessizlik, çalışanların, örgüt ile ilgili sorunlarda düşünce ve önerilerini karar verme konumundaki kişilere iletmekten kaçınarak suskun kalmasıdır.(Çakıcı,2010;9, Pinder ve Harlos, 2001;334).

İşgörenlerin örgüt ile ilgili konular hakkında sahip olduğu bilgileri bilinçli olarak saklaması örgütsel sessizliktir ve örgütsel sessizliğin nedenleri bireysel, sosyal ve örgütsel olabilmektedir. (Küçükaltan, Tükeltürk, Gürkan, 2015). Örgütsel kişiliğin bireysel nedenleri; motivasyon, kişilik, kısa yol kullanma, algı, önyargı, kaygı, düşük özgüven, mevcut durumu koruma isteği, kendini izleme ve dinleme ve demografik özelliklerdir. Örgütsel sessizliğin sosyal nedenleri; örgütteki sosyal ağlardaki kopukluk, birey-grup ilişkileri, grup normları ve kültürdür. Örgütsel nedenler ise yönetim tarzı, örgütsel iletişim yapısı, yöneticilerin geri bildirim alma korkusu, adaletsizlik, çalışanlara değer verilmemesi, kontrol ve üst yönetimin kültürel ve demografik özellikleridir.

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Örgütsel sessizliğin gerçekleşmesine neden olan faktörlerin dört başlık altında toplandığı görülmektedir (Kılıçlar ve Harbalıoğlu, 2014:339; Celep ve Kaya, 2016:235; Gül ve Özcan, 2011:113). Bu başlıklar; çalışanların yöneticilere güvenmemesi, konuşmanın riskli olduğu düşüncsi, dışlanma korkusu ve ilişkilerin bozulacağı korkusu'dur. Çalışanların yöneticilere güvenmemesi, yöneticilerin çalışanlardan gelen görüşleri hoş karşılamaması görüşlerini bildirseler bile durumun değişmeyeceğine olan inançtır. Konuşmanın riskli olduğu düşüncesi, çalışanların problem çıkardıkları görüşünün olabileceği ve ileride terfiye ilişkin durumlarda risk ile karşılaşabileceklerine düşüncesidir. Dışlanma korkusu, çalışanların iş arkadaşları ve yöneticiler tarafından sorun çıkaan kişi olarak gösterilmesi düşüncesidir. İlişkilerin bozulacağı korkusu, çalışanların diğerleri ve yöneticileri ile düşüncesini bildirdiğinde ilişkilerinin zarar göreceğine olan inançtır.

Örgütsel sessizliğin ortaya çıkışında birçok yapı dikkat çekmektedir. (Küçükaltan, Tekeltürk, Gürkan, 2015). Kabullenici sessizlik, savunmacı sessizlik ve ilişkisel (korunmacı) sessizlik olarak sınıflandırılan bu yapılar örgütsel sessizliğin boyutları olarak ifade edilir. Kabullenici sessizlik katı kuralların olduğu, işgörenlerin fikirlerinin dikkate alınmadığı örgütlerde görülen ve bireyin geri çekilme davranışı ile sonuçlanan boyuttur. Savunmacı sessizlik boyutu güvenin olmadığı, korkunun, kaygının yaşandığı örgütlerde ortaya çıkar ve temel noktası bireyin bir takım olumsuz sonuçlar ile karşılaşmamak için sessiz kalmasını ifade eder. İlişkisel (korumacı) sessizlik ise örgütteki diğer işgörenlerin olumsuz sonuçlarla karşılaşmaması için bireyin sessiz kalmasıdır ve temel noktası bireyin kendisini değil de diğer çalışanların çıkarlarını düşünmesidir.

Örgütsel sessizlik, örgütte yanlış kararlar alınmasına, yanlış işleyen süreçlerin düzeltilmesini geciktirip, imkansız hale getirebilir. (Milliken vd, 2003,1453). Sessizlik davranışının iklime dönüştüğü örgütlerde, örgütsel adalet ve örgüt içerisinde tartışılmazlık durumunu ortaya çıkarabilmekte bunun sonucunda da örgütteki çeşitli iyileştirmeleri geciktirmektedir. Örgütsel sessizlik çalışanlar üzerinde aşağılanmış duygusu ortaya çıkarabilir, yaratıcılık duygusunu azaltarak performans ve verimliliklerini düşürebilir. (Perlow ve Williams, 2003;3)

<u>Aşırı Niteliklilik:</u>

Freeman R.B. (1976) tarafından ilk olarak "The overeducadet American" adlı kitapta yer alan aşırı niteliklilik kavramı kişinin eğitimi, becerisi, bilgisi, tecrübesi ve yeteneklerinin işin gerektirdiğinden daha fazla olması olarak ifade edilmektedir (Erdoğan ve Baver, 2009, s.557). Aşırı niteliklilik iş gereklilikleri ile kişinin sahip olduğu bilgi, yetenek vb özellikleri arasındaki uyumsuzluk olarak gösterilmektedir (Kristof-Brown, 2000:53). İşgörenin iş ile ilgili tutum ve davranışlarını içeren subjektif aşırı niteliklilik ile iş gerekleri sonucunda edinilmiş özellikleri içeren objektif aşırı niteliklilik, aşırı nitelikliğin yönlerini içermektedir (Bryin ve Longhi, 2009:114). Aşırı niteliklilik algısı bireyin verimsiz olmasına ve sağlık sorunları ile karşılaşmasına neden olabilmektedir (Johnson ve Johnson, 1997). Aşırı niteliklilik algısı örgütlerde örgütsel bağlılık ve iş tatminini azaltan, işten ayrılma niyeti ve davranışını arttıran, işgören performansına pozitif etki eden bir unsurdur (Akbıyık, 2016:1713).

Sunulan teorik çerçeve doğrultusunda bankacılık sektörü çalışanlarından toplanan veriler kullanılarak aşağıda belirtilen hipotezler test edilecektir.

H1a: Aşırı niteliklilik algısının kabullenici sessizlik üzerinde etkisi vardır.

H1b: Aşırı niteliklilik algısının savunmacı sessizlik üzerinde etkisi vardır.

H1b: Aşırı niteliklilik algısının ilişkisel sessizlik üzerinde etkisi vardır.

3. Metodoloji

Araştırmanın amacı, aşırı niteliklilik algısı ile örgütsel sessizlik türleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koymaktır. Bu amaçla İstanbul'da bankacılık sektöründe çalışan kişiler arasında anket toplama yöntemi ile 183 işgören'den veri elde edilmiştir. Veri elde etmek için oluşturulan anket formu iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. Anketin birinci bölümünde cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim düzeyi ve çalışma sürelerine ilişkin sorular yer almaktadır. Anketin ikinci bölümünde aşırı niteliklilik ve örgüsel sessizlik ile ilgili sorulara yer verilmiştir. Aşırı niteliklilik algısı için Johnson ve Johnson'ın (2010a) geliştirdiği 10 sorudan oluşan ölçek kullanılmıştır. Örgütsel sessizliği ölçmek için Van Dyne vd (2003)'nin geliştirdiği 15 sorudan oluşan örgütsel sessizlik ölçeği kullanılmıştır.

4. Bulgular

Çalışanların demografik bilgileri Tablo 1 de yer almaktadır. Tablodaki bilgilerden çalışanlara ilişkin özellikler aşağıda belirtilmiştir.

Katılımcıların %35,92'si bayan, %64,48'i erkektir. Katılımcıların yaşları incelendiğinde, %4,37'si 25 yaşından küçük, %36,61'i 25 - 35 yaş arasında, %46,45', 35 - 45 yaş arasında ve %12,57'si de 45 yaşından büyüktür.

Katılımcıların eğitim düzeylerine bakıldığında %8,74'ü lise mezunu, %11,48'i yüksekokul mezunu, %73,77'si üniversite mezunu, %4,92'si yüksek lisans mezunu ve %1,09'u doktora mezunudur.

Katılımcıların çalışma süreleri incelendiğinde, %2,19'u 1 yıldan az, %12,57'si 1 - 5 yıl arası, %18,57'si 5 - 10 yıl arası, %32,24'ü 10 - 15 yıl arası, %26,23'ü 15 - 20 yıl arası ve %8,2'si 20 yıldan fazla süredir çalışmaktadırlar.

Tablo 1: Çalışanların Demografik Özellikler

	Karakteristik	Frekans	Oranı (%)
Cinsiyet	Bayan	65	35,92
	Erkek	118	64,48
Yaş	25'den küçük	8	4,37
	25 – 35 arası	67	36,61
	35 – 45 arası	85	46,45
	45'den büyük	23	12,57
Eğitim Düzeyi	Lise	16	8,74
	Yüksekokul	21	11,48
	Üniversite	135	73,77
	Yüksek Lisans	9	4,92
	Doktora	2	1,09
Çalışma Süresi	1 yıldan az	4	2,19
	1 – 5 yıl arası	23	12,57
	5 – 10 yıl arası	34	18,57
	10 – 15 yıl arası	59	32,24
	15-20 yıl arası	48	26,23
	20 yıldan fazla	15	8,2

Analizlere ilişkin diğer bulgular ölçeklerin güvenilirlik değerlerinin bulunmasıdır. Aşırı niteliklilik ölçeğinin güvenilirliği Cronbach alfa değeri ile ölçülmüştür. Elde edilen 0,78 değeri ölçeğin güvenilir olduğunu göstermektedir. Kabullenici sessizlik için 4 ifade, savunmacı sessizlik için 5 ifade ve ilişkisel sessizlik için 4 ifade ölçekte yer almıştır. Kabullenici, savunmacı ve ilişkisel sessizlik ölçekleri için güvenilirlik katsayıları sırasıyla 0,82, 0,87 ve 0,79 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

Faktör analizi sonuçlarına göre örgütsel sessizliği ölçme kiçin kullanılan tüm değişkenler ilgili faktörü p<0,01 düzeyinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı göstermektedir. Kullanılan değişkenler örgütsel sessizlik türlerini iyi derecede temsil etmektedir.Analiz sonuçları incelendiğinde aşırı niteliklilik algısının savunmacı sessizlik (ß:-0,147, p:0,001) üzerine negatif yönlü ve anlamlı bir etkisi olduğu yani H1b hipotezinin kabul edildiği, ilişkisel sessizlik (ß:-0,245, p:0,001) üzerine pozitif yönlü ve anlamlı bir etkisi olduğu yani H1c hipotezinin reddedildiği, kabullenici sessizlik (ß:0,016, p:0,645) üzerinde etkisi olmadığı görülmüştür. Aşırı niteliklilik algısı ve savunmacı sessizlik ilişkisine ait veriler incelendiğinde, çalışanların sahip oldukları aşırı niteliklilik algısı nedeni ile kendilerini güvende hissedecekleri, yeni iş bulmaya ilişkin endişe ve korkularının olmadığı, kendilerine ihtiyaçtan kaynaklı olarak kendilerini korumaya yönelik bir durumun ortaya çıkmadığını düşündükleri ve bunun sonucunda da sessiz kalmadıkları söylenebilir. Aşırı niteliklilik algısı ve ilişkisel sessizlik ilişkisine ait veriler incelendiğinde, aşırı nitelikli çalışanların örgüt içi ilişkilere önem verdiği, örgütün işleyişine ilişkin durumlarda sessiz kalabilme durumuna olumlu baktıklarını söyleyebiliriz.

Sonuç

Bu çalışmada, aşırı niteliklilik algısının örgütsel sessizlik üzerine etkisi araştırılmıştır. Bankacılık sektöründe çalışan işgörenlerin örgütsel sessizliğe ilişkin tutum ve davranışlarına aşırı niteliklilik algısının etkisinin olup olmadığının belirlenmeye çalışılması bu çalışmanın amacıdır.

Kişinin eğitim, beceri, bilgisi, tecrübesi ve yeteneklerinin işin gerektirdiğinden daha fazla olduğu durumu belirten aşırı niteliklilik algısının örgütlerde hangi tür örgütsel sessizliğe etki ettiği araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Örgütlerin başarılı olmasında katkı sağlayacak tutum ve davranışlardan bir tanesi örgütlerde ses'e önem verilmesidir. Sessizliğin olduğu örgütlerde işletme hedeflerinden uzaklaşabilir. Örgütsel sessizlik işgörenlerin örgüte ilişkin sorunlar ile ilgili görüş ve düşüncelerini ifade etmemeleridir. Örgütsel sessizliğin nedenleri bireysel, sosyal ve örgütsel olabilmektedir. Örgütsel sessizliğin türleri ise kabullenici sessizlik, savunmacı sessizlik ve ilişkisel sessizliktir. Kabullenici sessizlik, işgörenlerin fikirlerinin dikkate alınmaması ve sonucunda kişinin geri çekilme davranışı gösterdiği sessizliktir. Savunmacı sessizlik güvenin olmadığı korkunun yaşandığı örgütlerde ortaya çıkan ve kişinin zarar görmemek için sessiz kaldığı durumdur. İlişkisel sessizlik ise bireyin, diğer işgörenlerin zarar görmemesi için sessiz kalması yani diğer çalışanların çıkarlarını düşünmesidir.

Aşırı niteliklilik, kişinin eğitimi, becerisi, bilgisi, tecrübesi ve yeteneklerinin işin gerektirdiğinden daha fazla olmasıdır. İş gereklilikleri ile kişinin sahip olduğu bilgi, yetenek vb özellikleri arasındaki uyumsuzluk aşırı niteliklilik olarak ifade edilir. Aşırı nitelikliliğin yönler subjektif aşırı niteliklilik ve objektif aşırı itelilikliktir. Subjektif aşırı niteliklilik, İşgörenin iş ile ilgili tutum ve davranışlarıobjektif aşırı niteliklilik ise iş gerekleri sonucunda edinilmiş özelliklerdir. Aşırı niteliklilik algısının bireyin verimsiz olması ve sağlık sorunları ile karşılaşması sonuçlarını ortaya çıkarabilmektedir.

Aşırı niteliklilik algısının örgütsel sessizlik üzerine etkisinin araştırılmasına ilişkin yapılan analizler sonucunda, aşırı niteliklilik algısının savunmacı sessizlik üzerine negatif yönlü ve anlamlı bir etkisi olduğu, ilişkisel sessizlik üzerine

pozitif yönlü ve anlamlı bir etkisi olduğu, kabullenici sessizlik üzerinde etkisi olmadığı görülmüştür. Bankacılık sektöründe çalışan kişilerin sahip oldukları aşırı niteliklilik algısı ile örgüt içinde savunmacı sessizlik boyutuna ilişkin olarak sessiz kalmayıp, düşüncelerini ifade etmektedirler. Bunun yanında diğer çalışanların menfaatine olan, zarar görmelerine engel olunacak durumlarda, örgüt içi iletişime verdikleri önemden dolayı sessiz kalabildikleri söylenebilir.

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CRISES AND RECESSIONS IN ORTHODOX AND
HETERODOX ECONOMICS

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The post 2008 world has highlighted more than ever before the enormous differences in the understanding of economic crises between the different schools of economics thought. This paper aims to expose these differences both at the theoretical level, and by relating it to real world data from the last decades. As we shall demonstrate, the main cleavage lines amongst the different schools is whether their explanations are internal to the logic of the economic system (most heterodox schools), or externalised (neoclassical economics). Another division is whether the different schools believe that measures taken by the state could prevent crises before they occur, help end them (as in the case of most schools), or whether this is an illusion, and the functioning of the economic system has its own logic that states cannot interfere with (mainstream Marxian view). In what follows we present the views of the different schools, with the most important debates surrounding them.

The stakes are high in terms of which explanations are corroborated by evidence, and which are not. Unfortunately the way the post 2008 crisis has been handled (quantitative easing by the FED and by the European Central Bank) prevents us from seeing clearly about the statistics that are meant to relay back to us the social and economic effects of the crisis. Artificial demand management in the monetary side, with monetary authorities playing a highly non conventional (ownership!) role in the economy clouds our picture about the underlying processes.

The Austrian view

The Austrian view, most clearly elaborated by Hayek, starts from the assumption that the economy possesses a certain "natural rate of interest", which only reveals itself through the market based *catallaxy*, (exchange based on price iteration by individuals who possess information about their own interests, but not about the entire market, as in neoclassical economics), that is so central to the philosophy of the Austrian school. This market based quest for the "natural rate" is made impossible by the state, specifically the central bank setting interest rates authoritatively. The consequence is a market imperfection arising from the gap between the official and the natural rate, which manifests itself in funding for business projects and economic output that are unwarranted. The solution is of course the elimination of the central bank's officially set interest rate. As for the overcapacities, crises simply have to run their course for the superfluous capacities to clear. Bankruptcies are just as much a part of the functioning of capitalism, as are the launches of new firms. As another leading Austrian economist, Joseph Schumpeter famously stated (Schumpeter, 1942), market forces are akin to a "gale of creative destruction": badly managed or unnecessary capacities have to give way to new, innovative, well managed ones for which there is effective demand.

Famously, monetarist economist Milton Friedman found (Friedman, 1964) the Austrian theory of crises to be inconsistent with empirical data for the United States. Sraffa (Sraffa, 1932) and Kaldor (Kaldor, 1942) had theoretical objections: why does it have to be the state that causes misinvestment? Why can it not arise from the misguided choices from savings by private entities?

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The Externalised (Orthodox Neoclassical) View

Orthodox neoclassical economics does not have an internal explanation for economics crisis in the sense that they would arise from the functioning of the economy, of markets. In the world of Walrasian general equilibrium (Walras, 1954 [1874]), the economy is always in a perfectly harmonious situation, supply and demand clear at the right price level in all markets. According to Say's "law", all wages paid constitute demand for all output. (Keynes has famously showed this to be untrue.) According to Eugene Fama's renowned efficient market hypothesis, current prices reflect realities in the sense that they already price in all known information. (This has been proved to be incorrect by Robert Schiller (Shiller, 2003) (Shiller, 2000) (Shiller, 2008).) If crises do occur, in neoclassical economics it is through the offsetting influence of externalities. In the case of the 2008 global financial crisis, these externalities are most likely to be identified by mainstream neoclassical economists as the housing bubble in the US. Of course this immediately begs the question of whether a political economy explanation is possible. Are asset price bubbles really external to the functioning of an economy, or are they part and parcel of it, more characteristic than any imaginary stable state (Reinhart & Rogoff, 2009).

Others would point in terms of externalities to the lack of or weak regulation in case of the US financial system. A possible solution or at least mitigating force would be an ordoliberal (or institutional economics) approach: famously both Alan Greenspan and Ben Bernanke have admitted that their prior belief in the self regulation of the derivatives markets had been unfounded. Markets, as Polányi (Polányi, 1957 (1944)) tells us, are not natural systems, as libertarians would have us belief, but have to be created and controlled through regulation. To such a diagnosis the cure like the Dodd-Franks Act is the panacea.

A third example of an externality as a cause of the crisis would be sovereign profligacy in the case of the Eurozone. Irresponsible politicians responding to the whims of the electorate. A close look at the data actually disproves this alleged causal effect, as have more elaborate explanations. It is also debatable whether sovereign borrowing can really be conceived of as an externality when there is a market for sovereign debt, risk and their futures. In such an institutional setup an excessive growth of sovereign is more a market failure than an externality.

The main point about the alleviation of a crisis in neoliberal economics is that it is prices that have to adjust. Market equilibrium, what is more, general equilibrium sets in by prices returning to some stable state from the external disturbance they had suffered as a cause of the crisis. This is very different, as we shall see, from Keynesian explanations, where it is quantities rather than prices that adjust.

It is also quite important to stress that both the Austrian and the Neoclassical views about crises fail to explain the long term tendencies of the falling rate of productivity increase in the leading economies.

The Private Debt Cause

This view was most prominently exposed by Hyman Minsky (Minsky, 1992) (Minsky, 1986) in his famous financial instability hypothesis, and is nowadays most vocally advocated by the Australian economist Steve Keen (Keen, 2011). This school begins by reminding us that total demand in the economy equals to state spending plus private debt. During periods of boom, the banking system allows too much private debt to enter the economy, which leads to artificial bubbles, which sooner or later burst, resulting in crisis. This explanation is not unlike the

one exposed by the Austrian School, Hayek in particular, in that it believes that crises come about as a consequence of overcapacities.

When the bubble bursts, the crisis erupts, according to this school, causing banks to suffer heavy losses from borrowers' failure to repay bad debt. The financial system suddenly becomes conservative in lending, leading to contraction. When the markets clear, growth returns, the financial system ones again returns to a more optimistic outlook. Thus in Minsky's view this subsystem, which had originally been meant to facilitate the channeling of savings towards investments, contributing towards economics stability, instead contributes towards economic instability by enhancing the tendencies of economic cycles rather than mitigating them.

The Underconsumptionist View (Keynesian, some Marxian)

Keynesian (Keynes , 2007 [1936]) explanations do not externalise the causes of crises, they center around what we call an underconsumptionist approach. The most well known exponent of this thesis today is Thomas Piketty (Piketty, 2014), who describes how the implementation of the neoliberal agenda has tilted the distribution of surplus value (value added) from wages towards profits, with lower and lower rates of taxation, resulting in a concentration of capital amongst what he calls the super rich. This group is unable to spend all its income, leading to a lack of effective demand arising from the inability of lower income groups to spend, given their lower share of income. The Keynesian solution would be higher levels of taxation (wealth, income), as well as effective measure against tax evasion and offshore wealth (Zucman, 2014), which would enable state spending and redistribution to restore demand in the economy. Most neo-Ricardian and some Marxian (Kautsky, Luxemburg, Baran and Sweezy, Lenin) approaches would also base their explanations on the underconsumptionist approach. One known weakness of the underconsumptionist approach is that while it can explain the 2008 crisis, it falls short in case of the well-known crisis of the seventies, a time before the shift in income shares had taken place. In the paper we present the data from Piketty and others that is meant to demonstrate the underconsumptionist explanation of the crisis.

An important characteristic of the underconsumptionist view is that in this system it is quantities (volumes of output, levels of employment) that adjust, not prices as in the neoclassical system, both in the crisis and during the redistributive remedy (state lead demand or redistributed income both constitute volumes of demand).

The Mainstream Marxian View

Mainstream Marxian explanations share with Keynesian ones the characteristic that they provide an explanation that is internal to the functioning of the economic system. They differ, however, on whether the state is capable of some sort of correction. Marxian explanations center on the question of the falling rate of profit. As Marx himself had already described, due to technological advances, enterpreneurs are forced by competition to introduce new technology. This new technology has a tendency to replace labour. Since it is only labour that can be exploited, the introduction of new technology leads to a falling rate of profit. This fall in profits in turn forces businesses to press for a neoliberal agenda in order to counterbalance their falling profitability by a larger income share.

By helping to implement these neoliberal policies, the state can hold off an eventual climax of too low profitability, but it cannot prevent it eventually. The fall in the rate of profit per firm can temporarily be offset by a larger income share of the surplus value, which comes about as a consequence of a.) weakened trade union rights leading

to their diminished power in wage bargaining, and or b.) lower rates of corporate taxation, leaving a higher profit to surplus value ratio with the firm.

Also, a reversal of the neoliberal trend (higher taxation and redistribution) can also only hold off a crisis, but it cannot prevent it.

Should the Marxian view prevail, its significance is that there is no state lead solution to the crises. Interventions such as regulation or redistribution can only be temporary (albeit temporary might mean long decades) fix, but they cannot prevent an even deeper tendency in capitalism that is leading to its eventual self elimination (Roberts, 2016). Carchedi (Carchedi, 2015) presents some of the theoretical and practical issues of how an where the rate of profit can be measured, and why there is not a single conclusive chart of the rate of profit that would convince all of the Marxian explanation behind the crisis.

It is also important to mention the work of Anwar Sheikh (Shaikh, 2016), who differentiates between the average rate of profit (which traditional Marxian though believed would equalize across industries), and the profit rate related to new technology, which is higher and defines the competitive edge in a given industry.

Conclusion

As we have elaborated, the different schools of economic thought rely on widely different explanations about why and how crises come about, how they are resolved, and what role if any the state can and should play in alleviating tem. Some schools believe crises are inherent parts of the functioning of the economy, while others externalise them and their causes. Some schools believe the state can play a role in preventing them or alleviating them (through regulation, redistribution, demand management, etc.), while others do not see such a role for the state, either because they believe markets need to clear superfluous capacities to return to some natural equilibrium state, or, in the case of other schools, because no state intervention can prevent a deeper underlying tendencies such as the falling rate of profit from playing out.

Which explanation best describes the existing world of capitalism is of crucial importance. Fortunately, in recent decades we have gathered a wide array of evidence in terms of economic indicators, statistics. We might be very close to a time when we might be able to make a final, conclusive decision about what schools of economics correctly describe the causes and nature of crises, and which ones fail to do so. By discarding some theories and corroborating others, economic statistics might enlighten us about how we can prevent and moderate crises, making the fate of a great many people better, who are regularly adversely affected by economic fluctuations. Should the Marxian explanation turn out to be corroborated, however, our chances of mitigating or moderating crises become slim, and we must face a systemic transition instead.

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Η ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗ

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Περίληψη

Η οικονομική κρίση αποτελεί τη μία από τις δύο φάσεις των οικονομικών διακυμάνσεων και συγκεκριμένα τη φάση της καθόδου, όταν δηλαδή η οικονομική δραστηριότητα βρίσκεται σε μια συνεχή συρρίκνωση. Η κεντρική επιδίωξη της έρευνας επικεντρώνεται στην περιγραφή και μετάβαση της χρηματοοικονομικής κρίσης από τις ΗΠΑ στην Ευρώπη, τη μετάλλαξή της σε Οικονομική και Κοινωνική, και στις επιδράσεις της στην πραγματική οικονομία, στην Εργασία και στο Σύστημα Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης. Επίσης διερευνούνται οι παρεμβάσεις ανάσχεσης της κρίσης στην Ευρώπη και τα αποτελέσματά της στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Οικονομική κρίση στην Ευρώπη, Χρηματοοικονομική Κρίση, Κοινωνική Κρίση, Εργασιακή Κρίση, Κρίση στης Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Οικονομική κρίση είναι μια διαταραχή στις χρηματοπιστωτικές αγορές στις οποίες οι λανθασμένες επιλογές και τα προβλήματα οικονομικού κινδύνου αυξάνονται με αποτέλεσμα να αδυνατούν να διοχετεύσουν τα κεφάλαιά τους σε παραγωγικές επενδύσεις και σε αποδοτικούς τομείς. Μια οικονομική κρίση μπορεί να οδηγήσει μια οικονομία μακριά από την ισορροπία και να στρέψει σε μια καθοδική πορεία τους δείκτες της οικονομικής ανάπτυξης. Οι οικονομικές κρίσεις μπορεί να έχουν διάφορες επιπτώσεις πέρα του τραπεζικού πανικού[1].

Οι Eichengreen & Bordo[2], εντόπισαν περίπου 139 κρίσεις σε 56 διαφορετικές χώρες μεταξύ 1974 και 1997. Κρίση έπληξε τις ΗΠΑ που συνοδεύτηκε με το κραχ του χρηματιστηρίου τη μαύρη Τρίτη του 1929, τις χώρες της Λατινικής Αμερικής κατά τις δεκαετίες του1960 και 1970, το Μεξικό το 1994, τις χώρες της νοτιοανατολικής Ασίας το 1997, την Αργεντινή 1998 που το 2001 οδηγήθηκε στην χρεοκοπία.

Η κρίση εμφανίστηκε και στην Ευρώπη το 2009 και ιδιαίτερα στις χώρες της νότιας Ευρώπης, Ελλάδα, Ιταλία, Ισπανία και Πορτογαλία με επίκεντρο την Ελλάδα. Στη χώρα μας το φαινόμενο της κρίσης ακόμη και σήμερα είναι έντονο με πολύ δυσάρεστες συνέπειες για τον ελληνικό λαό.

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[1]   Mishkin, S Frederic.(1991). NBER Working Papers Series,Working Paper No 3934.

[2]   Bordo, M. & Eichengreen B. et al. (2001). Is the Crisis Problem Growing More Severe? Economic Policy 16, no.32 pp. 51-82

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1. Η παγκόσμια χρηματοοικονομική κρίση

Η χρηματοοικονομική κρίση πέρασε στην πραγματική οικονομία μέσω της απροθυμίας των πιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων να χορηγήσουν δάνεια και μέσω της καταστροφής του πλούτου νοικοκυριών και των επιχειρήσεων από το σπάσιμο στις φούσκες. Το εξωτερικό εμπόριο κατέρρευσε και μειώθηκε η κατανάλωση. Ως συνεπεία είχαμε την εντυπωσιακή μείωση του ΑΕΠ παγκοσμίως, τη μείωση της απασχόλησης και την αύξηση της ανεργίας.

Πίνακας 1 Ρυθμός Ανάπτυξης, 2007-2014

	Ρυθμός Ανάπτυξης				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2014
Παγκόσμια Οικονομία	5,20%	3,00%	-1,10%	3,10%	4,50%
Ανεπτυγμένες Οικονομίες	2,70%	0,60%	-3,40%	1,30%	2,40%
ΗΠΑ	2,10%	0,40%	-2,70%	1,50%	2,10%
Ευρωζώνη	2,70%	0,70%	-4,20%	0,30%	2,10%
ΕΕ	3,10%	1,00%	-4,20%	0,50%	n.a
Βραζιλία	5,70%	5,10%	-0,70%	3,50%	3,70%
Ρωσία	8,10%	5,60%	-7,50%	1,50%	5,00%
Ινδία	9,40%	7,30%	5,40%	6,40%	8,10%
Κίνα	13,00%	9,00%	8,50%	9,00%	9,50%
Ιαπωνία	2,30%	-0,70%	-5,40%	1,70%	1,80%
Ελλάδα	4,00%	2,90%	-0,80%	-1,00%	1,90%

Πηγή: ΔΝΤ, World Economic Outlook, 0κτ.09

Πίνακας 2 Ποσοστό Ανεργίας, 2007-2010

Ποσοστό ανεργίας, % του εργατικού δυναμικού				
	2007	2008	2009	2010
ΗΠΑ	4,60%	5,80%	9,30%	10,10%
Ευρωζώνη	7,40%	7,50%	10,00%	12,00%
ΕΕ	7,50%	7,50%	9,50%	10,70%
Ρωσία	5,60%	5,60%	7,20%	6,80%
Κίνα	4,00%	4,20%		
Ιαπωνία	3,90%	4,00%	5,20%	5,70%
Ελλάδα	8,30%	7,70%	9,50%	10,30%
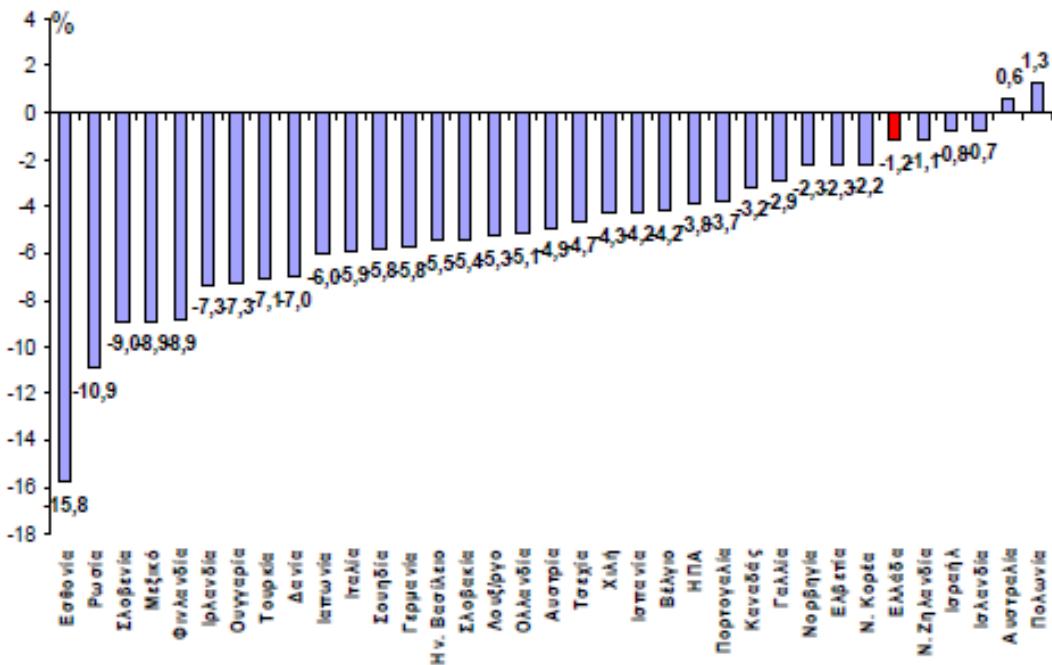
Πηγές: OECD Economic Outlook, no 85. Στοιχεία για την Κίνα και την Ρωσία: European Commission, European Economic Forecast, Νοεμ. 09.

Η χρηματοοικονομική κρίση πολύ γρήγορα μετατράπηκε σε οικονομική, καθώς τα προβλήματα που προέκυψαν μεταδόθηκαν στην πραγματική οικονομία. Το χρηματοπιστωτικό σύστημα βρίσκεται στην καρδιά της σύγχρονης παγκόσμιας οικονομικής δομής. Οι τράπεζες οδηγήθηκαν σε απομόχλευση και αναγκάστηκαν να περιορίσουν το δανεισμό προς τις επιχειρήσεις και τα νοικοκυριά. Επιπρόσθετα θέσπισαν αυστηρότερα πιστωτικά κριτήρια και με τον τρόπο οδήγησαν τις επιχειρήσεις και τα νοικοκυριά σε συρρίκνωση των δραστηριοτήτων τους, δηλαδή μείωση του προσωπικού, αύξηση της ανεργίας, μείωση της παραγωγή και του εισοδήματος, μείωση του ΑΕΠ και επιμήκυνση της ύφεσης.

Δρ. Μέμος Κωνσταντίνος

Διάγραμμα 1 Πραγματικός ρυθμός αύξησης του ΑΕΠ των χωρών του ΟΟΣΑ 2009, (ετήσια μεταβολή)

Πηγή: ΟΟΣΑ.

Επίσης οι μειωμένες πιστώσεις συνέβαλλαν παράλληλα με την πτώση της καταναλωτικής και της επιχειρηματικής εμπιστοσύνης στην κατάρρευση του παγκόσμιου εμπορίου. Η ύφεση και η ανασφάλεια προκάλεσαν μείωσης της παγκόσμιας ζήτησης και οδήγησαν σε επιβράδυνση της παγκόσμιας ανάπτυξης, μείωσης των επενδύσεων και την πτώση των τιμών των περιουσιακών στοιχείων (μετοχές, ακίνητα κτλ.).

Οι κεντρικές τράπεζες μείωσαν τα επιτόκια και έντυναν την παροχής ρευστότητας στην αγορά. Οι κυβερνήσεις αύξησαν το κατώτατο όριο στην εγγύηση των καταθέσεων, παρείχαν πακέτα διάσωσης των χρηματοοικονομικών ιδρυμάτων και ακολούθησαν επεκτατική δημοσιονομική πολιτική. Οι προσπάθειές τους συντονίστηκαν μέσω των G-20 χωρών και του Διεθνούς Νομισματικού Ταμείου.

Η κρίση έχει εν τω μεταξύ διαφορετικό χαρακτήρα. Η κρίση που πλήττει την Ευρώπη από το 2008 δεν είναι μόνο χρηματοπιστωτική και οικονομική. Είναι ταυτόχρονα κοινωνική, θεσμική και πολιτική. Οι εφαρμοζόμενες πολιτικές λιτότητας με τους περιοριστικούς προϋπολογισμούς των κρατών-μελών αυξάνουν τους φόρους και την ανεργία, μειώνουν την ανάπτυξη και τα εισοδήματα, διευρύνουν το δημόσιο χρέος τους και τροφοδοτούν την ευρωπαϊκή λαϊκή δυσαρέσκεια η οποία εκδηλώνεται με διαφορετικούς τρόπους κινητοποιήσεων και αντιδράσεων των ευρωπαίων πολιτών[3].

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3   Ρομπόλης, Σ. (2012). Οικονομική κρίση και Κοινωνικό Κράτος. (σελ.59) Θεσσαλονίκη: Επίκεντρο.

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

2. Η κρίση στην Ευρώπη

Η κρίση στις ΗΠΑ μεταφέρθηκε αστραπιαία και στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ήπειρο. Στις 8 Οκτωβρίου του 2008 η Fortis διασπάται και εν μέρει κρατικοποιείται. Το ίδιο συμβαίνει με την Bradford & Bingley και την Dexia. Την ίδια ημέρα η FED , η ΕΚΤ, η Τράπεζα της Αγγλίας και οι κεντρικές Τράπεζες του Καναδά, της Σουηδίας και της Ελβετίας μειώνουν εκτάκτως τα επιτόκια κατά 0,5%. Είναι η πρώτη φορά από την αρχή της κρίσης που η ΕΚΤ προέβει σε μείωση των επιτοκίων. Οι διασώσεις των Τραπεζών συνεχίζονται στη Γερμανία με τη Hypo Real Estate με κόστος 50 δις, στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο με τη Royal Bank of Scotland με 37 δις με το 60% να περνά στην ιδιοκτησία του κράτους, και οι Lloyds TSB και Hbos συγχωνεύονται και κρατικοποιείται το 40%. Η Northern Rock που κατείχε κεντρική θέση στο χώρο των στεγαστικών δανείων πήρε δάνειο από κεντρική Τράπεζα της Αγγλίας αλλά μερικούς μήνες αργότερα, στις 17 Φεβρουαρίου του 2008 δεν κατάφερε να ξεπεράσει τα προβλήματά της και κρατικοποιήθηκε.

Η Αυστρία είναι η πρώτη χώρα που προχωρά σε εκκαθάριση τράπεζας, της Heta Asset Resolution AG, στο πλαίσιο της νέας οδηγίας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για την τραπεζική ανάκαμψη και εξυγίανση (Bank Recovery and Resolution Directive), αφού άλλαξε τη νομοθεσία για να επιτραπεί η διαγραφή χρέους μειωμένης εξασφάλισης του πτωχευμένου προκατόχου της, Hypo Alpe-Adria-Bank International AG. Η κυβέρνηση επίσης αρνείται να καλύψει εγγυήσεις της επαρχίας της Carinthia που δόθηκαν σε χρέη υψηλής διαβάθμισης της Heta. Με βάση τις τρέχουσες τιμές των ομολόγων τους, οι υψηλής εξασφάλισης πιστωτές της Heta, που αγόρασαν τίτλους με την εγγύηση της περιφέρειας της επαρχίας της Carinthia, αντιμετωπίζουν απώλειες μεγαλύτερες από το 40% του συνολικού χρέους τους ύψους 10,2 δις ευρώ (Bloomberg).

Οι Αμερικανικές Τράπεζες (π.χ. Goldman Sachs) είχαν δημιουργήσει παράγωγα προϊόντα τα οποία είχαν στην κατοχή τους Αγγλικές, Γαλλικές ακόμα και Ελβετικές τράπεζες. Η Goldman Sachs δημιούργησε CDO's (δομημένα πάνω σε στεγαστικά δάνεια που γνώριζε ότι δεν θα αποπληρωθούν) αλλά και κάποια τοξικά παράγωγα (CDS) (που αφορούσαν επί της ουσίας στοιχήματα ότι τα CDO's θα καταρρεύσουν) τα οποία είχαν περάσει στα χέρια μεγάλων Ευρωπαϊκών Τραπεζών όπως η Γερμανική IKB και η Royal Bank of Scotland δημιουργώντας τεραστίων διαστάσεων ζημίες.

Στην Ιρλανδία, τη Μεγάλη Βρετανία και την Ισπανία, η έκρηξη της κερδοσκοπικής φούσκας στην αγορά ακινήτων οδήγησε σε τεράστιες απώλειες κεφαλαίων. Ενώ στην Ισπανία, εξαιτίας της προηγούμενης γιγάντιας επέκτασης του κατασκευαστικού τομέα, που τώρα χρεοκοπεί μαζικά, το φαινόμενο αυτό οδήγησε σε μια άνευ προηγουμένου έκρηξη της ανεργίας, ενώ στις αγγλοσαξονικές χώρες οδήγησε σε μια σχεδόν πλήρη κατάρρευση του ιδιωτικού χρηματοπιστωτικού τομέα, η οποία μπορούσε να αντιμετωπιστεί μόνο με εκτεταμένες μερικές εθνικοποιήσεις. Στην Ουγγαρία, στην Εσθονία και στη Λετονίας, η οικονομική κρίση μετατράπηκε σε πολιτική κρίση.

Στις σκανδιναβικές χώρες, η Νορβηγία αποτελεί εξαίρεση, χάρη στο πετρέλαιο που διαθέτει, ενώ η Δανία, η Σουηδία και η Φινλανδία δέχτηκαν ισχυρότατο πλήγμα από την οικονομική κάμψη. Ωστόσο, το ειδικό βάρος που διατηρεί ακόμη το κράτος πρόνοιας στις χώρες αυτές, με τις «δομικές εξισορροπήσεις» του (που κρατούν σε υψηλά επίπεδα τη ζήτηση μέσα από παροχές που διασφαλίζουν οι εισφορές κοινωνικής ασφάλισης), κρατά περιορισμένη ακόμη την οικονομική υποχώρηση, αν και όχι στο βαθμό που αυτό ήταν δυνατό στη δεκαετία του '80. Η κρίση αποκαλύπτει ότι το σκανδιναβικό μοντέλο δεν παραμένει ανέπαφο. Η Γερμανία βρίσκεται στο επίκεντρο της κρίσης λόγω του ηγετικού οικονομικού της ρόλου. Εξαιτίας του, επειδή η εξαγωγική βιομηχανία της κλονίζεται με την υποχώρηση του παγκόσμιου εμπορίου. Για πρώτη φορά από την εισαγωγή του ευρώ, ομολογιακά δάνεια

Η ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗ
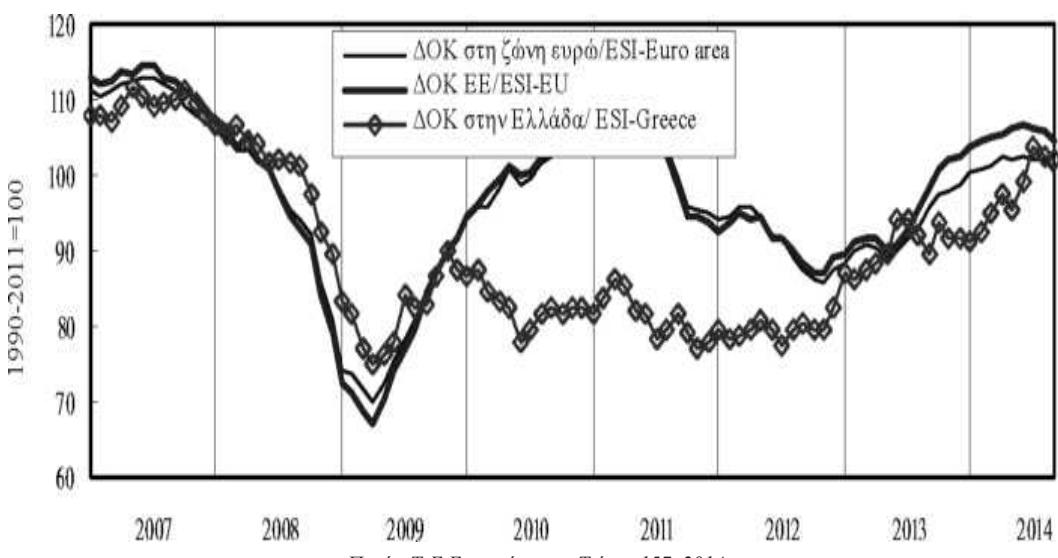
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από την Ελλάδα, την Ιρλανδία, την Ισπανία, την Ιταλία και την Πορτογαλία επιβαρύνονται με επιπλέον χρεώσεις λόγω του κινδύνου που αντιπροσωπεύουν. Ακόμη και η Γαλλία πρέπει να πληρώνει περισσότερα για τα κρατικά της ομόλογα απ' ότι η Γερμανία. Αν ένα από τα κράτη-μέλη αντιμετωπίσει εκτεταμένα προβλήματα με το ισοζύγιο πληρωμών του, θα έχει γίνει ένα επιπλέον βήμα προς την καταστροφή της νομισματικής ένωσης γενικότερα[4].

Μέσα σε ένα χρόνο (2008-2009), το ΑΕΠ της Γερμανίας μειώθηκε κατά 5%, της Γαλλίας κατά 2,6%, της Ολλανδίας κατά 4%, της Σουηδίας κατά 5,2%, της Ιρλανδίας κατά 7,1%, της Φινλανδίας κατά 7,8%, της Δανίας κατά 4,9% και της Ισπανίας κατά 3,5%. Όπως ήταν επόμενο, τα έσοδα από φόρους κατέρρευσαν. Με την κατάρρευση των καταναλωτικών αγορών των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών η Ευρώπη έχασε μια σημαντική πηγή ζήτησης για τα προϊόντα της.

Η πραγματική οικονομία στη ζώνη του Ευρώ, στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και στην Ελλάδα υπέστη μεγάλη καθίζηση. Οι επιμέρους κλάδοι της οικονομίας, η βιομηχανία, οι κατασκευές, το λιανικό εμπόριο, οι υπηρεσίες καθώς και η κατανάλωση συρρικνώθηκαν σε πολύ μεγάλο βαθμό από το 2007, ειδικότερα στη χώρα μας. Οι Δείκτες Οικονομικού Κλίματος (ΔΟΚ) αποτυπώνουν την οικονομική κατάσταση ,βάση των προσδοκιών των επιμέρους δεικτών, στο διάγραμμα που ακολουθεί.

Διάγραμμα 2 Δείκτες Οικονομικού Κλίματος (ΔΟΚ) στην ΕΕ, στη Ζώνη του Ευρώ και στην Ελλάδα

Πηγή : ΤτΕ Ευρωσύστημα, Τεύχος 157, 2014.

Η κρίση δεν άργησε να μεταδοθεί και στις αναδυόμενες αγορές και σε πολλές αναπτυσσόμενες οικονομίες. Οι επενδυτές, κυρίως με επενδύσεις χαρτοφυλακίου, άρχισαν να εγκαταλείπουν τις χώρες αυτές με αποτέλεσμα τα περιθώρια κινδύνου στα κρατικά ομόλογα των αναδυόμενων αγορών αυξήθηκαν κατακόρυφα. Η Ισλανδία, η Ουγγαρία και η Ουκρανία αντιμετώπισαν έντονη συναλλαγματική κρίση και χρειάσθηκε να συναφθούν συμφωνίες
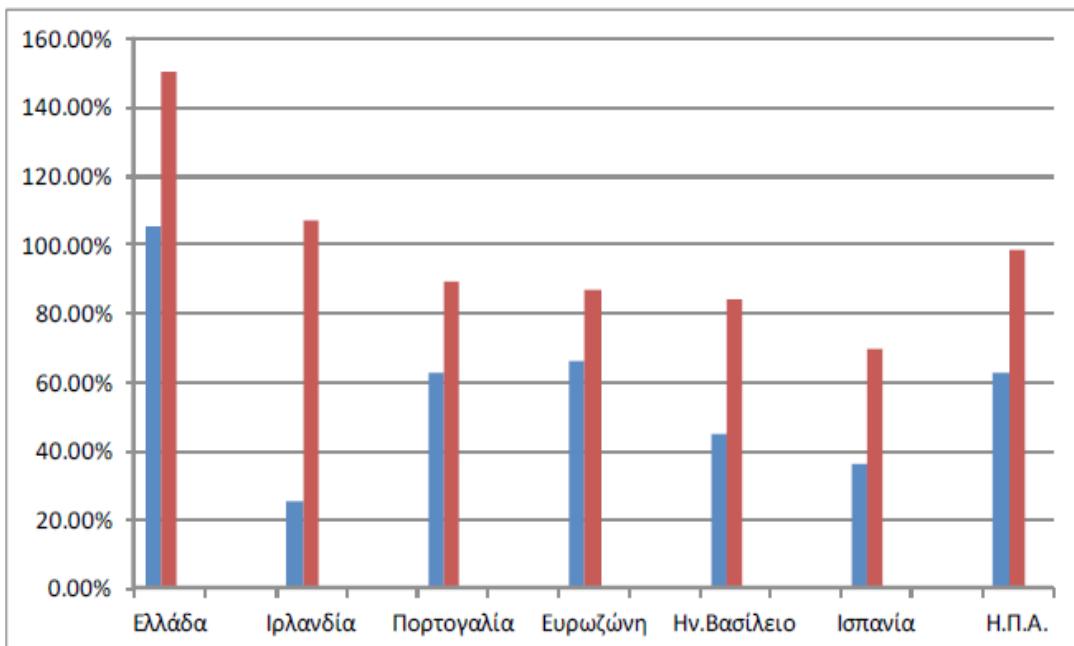
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4 Μπίσοφ, Γ. & Ντέτγε, Ρ. (2009). Η Ευρώπη στην κρίση - Καθ' οδόν προς τη ρήξη; Transform, (Νο 5), Ανακτήθηκε από
http://www.transformnetwork.net/el/periodiko/periodiko052009/news/detail/Journal/europe-in-the-crisis-on-the-road-to-breakup

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με το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο (ΔΝΤ) για να γίνει δυνατή η σταθεροποίηση των οικονομιών τους. Η Σερβία ζήτησε τη βοήθεια από το ΔΝΤ ως λύση, για να επιτύχει μια εξυγίανση στο δημοσιονομικό της τομέα.

Για την καταπολέμηση της χρηματοοικονομικής κρίσης είχαμε την παρέμβαση των αρχών με πακέτα διάσωσης και την εφαρμογή μιας επεκτατικής δημοσιονομικής πολιτική με αποτέλεσμα την αύξηση του δημόσιου χρέους των κρατών. Η ΕΚΤ επέλεξε να μην τυπώσει χρήμα αλλά να δανειστεί από όσους είχαν κεφάλαια διαθέσιμα προς επένδυση. Δεν υπήρξε δημιουργία χρήματος αλλά ανακατανομή των αποταμιεύσεων. Πολλά ασφαλιστικά Ταμεία και ιδιώτες επενδυτές πήραν μέρος σε αυτό το εγχείρημα. Αποτέλεσμα ήταν να επωμιστούν τα κράτη και κατ' επέκταση οι φορολογούμενοι το βάρος της ύφεσης το οποίο μετατράπηκε σε δημόσιο χρέος.

Την τετραετία 2007- 2011 το χρέος στις Η.Π.Α. αυξάνεται κατά 37,2 μονάδες του ΑΕΠ, στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο κατά 38 μονάδες του ΑΕΠ και στην Ελλάδα κατά 43,8 μονάδες του ΑΕΠ.

Διάγραμμα 3 Δημόσιο Χρέος (% ΑΕΠ , από 2007-2011 σε π.μ. του ΑΕΠ)

Πηγή: Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή 2011.

Στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, η κυβέρνηση ανακοίνωσε εσπευσμένα τη διάθεση χρηματοοικονομικού πακέτου ύψους £ 50 δισ. για την ενίσχυση των εποπτικών κεφαλαίων των τριών μεγάλων τραπεζών της χώρας.

Στη Ζώνη του Ευρώ η ΕΚΤ συνέχισε να παρέχει επίσης μεγάλα ποσά ρευστότητας στις τράπεζες που έχουν ανάγκη, με διάφορες μορφές διευκολύνσεων. Ωστόσο, πολλές χώρες προχώρησαν σε μεγαλύτερη ή και απεριόριστη αύξηση αυτού του ποσού[5].

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5   ALPHA BANK, (2009). Οικονομικό Δελτίο, Τριμηνιαία Έκδοση (Τεύχος 108), Ανακτήθηκε από https://www.alpha.gr/files/ infoanalyses/oikon_deltio_108.pdf
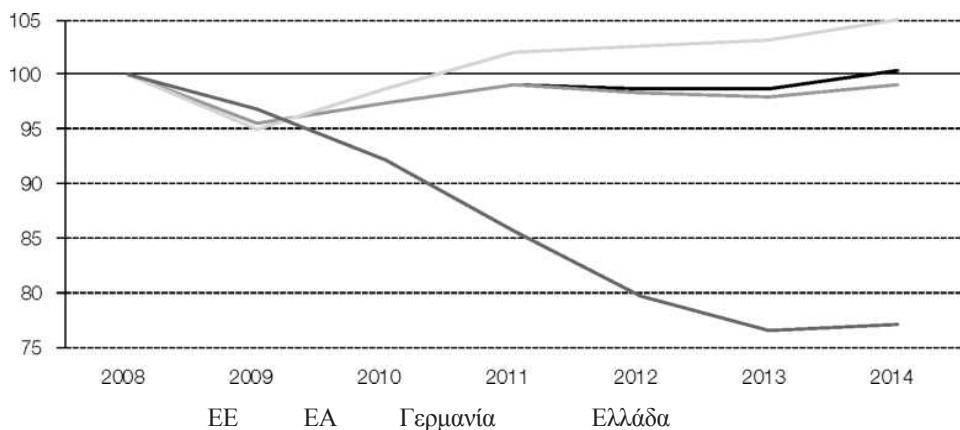
Η ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗ

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Η Γερμανία διέθεσε χρηματοδοτικό πακέτο στήριξης ύψους € 500 δισ., εκ των οποίων € 400 δισ. προορίζονται για εγγυήσεις αναχρηματοδοτήσεως του χρέους των χρηματοπιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων (με πρόσθετο επιτόκιο 2,0%) και € 100 δισ. για ενίσχυση των ιδίων κεφαλαίων εκείνων των χρηματοπιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων που θα το ζητήσουν.
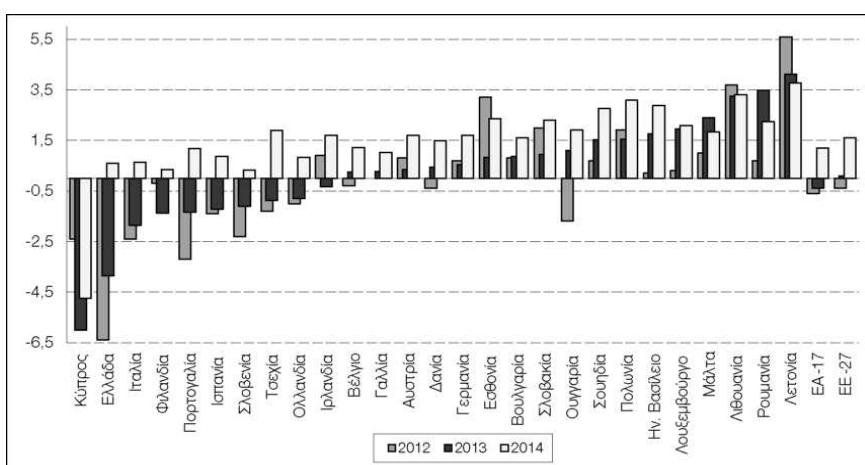
Η ευρωπαϊκή οικονομία το 2009 βυθίζεται σε ύφεση και το ΑΕΠ μειώνεται κατά 4,5% σε Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και στην Ευρωζώνη. Το 2010 και 2011 ορισμένες χώρες της βόρειας Ευρώπης σημείωσαν θετικούς ρυθμούς ανάπτυξης όμως το ΑΕΠ στο σύνολο των χωρών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης το 2012 συρρικνώθηκε ακόμη περισσότερο (-0,4% σε Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και -0,7% σε Ευρωζώνη).

Διάγραμμα 4 Πραγματικός ρυθμός ανάπτυξης ΑΕΠ, έτος βάσης 2008

Πηγή : Ameco Dtabase.

Διάγραμμα 5 Ρυθμοί Ανάπτυξης του ΑΕΠ στις χώρες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, 2012-2014

Πηγή : Eurostat, European Commission.

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Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν διαθέτει εσωτερικό μηχανισμό ανανέωσης των πλεονασμάτων της ώστε τα κέρδη των πλεονασματικών χωρών να επενδύονται στις ελλειμματικές ώστε να επιτευχθεί ανάπτυξη και πραγματική οικονομική σύγκλιση. Επίσης οι χώρες μέλη της Ευρώπης παρουσιάζουν μεγάλες ανισορροπίες (ίδιο νόμισμα και διαφορετική ανταγωνιστικότητα). Σε αντίθεση λοιπόν με τις ΗΠΑ που έχουν ενιαία δημοσιονομική και νομισματική πολιτική, στην Ευρωζώνη δεν παρατηρείται πραγματική σύγκλιση μεταξύ των χωρών μελών της με αποτέλεσμα να αμβλύνονται οι ανισσοροπίες. Η Γερμανία και η Ολλανδία δημιούργησαν σημαντικά πλεονάσματα κρατώντας χαμηλά την εγχώρια ζήτηση. Τα πλεονάσματα αυτά πέρασαν με τη μορφή δανεισμού στις υπόλοιπες χώρες της Ευρωζώνης δημιουργώντας πληθωριστικές τάσεις, αυξάνοντας τα ελλείμματα τους και κατά συνέπεια και το εξωτερικό τους χρέος. Το 2009 το αθροιστικό εμπορικό έλλειμμα της Ιταλίας, Ισπανίας, Ελλάδας και Πορτογαλίας υπολογίζονταν στα 122,5 δις δολάρια, ενώ το πλεόνασμα της Γερμανίας ήταν 109,7 δις δολάρια.

Η κρίση χρέους που έπληξε τις χώρες της Ευρωζώνης προκάλεσε την άνοδο της ανεργίας και τη μείωση της απασχόλησης με αρνητικές επιπτώσεις στη βιωσιμότητα του κοινωνικο-ασφαλιστικού συστήματος. Τα ιδιαίτερα υψηλά επίπεδα ανεργίας κατέδειξαν πόσο ευάλωτο είναι το μέχρι τώρα εφαρμοζόμενο παραγωγικό πρότυπο και ανέδειξαν τις μεγάλες ανισότητες μεταξύ των χωρών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και την αδυναμία της Ευρωπαϊκής Στρατηγικής για την Απασχόληση και την Κοινωνική Προστασία να ανταποκριθεί με στοιχειώδη επάρκεια στους διακηρυγμένους στόχους της. Ορισμένες χώρες (π.χ. Νορβηγία, Γερμανία, Σουηδία) επηρεάστηκαν μόνο συγκυριακά και επανήλθαν σύντομα σε χαμηλά επίπεδα ανεργίας, ενώ σε άλλες χώρες, όπως είναι η Ελλάδα, η Ισπανία και η Ουγγαρία εκτινάχθηκαν τα επίπεδα ανεργίας διευρύνοντας τις κοινωνικές ανισότητες και εντάσεις[6].

Η οικονομική κρίση στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να χαθούν 8,5 εκατ. θέσεις εργασίας τη διετία 2009-2010, σε αντίθεση με τα 9,5 εκατ. θέσεις εργασίας που δημιουργήθηκαν την περίοδο 2006-2008. Η ανεργία αυξάνεται περαιτέρω και διαμορφώνεται στο 12,0% του συνολικού εργατικού δυναμικού των χωρών της Ευρωζώνης και στο 10,8% της ΕΕ. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι στο τέλος του 2013 υπάρχουν έξι εκατομμύρια θέσεις απασχόλησης λιγότερες σε σχέση με το 2008.
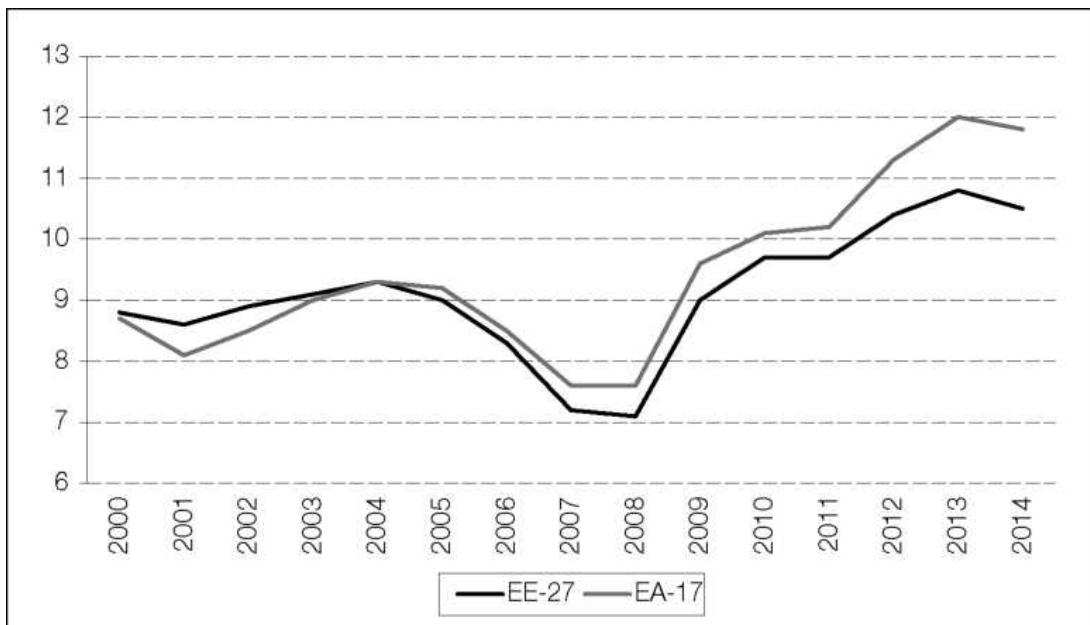
Η μείωση των μισθών και των εισοδημάτων στην Ευρώπη επιφέρει μείωση της ζήτησης, με αποτέλεσμα να δημιουργούνται συνθήκες περαιτέρω επιδείνωσης και ύφεσης της ευρωπαϊκής οικονομίας. Αποτέλεσμα αυτής της μείωσης είναι η επιδείνωση των συνθηκών εργασίας με περαιτέρω αύξηση της ανεργίας. Μεγαλύτερη αύξηση της ανεργίας συναντάμε στις χώρες στις οποίες εφαρμόζονται προγράμματα οικονομικής προσαρμογής.

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6   Ινστιτούτο Εργασίας - Κέντρο Επαγγελματικής Κατάρτισης ΓΣΕΕ.-ΑΔΕΔΥ, (2014, Σεπτέμβριος 4). Ετήσια έκθεση 2014: Ελληνική οικονομία και απασχόληση. (σελ.227). Ανακτήθηκε από http://www.inegsee.gr/ekdosi/etisia-ekthesi-2014-i-elliniki-ikonomia-ke-i-apascholisi/

Η ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗ
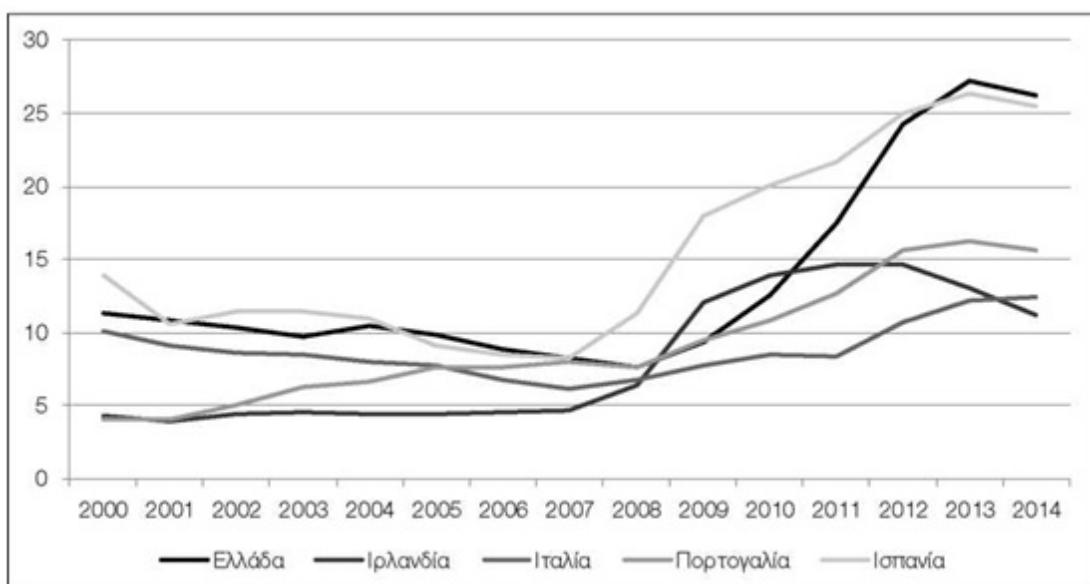
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Διάγραμμα 6 Εξέλιξη του ρυθμού ανεργίας, σε ΕΕ-27 και ΕΑ-17

Πηγή: *Ameco Database.*

Διάγραμμα 7 Ρυθμός Ανεργίας, 2000-2014 σε χώρες που εφαρμόζουν προγράμματα οικονομικής προσαρμογής

Πηγή: International Monetary Fund.

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Ένα πολύ αρνητικό αποτέλεσμα της Ευρωπαϊκής κρίσης είναι η ανεργία των νέων που αποτελεί ένα μείζων πρόβλημα όλων των κρατών μελλών. Η ανεργία των νέων φανερώνει την απόσταση που υπάρχει στην απασχόληση και την ανεργία στα διαφορετικά κράτη μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Τα επίπεδα απασχόλησης των νέων 15-24 ετών μειώθηκαν σε όλα τα κράτη μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης ανεξαρτήτως του επιπέδου της συνολικής ανεργίας.

Οι πολιτικές απασχόλησης προσανατολίστηκαν σε μέτρα ενίσχυσης της ευελιξίας της εργασίας με τη διευκόλυνσης των απολύσεων, της μερικής απασχόλησης, στην ενίσχυση της ανασφάλιστης εργασίας, στον περιορισμό των προϋποθέσεων καταβολής επιδομάτων ανεργίας, στις επιδοτήσεις για την προσωρινή απασχόληση και σε προγράμματα αξιοποίησης των ανέργων. Παράλληλα οι δαπάνες απασχόλησης, ενώ θα έπρεπε να αυξηθούν λόγω της οικονομικής κρίσης, μειώθηκαν σε όλα τα κράτη μέλη βυθίζοντας την ευρωπαϊκή οικονομία στην ύφεση και την αύξηση της ανεργίας. Η μείωση των δαπανών απασχόλησης και κοινωνικής προστασίας, ιδιαίτερα στις χώρες του νότου συμπεριλαμβανομένου και της Ελλάδας, οδήγησε στη μετεξέλιξη της οικονομικής κρίσης σε ανθρωπιστική διευρύνοντας περισσότερο τις ανισότητες και τη συνοχή της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

Στο πλαίσιο των πολιτικών λιτότητας που εφαρμόζονται στις ευρωπαϊκές χώρες, ασκείται ισχυρή πίεση στους μισθούς και στην συλλογική διαπραγμάτευση, η οποία είτε λαμβάνει την μορφή ευθείας άμεσης παρέμβασης στο ύψος και επίπεδο των αποδοχών είτε επιδιώκεται έμμεσα μέσα από μεταρρυθμίσεις συστημάτων, μηχανισμών και διαδικασιών διαμόρφωσης των μισθών, με βασικό στόχο την αποκέντρωση της συλλογικής διαπραγμάτευσης. Αυτό γίνεται ιδιαίτερα στις χώρες που εφαρμόζουν προγράμματα προσαρμογής υπό της επίβλεψη της Τρόικα (ή του Διεθνούς Νομισματικού Ταμείου) αλλά και σε χώρες σε «άτυπο» μνημόνιο όπου η Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρικής Τράπεζας θέτει τις μεταρρυθμίσεις στα εργασιακά ως όρο για την παρέμβαση της στην δευτερογενή αγορά κρατικών ομολόγων. Παρά το γεγονός ότι η Συνθήκη της Λισαβόνας (άρθρο 153 -5) ορίζει ότι οι μισθοί εξαιρούνται ρητά την κοινοτικής αρμοδιότητας, ωστόσο η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή, η Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα (και το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο) παρεμβαίνουν άμεσα στις χώρες σε πρόγραμμα προσαρμογής για να ζητήσουν ή να επιβάλουν πάγωμα ή μειώσεις μισθών (δημόσιος τομέας, Κατώτατος Μισθός) καθώς επίσης και μεταρρυθμίσεις που αποδυναμώνουν τους θεσμούς της συλλογικής διαπραγμάτευσης σε εθνικό και κλαδικό επίπεδο, ως αντάλλαγμα για την χρηματοοικονομική «διάσωση» των χωρών[7].
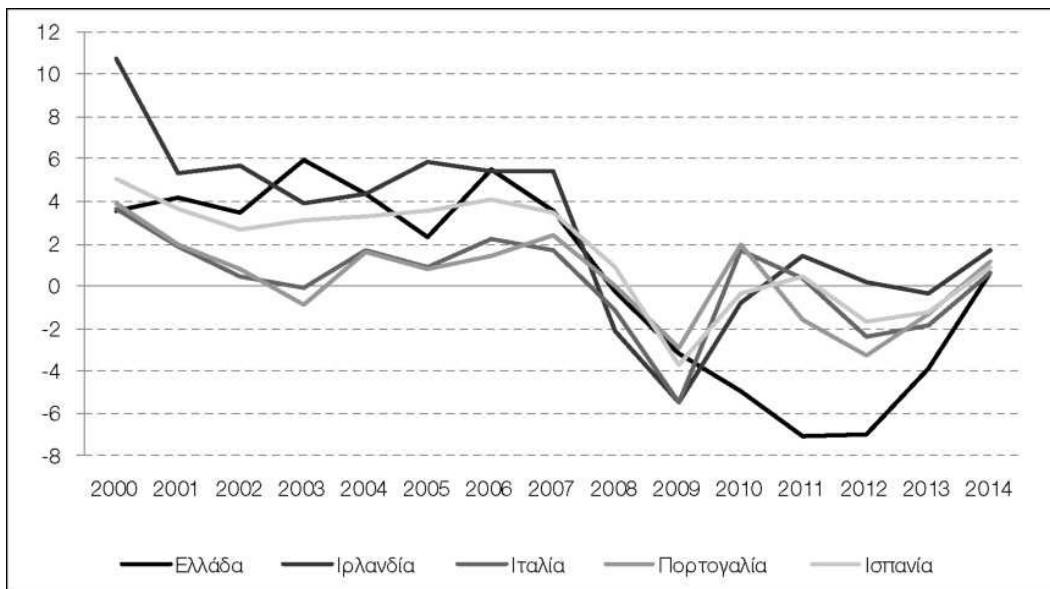
Στην Ελλάδα το πρόγραμμα προσαρμογής που εφαρμόστηκε είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη βαθιά και παρατεταμένη ύφεση της οικονομίας και τη μείωση του ΑΕΠ περίπου 25%. Από το 2014 οι οικονομίες του νότου και η Ιρλανδία επανέρχονται σε θετικούς ρυθμούς ανάπτυξης, χωρίς όμως μεγάλη δυναμική.

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7   Καψάλης, Α. & Τριανταφύλλου, Χ. (συντονιστής Κουζής, Γ.), (2014). Τετράδια του ΙΝΕ, Εξελίξεις στις συλλογικές διαπραγματεύσεις και στις αμοιβές κατά το 2013. Ανακτήθηκε από http://inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Meleti-42_-Eidiki-ekdosi-Tetradia-INE2.pdf

Η ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗ

Δρ. Μέμος Κωνσταντίνος

Διάγραμμα 8 Ρυθμοί Ανάπτυξης του ΑΕΠ, 2000-2014,
σε χώρες που εφαρμόζουν προγράμματα οικονομικής προσαρμογής

Πηγή: *International Monetary Fund.*

Η δημοσιονομική πολιτική που ασκήθηκε στην Ευρώπη δεν άφησε ανεπηρέαστο και το Σύστημα κοινωνικής ασφάλισης. Για την κάλυψη του ελλείμματος του κοινωνικού προϋπολογισμού θεσπίστηκαν μέτρα όπως η αύξηση των ορίων ηλικίας συνταξιοδότησης, η αλλαγή του τρόπου υπολογισμού των συντάξεων και η διάρκεια του εργάσιμου βίου των ασφαλισμένων. Η αύξηση των ορίων ηλικίας συνταξιοδότησης επιδεινώνει το επιπέδου παραγωγικότητας των επιχειρήσεων και δρα σε βάρος της ανταγωνιστικότητας, της ανάπτυξης και του παραγόμενου ΑΕΠ. Έτσι, η αύξηση της ανεργίας, η γήρανση του πληθυσμού, η αύξηση του προσδόκιμου ορίου ζωής, η μείωση της ανάπτυξης, η αύξηση των επιπέδων του δημόσιου ελλείμματος και του δημόσιου χρέους και η μείωση της απασχόλησης έκαναν δυσχερέστερη την κατάσταση βιωσιμότητας των συνταξιοδοτικών συστημάτων στα κράτη-μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

Επίλογος

Οι φορείς άσκησης της ευρωπαϊκής οικονομικής, δημοσιονομικής και νομισματικής πολιτικής, επιβάλλουν, υπό την πίεση των πλεονασματικών χωρών, στα κράτη-μέλη την εφαρμογή μιας αυστηρής πολιτικής δημοσιονομικής πειθαρχίας με αύξηση των φόρων και μείωση των εισοδημάτων, προκειμένου χωρίς την δημιουργία συνθηκών ανάπτυξης και παραγωγής πρωτογενών πλεονασμάτων να μετατραπούν οι Προϋπολογισμοί τους από ελλειμματικοί σε πλεονασματικοί. Όμως, η εφαρμοζόμενη, αυτή πολιτική της «εσωτερικής υποτίμησης» στα κράτη-μέλη, η οποία αποτελεί μία σωρευτική διαδικασία διαδοχικών κύκλων μείωσης των μισθών και των τιμών, μετεξελίσσεται

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σε μία διαδικασία ύφεσης και ανατροφοδοτούμενης επιδείνωσης του βιοτικού επιπέδου των πολιτών με την θεσμοποιημένη θέσπιση της συρρίκνωσης των εργασιακών, εισοδηματικών και κοινωνικών δικαιωμάτων[8].

Δημιουργείται μία Ευρώπης δύο ταχυτήτων, που οξύνει και επιδεινώνει τις ανισότητες των μελών της. Μία Ευρώπη άνισης ανάπτυξης, αποτελούμενη από τις αδύναμες παραγωγικά, τεχνολογικά και κοινωνικά χώρες του Νότου σε αντιδιαστολή με τις ανεπτυγμένες χώρες της κεντρικής και βόρειας Ευρώπης.

Τα κράτη-μέλη επιλέγουν σήμερα την προσφιλή και πεπατημένη μέθοδο της εισπρακτικής και αναποτελεσματικής (εκ του αποτελέσματος) λογικής για την χρηματοδότηση του ελλείμματος και την εξασφάλιση πόρων με τρό-πους (μείωση των συνταξιοδοτικών παροχών και επιδείνωση των όρων και των συνθηκών συνταξιοδότησης) που διευρύνουν το κοινωνικό έλλειμμα και συρρικνώνουν, τις προϋποθέσεις κοινωνικής συνοχής και σύγκλισης, μετατρέποντας σταδιακά το ευρωπαϊκό πρότυπο του κράτους πρόνοιας σε πρότυπο κράτους φιλανθρωπίας[9].

Η κρίση στην Ευρώπη μετατράπηκε από μια δημοσιονομική κρίση χρέους σε μια κρίση της Ευρωζώνης και σύντομα στην περίπλοκη κοινωνική και πολιτική κρίση της οποίας το τέλος και οι συνέπειες δεν είναι ακόμη προβλέψιμες. Η παγκόσμια χρηματοοικονομική κρίση χτύπησε την ΕΕ σε μια στιγμή αυξανόμενης διαφορετικότητας, αποπροσανατολισμού και τοπικών ανισοτήτων, όταν η πολωτική της ενιαία αγορά δεν ήταν ισορροπημένη και συνδυασμένη με κοινές ή συγχρονισμένες οικονομικές πολιτικές. Ούτε ήταν επεκταμένη λόγω της εκ των πραγμάτων αλληλεγγύης από το κέντρο προς την περιφέρειά της. Υποφέροντας από έλλειμμα νομιμοποιημένης και υπεύθυνης υπερεθνικής κυβέρνησης, ικανής ηγεσίας και ικανότητες διαχείρισης κρίσεων, η ΕΕ βρίσκεται σε μια φάση αυτοκαταστροφής[10].

Οι χώρες της Ευρώπης (Ελλάδα, Ιρλανδία, Ισπανία, Πορτογαλία, Ιταλία) που εφαρμόζουν προγράμματα οικονομικής προσαρμογής βίωσαν εντονότερα τις συνέπειες της οικονομικής κρίσης. Η εφαρμογή αυστηρών περιοριστικών προγραμμάτων στις χώρες αυτές, από το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο(ΔΝΤ), την Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή (Κομισιόν) και την Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα(ΕΚΤ) (Τρόικα), επιδείνωσαν τα φαινόμενα που ήθελαν να καταπολεμήσουν (υψηλά δημοσιονομικά ελλείμματα, υψηλό δημόσιο χρέος, προβλήματα στο χρηματοπιστωτικό τομέα.

Η Ευρώπη χωρίζεται σε ζώνες και σφαίρες επιρροής και το όραμα της σύγκλισης αντικαταστάθηκε από την αδυσώπητη επιδίωξη των ισχυρών να αποκλίνουν όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερο από τους αποσυγκροτημένους του «οικονομικού» Νότου, ώστε να μεταβληθούν σε δορυφόρους μιας κεντροευρωπαϊκής (υπό την ηγεσία της Γερμανίας) κηδεμονίας[11].

Οι πολιτικές που εφαρμόζονται στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση στοχεύουν στη σταθεροποίηση της ευρωπαϊκής οικονομίας με τη μείωση των μισθών, των εισοδημάτων, με την απορύθμιση των εργασιακών σχέσεων και του Συστήματος Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης. Ανεπιτυχείς πολιτικές που όχι μόνο δεν επέλυσαν το πρόβλημα αλλά οδήγησαν σε αδιέξοδο πολλά κράτη μέλη.

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GEO-ECONOMICS VS. GEO-POLITICS BAGHDAD RAILWAY PROJECT: FROM THE MERCHANTS, TO THE LAFTERS OF THE NATIONS

John Karkazis, Ioannis G. Vidakis**, Georgios C. Baltos****

Absract

This study focuses on exploring the geopolitical situation in the wider East Mediterranean region around 1900, through the brief analysis of a major infrastructure project, the Baghdad Railway. The process of its construction eventually led to the rivalry between «Politics» and «Economy» as well as to the strengthening of the former against the latter, toward increased Power gains. The innovative of the analysis extends to the working hypothesis that modern economic crises are also related to power games similar to those prevailing almost a century ago.

Presenting the competition of the Great Powers, along with the looting the energy resources over the wider region, drives to evidences on the perpetual political motives of the stakeholders involved at regional and global level.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Geo-economics, Baghdad Railway, Middle East, Energy Resources, Economic Crises

Jel Codes: A12, F34, F50, F54, N15, N65, N75, N95, Q 13, Q 40, Q 53

Προοίμιο

«Οι Έμποροι των Εθνών», το μυθιστόρημα του Αλέξανδρου Παπαδιαμάντη αρχίζει το **1199**, τότε που Βενετοί και Γενουάτες, έμποροι και πειρατές, εξορμούν για να καταλάβουν τις Κυκλάδες, με μόνο τους νόμο την αυθαιρεσία και την ιδιοτέλεια.[1] Ο Μάρκος Σανούτος, ανεψιός του Ερρίκου Δάνδολου εκστρατεύει εναντίον του Αιγαίου. Η δύναμη της Βενετίας πρέπει να εξαπλωθεί. Τα νησιά του Αιγαίου είναι προφανές ότι δεν θα μπορέσουν να αντισταθούν <u>και η ισχύς μόνο επεκτατικά διαιωνίζεται</u>. **Ο ισχυρός που δεν ασκεί ιμπεριαλιστική πολιτική δεν είναι ισχυρός, αφενός γιατί είναι θέμα χρόνου το πότε θα χάσει τα ηνία και αφετέρου γιατί, χωρίς τον επεκτατισμό, δεν θα γινόταν ποτέ ισχυρός.**[2]

Το παρόν κείμενο αναφέρεται συνοπτικά στον χώρο της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου και της Μέσης Ανατολής, 700 περίπου χρόνια μετά το 1199, και αξιοποιώντας ως μέθοδο την γεω-ιστορική ανάλυση[3] επιχειρεί να

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1 Δημοσιεύθηκε για πρώτη φορά στο περιοδικό «Μη Χάνεσαι» του Βλάση Γαβριηλίδη, σε συνέχειες, (από 8/11/1882 έως 8/2/1883).

2 Τελικά ο πυρήνας του έργου αποτελεί το πεδίο μελέτης της ανθρώπινης συμπεριφοράς. Είναι η πραγματεία πάνω στους ανθρώπους που εμπορεύονται τα έθνη. Η ενδοσκόπηση στην ηθική του κυνισμού που εκδηλώνεται σε ατομικό και διαμορφώνει το συλλογικό επίπεδο. (Ισχύει και αντίστροφα). «Τι εξήτει η Βενετία πέμπουσα τους στόλους τούτους εις το Αιγαίον; … » (Παπαδιαμάντης, 2011, σ. 265).

3 Η «σύνθετη», διεπιστημονική εξέταση συναφών γεγονότων, αποφάσεων και καταστάσεων. Η τελευταία θα οριστεί/αποκληθεί προκαταρκτικά, «γεωιστορία» [ή «μετα-ιστορία»] και αφορά αρχικά στη σύνδεση «Ιστορίας» και «Χώρου» (Higounet, 1989) αλλά και στη συσχέτιση και ερμηνείας των γεγονότων με την πολιτική, τις διεθνείς σχέσεις και την ισχύ των κρατών. Η γεωιστορική μελέτη διακρίνει κυρίως σύνδρομα και κίνητρα υπεροχής – φθόνου ή/και συγκριτικών ωφελειών.

προβάλλει μέσω της εξέτασης του Σιδηρόδρομου της Βαγδάτης, την αντιπαράθεση συγκεκριμένων πτυχών της Οικονομίας, της Πολιτικής και των Διεθνών Σχέσεων.

Ο Σιδηροδρομος Της Βαγδατης:
Γεω-Πολιτική Εναντίον Γεω-Οικονομίας

Το τελευταίο διάστημα παρατηρούνται μεγάλες μεταβολές στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο και στη Μέση Ανατολή και αναφύονται ποικίλα ερωτηματικά. Μια τεκμηριωμένη απάντηση σ΄ αυτά μπορεί να διερευνηθεί μέσα από την ουσιαστική εξέταση μεταξύ άλλων, της αξίας του πεδίου των φυσικών πόρων και ιδιαίτερα των ενεργειακών (Karkazis & Vidakis, 2014· Βιδάκης, 2014). Ας οριοθετήσουμε όμως κατ΄ αρχήν, μία αφετηρία:

Στον γενικότερο γεω-ιστορικό καμβά των δρώμενων στον ευρύτερο χώρο της Εγγύς Ανατολής, θεωρούμε ότι για την ανίχνευση και την αναζήτηση της ουσίας των γεγονότων (παρελθόν), την κατανόηση και ερμηνεία της τρέχουσας κατάστασης και της σημερινής «τάξης πραγμάτων», (παρόν), καθώς και για τις εξελίξεις που ακολουθούν, (μέλλον), απαιτείται διεπιστημονική έρευνα, χωρίς να παραλείπεται μεταξύ άλλων ο σημαντικός ρόλος των Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων της κάθε εποχής και η εμφάνιση - ανάδειξη του πετρελαϊκού παράγοντα, ως σημαντικού στοιχείου επιλογών και αποφάσεων στην εν λόγω περιοχή, (Vidakis, Baltos, & Balodis 2017· Καρκαζής, Βιδάκης, & Μπάλτος 2010). Άλλωστε σε κρίσιμους περιόδους όπως και η τωρινή, η ιστορική μνήμη είναι πολύτιμη.

Με σκοπό τη συμμετοχή μας στην εν λόγω προσπάθεια, επιλέξαμε να μελετήσουμε τα τελευταία χρόνια της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, με την ανάλυση ενός μεγαλεπήβολου έργου στην περιοχή, του Σιδηρόδρομου της Βαγδάτης, (**Bagdad Railway – BR**). Για την υλοποίηση αυτού του στόχου εξετάσαμε το πρωτογενές έργο του Καθηγητή στο Πανεπιστήμιο Columbia των ΗΠΑ, Edward Mead Earle, (1923), με τίτλο: «Η Τουρκία, οι Μεγάλες Δυνάμεις και ο Σιδηρόδρομος της Βαγδάτης: Μία Μελέτη στον Ιμπεριαλισμό». Στο βιβλίο εισάγεται και ερευνάται ο σημαντικός παράγοντας του «Σιδηρόδρομου της Βαγδάτης», (βλ. Χάρτη 1), ο οποίος φέρεται να «διασυνδέει» τους τομείς της Γεω-Οικονομίας, της Γεω-Πολιτικής, των Διεθνών Σχέσεων και τον λανθάνοντα κλάδο της Ενέργειας, (τότε άνθρακα και πετρελαίου). Ο συγγραφέας σχετίζει με αποδεικτικά στοιχεία, τα συμφέροντα των τότε Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων με τον Ιμπεριαλισμό και το ξέσπασμα του Μεγάλου (Πρώτου Παγκοσμίου) Πολέμου. Στο έργο αυτό μνημονεύονται μεταξύ άλλων θέματα, όπως το Ανατολικό Ζήτημα, (Eastern Question), η περιπλεγμένη κατάσταση της αρχικά υπερχρεωμένης και στη συνέχεια και «υποθηκευμένης» Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, στις προσπάθειές της για οικονομική μεγέθυνση και εκσυγχρονισμό, η οικονομική της εξάρτηση και οι εσφαλμένες αποφάσεις των ηγεσιών της, που τελικά οδήγησαν στην καταστροφή της. Ο καθηγητής εύλογα σημειώνει τα ακόλουθα:

«Οικονομικοί ανταγωνισμοί, στρατιωτικές συμμαχίες, εθνική υπερηφάνεια, στρατηγικοί ελιγμοί, θρησκευτικοί φανατισμοί, φυλετικές προκαταλήψεις, μυστική διπλωματία, επιθετικός ιμπεριαλισμός και άλλα τρομερά εμπόδια παρακώλυσαν τον δρόμο προς την ειρηνική πρόοδο και προώθησαν συρράξεις και φήμες για πολέμους». Έτσι ήταν προορισμένο να γίνει και με το Σιδηρόδρομο της Βαγδάτης. **Ένα έργο μεγάλης ελπίδας για την οικονομική και πολιτική αναζωογόνηση της Εγγύς Ανατολής, έγινε πηγή διεθνών αντιπαλοτήτων, που συνέβαλαν στην έκρηξη του Μεγάλου Πολέμου.** Αποτελεί μία από τις τραγωδίες του 19ου και του 20ού αιώνα, το ότι το κανάλι του Σουέζ, ο υπερσιβηρικός και ο σιδηρόδρομος της Βαγδάτης - ισχυρά μέσα του πολιτισμού για την προώθηση της ειρηνικής προόδου και της υλικής ευημερίας - δεν θα μπορούσαν να κατασκευαστούν χωρίς να

προκαλέσουν ιμπεριαλιστικές τριβές, πολιτικές ίντριγκες, στρατιωτικές συμμαχίες και ένοπλες συγκρούσεις (Earle, 1923, σελ. 3,4).[4]

Αναλυτικότερα όσον αφορά στον BR, θα συνέδεε το Βερολίνο με την γραμμή Κωνσταντινούπολης-Βαγδάτης, στα εδάφη των Οθωμανών. Το **1888** Γερμανική κοινοπραξία, («Anatolian Railway Company» – **ARC**), έλαβε αρχικά άδεια από τους Οθωμανούς για την κατασκευή σιδηροδρόμου στη Μικρά Ασία: το **1893** παραδόθηκε η γραμμή Χαϊντάρ Πασά – Νικομήδεια – Άγκυρα. Το ίδιο έτος ανατέθηκε στην ARC η κατασκευή σιδηροδρόμου 444 χλμ. από το Εσκί Σεχίρ στο Ικόνιο, (ολοκληρώθηκε το **1896)**. Το **1899** ο Σουλτάνος παραχωρεί στην **ARC** την κατασκευή δικτύου από το Ικόνιο στην Βαγδάτη και στον Περσικό Κόλπο και η σχετική σύμβαση οριστικοποιείται το **1903**, με τη σύσταση της «Bagdad Railway Company», (**BRC**), στην οποία συμμετέχει και η ARC. **Ήδη από το 1901, Γερμανοί ιθύνοντες ανέφεραν για την ύπαρξη τεράστιων κοιτασμάτων πετρελαίου στις περιοχές του Τίγρη και του Ευφράτη.** Ωστόσο στην τρίτη αυτή ανάθεση υπήρχαν ή/και παρουσιάστηκαν πολλά εμπόδια. Μετά την οριστική παραχώρηση, κυρίως η Βρετανία και δευτερευόντως η Γαλλία και σε μικρότερο βαθμό η Ρωσία, θεώρησαν ότι η περάτωση αυτού του δικτύου θα μπορούσε να απειλήσει τα συμφέροντα, την κυριαρχία, την ισορροπία και τη σχετική θέση των Δυνάμεων στον Παγκόσμιο Καταμερισμό Ισχύος, [«**σύνδρομο υπεροχής, συγκριτικών ωφελειών» ή «φθόνος υστέρησης»** – Βιδάκης, 2016, σελ. 154, 191, 200]. **Συνεπώς ένα έργο επενδύσεων στις υποδομές, μεγάλης οικονομικής σημασίας, επιβεβαιώνει τους φόβους του καθηγητή, για πρόκληση γεωπολιτικής αντιπαλότητας.**

Από αυτές τις τρείς Μεγάλες Δυνάμεις, (και στη συνέχεια συμμάχους), το Λονδίνο αρχικά φέρεται να στήριξε τα γερμανικά σχέδια, (με την εκτίμηση ότι ήταν μάλλον υπερβολικά φιλόδοξα για να υλοποιηθούν και λόγω της υπερέκτασης το Βερολίνο θα βρισκόταν σε δυσχερή θέση – ανταγωνιστικός ιμπεριαλισμός), το Παρίσι αποδέχθηκε να έχει ένα μερίδιο μειοψηφίας στην **BRC** (συμμετοχή στα κέρδη – συνεργατικός ιμπεριαλισμός) και η Μόσχα αφού πέτυχε την αλλαγή της διαδρομής του σιδηροδρόμου, αδράνησε (μη ανταγωνιστικός ιμπεριαλισμός). Ειδικότερα το **1899**, λόγω Ρωσικών αντιρρήσεων για την κατασκευή σιδηροδρόμων στην βόρεια Μικρά Ασία, το σχέδιο κατασκευής επικεντρώθηκε σε μία νότια γραμμή, από το Ικόνιο στην Βαγδάτη μέσω Χαλεπίου και Μοσούλης, (βλ. Χάρτες 1 & 2). Μετά από μία σύντομη περίοδο έντονου ανταγωνισμού για την παραχώρηση του **1899**, ο όμιλος της Deutsche Bank παρέμεινε στην κατοχή της.

Η διπλωματική κατάσταση ήταν ευνοϊκή για τις Γερμανικές αξιώσεις. Η υπόθεση της Fashoda (Αγγλο-Γαλλικός ανταγωνισμός) και η σοβαρή Αγγλο-Ρωσική αντιπαλότητα στον Καύκασο (Great Game) είχαν χρησιμεύσει για να θέσουν προσωρινά την Ρωσία, την Γαλλία και την Βρετανία σε ανταγωνιστική τροχιά, απελευθερώνοντας τους Γερμανούς στην ανάπτυξη των συμφερόντων τους στη Μικρά Ασία. Εκτός από αυτά υπήρξαν εξαιρετικοί λόγοι, (οικονομικοί, στρατηγικοί, πολιτικοί), από την Οθωμανική πλευρά για την ανάθεση του **BR** στην Γερμανική **ARC. Η Οθωμανική Κυβέρνηση είχε αποφασίσει ότι οι γραμμές της Ανατόλιαν θα έπρεπε να αποτελέσουν τον πυρήνα του προτεινόμενου σιδηροδρομικού συστήματος.** Στις 5 Μαρτίου **1903**, μία αναθεωρημένη σύμβαση για το Σιδηρόδρομο της Βαγδάτης υπογράφηκε με την **BRC**. Η νέα σύμβαση **ισχύος 99 ετών**, προέβλεπε μία «γραμμή κορμού» από το Ικόνιο έως τον Περσικό Κόλπο, με χρόνο περάτωσης του έργου το **1911**.

Ωστόσο η Βρετανία, φέρεται να εμφανίζεται πιο δυναμικά στο προσκήνιο: ο John Fisher, αποκαλούμενος από τους συναδέλφους του «oil maniac» (Jones, 1981, σ. 14) αναλαμβάνει ναυαρχικά καθήκοντα στο Βασιλικό

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4   Συνάγεται το συμπέρασμα ότι έργα και αποφάσεις που έχουν τις δυνατότητες μεταβολής του status quo στον Διεθνή (ή/και περιφερειακό) Καταμερισμό Ισχύος, αναπτύσσουν ενδογενώς εντάσεις και συγκρούσεις.

Ναυτικό, ως «Second Sea Lord», (Διοικητής Εκπαίδευσης και Εφοδιασμού) και εισάγει ευρείες μεταρρυθμίσεις, την περίοδο **1902–1904**. Τον Ιούλιο του **1902**, ο Arthur Balfour αναλαμβάνει την πρωθυπουργία υποστηρίζοντας <u>και</u> τις καινοτομίες του Fisher. Στρέφεται στην διαμόρφωση της «Εγκάρδιας Συνεννόησης/Αντάντ - Entente Cordiale», με την Γαλλία (**Απρίλιος 1904**). Ο Fisher το **1904** αναλαμβάνει καθήκοντα Αρχηγού, με αποτέλεσμα τη ναυπήγηση το **1906,** του τεχνολογικά αναβαθμισμένου «HMS Dreadnought», με στόχο την διατήρηση της βρετανικής θαλάσσιας κυριαρχίας, έναντι της γερμανικής απειλής της ναυπήγησης ισχυρού πολεμικού στόλου. Το ίδιο έτος ο Βρετανός Halford John Mackinder, δημοσιεύει την γεωπολιτική θεωρία του για την «Heartland», [θεώρηση περί της «Παγκόσμιας Νήσου» (Ευρασίας και Αφρικής) και της «Καρδιάς της Γης», επισημαίνοντας τη σημασία της πρώτης για την παγκόσμια κυριαρχία.[5] Νωρίτερα ο Αμερικανός Alfred Thayer Mahan, είχε παρουσιάσει και υποστηρίξει την υπεροχή της θαλάσσιας ισχύος (Βιδάκης, 2016, σελ. 206-208, 213).

Η πετρελαιοκίνηση των ντρέντνωτ σε συνδυασμό με την έλλειψη του αργού από τα εδάφη του ΗΒ, ανέδειξαν σε ύψιστη προτεραιότητα εθνικής ασφάλειας, την κατοχύρωση μεγάλων κοιτασμάτων (και αποθεμάτων) πετρελαίου εκτός της Βρετανίας. Σημειώνεται ότι η «ενεργειακή έκρηξη» ξεκίνησε στα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα και συνδεόταν με την έναρξη της μαζικής χρήσης του πετρελαίου (Vidakis & Baltos 2015).

Ωστόσο εσωτερικές πολιτικές εξελίξεις στην Βρετανία λειτούργησαν ανασταλτικά στα σχέδια του Fisher: οι εκλογές του Δεκεμβρίου του **1905** ανέδειξαν κυβέρνηση τους Φιλελευθέρους, [με ουδετερόφιλη στρατηγική έναντι της Γερμανίας, μετά την Α΄ Μαροκινή κρίση (1904-1905) και **πρόγραμμα μείωσης των εξοπλισμών για την εφαρμογή κοινωνικής πολιτικής**]. Οι οικονομολόγοι της κυβέρνησης Asquith, μετά το **1908** κατέβαλλαν κάθε προσπάθεια για να ακυρώσουν το εκτεταμένο και πολυδάπανο ναυτικό πρόγραμμα του Fisher. **Ο Fisher τελικά αποστρατεύεται το 1910** (Βιδάκης & Μπάλτος, 2013· Βιδάκης, Αλομπέιντ, & Μπάλτος, 2012α, 2012β). Όπως χαρακτηριστικά επισημαίνει ο Yergin (2009): «Ο Churchill και ο Lloyd George υπερασπίστηκαν μία Αγγλο-Γερμανική ναυτική συμφωνία ως ένα μέσο για να περιορίσουν τις πιστώσεις του ναυτικού και να εξοικονομήσουν κονδύλια για την [ενίσχυση] της κοινωνικής μεταρρύθμισης» (σ.137).

Η αποφασιστική καμπή για την ανάδειξη της στρατηγικής χρησιμότητας του πετρελαίου ως κυρίαρχου τροφοδότη του βρετανικού στόλου φέρεται να εντοπίζεται στα γεωστρατηγικά αίτια της Β΄ Μαροκινής κρίσης του Agadir το καλοκαίρι του 1911: η επίδειξη ισχύος της Γερμανίας μέσω της αποστολής του θωρηκτού «Πάνθηρ» στο λιμένα του Μαρόκου, πέτυχε να συσπειρώσει το σύνολο του αντι-Γερμανικού συνασπισμού στο Λονδίνο, υπογραμμίζοντας το μέγεθος της πρόκλησης και της ενδεχόμενης απειλής για την Βρετανική Θαλασσοκρατία (Χριστοδουλίδης, 1997, σελ. 405-410· Yergin, 2009, σ. xiii).

Το Φθινόπωρο του 1911 ο Winston Churchill, ένας από τους ηγέτες των «φιλελεύθερων οικονομιστών», διορίζεται ως πολιτικός προϊστάμενος του Ναυαρχείου και προσχωρεί πλήρως στη στρατηγική του συνταξιοδοτηθέντος Ναυάρχου Fisher. Με τον Τσώρτσιλ το Ναυαρχείο υλοποιεί τα σχέδιά του: χρήση πετρελαίου στα πολεμικά πλοία και σε πρώτο στάδιο παραγγελία πέντε πετρελαιοκίνητων ντρέντνωτ. **Η βρετανική κυβέρνηση στράφηκε εναγωνίως στην εξασφάλιση πετρελαϊκών πηγών,** στηρίζοντας βρετανικές επιχειρήσεις.

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5 Διατύπωσε την έποψη ότι η Ρωσία κατέχοντας μεγάλη μάζα ευρασιατικών εδαφών, εάν συμμαχούσε με την Γερμανία, θα αποκτούσαν παγκόσμια κυριαρχία - [σήμερα οι ΗΠΑ αντιδρούν σθεναρά στο ενδεχόμενο ευρύτερης ενεργειακής συνεργασίας ΕΕ και Ρωσίας (Καρκαζής, Βιδάκης, & Μπάλτος, 2011)]. Αργότερα πρόσθεσε και την αξία του ελέγχου των θαλάσσιων – εμπορικών οδών, με την έννοια ότι αποτελούν το μοναδικό τρόπο της Δύσης να αντιδράσει στην απειλή της Ρωσίας, απομονώνοντάς την, από την θάλασσα. Ο Mackinder τον Ιανουάριο του 1910, εκλέγεται μέλος του Κοινοβουλίου και συνεπώς μπορεί να ασκήσει ευρύτερη επιρροή, στην διαμόρφωση της Βρετανικής πολιτικής.

Ο Churchill στη συνέχεια, (Ιούλιος 1912) σύστησε την πρώτη επίσημη κρατική επιτροπή «Ενεργειακής Ασφαλείας» στην ιστορία, υπό τον Fisher. Η Βασιλική Επιτροπή Πετρελαίου (Royal Commission on Oil and the Oil Engine) υποστήριξε την πετρελαιοκίνηση του στόλου και έλαβε μία σειρά συναφών αποφάσεων (Βιδάκης, 2016, σελ. 232, 233).

Συνεπώς η εισαγωγή του παράγοντα των πετρελαίων της Μεσοποταμίας, η γειτνίαση του τερματικού σταθμού του BR με τα πετρελαϊκά πεδία της Περσίας, η ανάγκη της Βρετανίας σε καύσιμα για τον τεχνολογικά εκσυγχρονιζόμενο πολεμικό της στόλο (dreadnought) και η ταχέως αναπτυσσόμενη παγκόσμια πετρελαϊκή οικονομία, μετέβαλαν τη στάση της: **όταν λοιπόν το 1911 η BRC πρότεινε μία διακλάδωση από την Αλεξανδρέττα έως το Χαλέπι, που θα εξυπηρετούσε το εμπόριο με την βόρεια Συρία και την βόρεια Μεσοποταμιακή κοιλάδα, η Βρετανία αρνήθηκε την προτεινόμενη αύξηση των δασμών της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας ώστε να χρηματοδοτηθεί το εν λόγω σχέδιο**. Η Βρετανική αντίδραση και οι διχογνωμίες Γαλλίας και Ρωσίας ανάγκασαν τους Γερμανούς σε μία σειρά διαπραγματεύσεων για την διανομή των ωφελειών της γραμμής, την προστασία των συμφερόντων των Αγγλο-Γάλλων, τον περιορισμό των αρχικών τους απαιτήσεων, (ενδεικτικά η γραμμή θα είχε τερματικό σταθμό την Βασόρα και όχι στον Περσικό Κόλπο). **Αν και πολλά αμφισβητούμενα θέματα μεταξύ Γαλλικής, Γερμανικής και Βρετανικής Κυβέρνησης, εμφανίστηκαν «διευθετημένα» λίγο πριν από την έκρηξη του Πολέμου, αυτός τελικά δεν αποφεύχθηκε,** διότι το Λονδίνο επιδίωκε κυρίως την διατήρηση της πρωτοκαθεδρίας του και την εξάλειψη της Γερμανικής απειλής στην πλούσια Μικρά Ασία και στην πετρελαιοφόρο Μέση Ανατολή.[6] Το έργο του Σιδηροδρόμου «μετέφερε» υψηλούς συνεπώς κινδύνους για την Βρετανία, σε μία εποχή που άρχιζε να υστερεί έναντι της Γερμανίας, στο χρηματοπιστωτικό σύστημα, στις πηγές ενέργειας, στην τεχνολογία, στην γεωργία, στην βιομηχανία, [«σύνδρομο υπεροχής» ή «φθόνος υστέρησης»]. Μέχρι το **1915** ο σιδηρόδρομος είχε μεγάλα κενά, περίπου 300 μιλίων μεταξύ διαφόρων τμημάτων και δεν είχε ολοκληρωθεί έως το τέλος του πολέμου το **1918**.

Σημειώνεται ότι η **στρατηγική του Λονδίνου αφορούσε στην εξασφάλιση της βρετανικής επικράτησης στη Μέση Ανατολή με τα κοιτάσματα αργού, (λαφυραγωγοί των Εθνών). Για την Βρετανία, λόγω της απουσίας εγχώριου πετρελαίου, η μέγιστη δυνατή διαφοροποίηση των εναλλακτικών πηγών εισαγωγής, αποτελούσε το βασικότερο μέσο για την ικανοποίηση των ενεργειακών αναγκών του πολεμικού της στόλου -** πρώτη λειτουργική εφαρμογή της Ενεργειακής Ασφάλειας (Βιδάκης, Μπάλτος, & Χωματά, 2012α, 2012β). Σύντομα ξεκίνησε ο Α΄ ΠΠ, στο τέλος του οποίου ο ΥΠΕΞ Curzon, δήλωσε ότι οι Σύμμαχοι έφθασαν σε νίκη «πλέοντες στα κύματα ωκεανού» πετρελαίου (Gupta & Arora, 2013˙ Yergin, 2009, σ. 167). **Συνεπώς ο Α΄ ΠΠ επιβεβαίωσε ότι το πετρέλαιο ήταν μία από τις κύριες αιτίες της υπεροχής στο στρατιωτικό πεδίο** (Vidakis, Baltos, & Balodis, 2017).

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6 Χαρακτηριστικά ο Earle (1923, σελ. 247, 249) γράφει: "Το αποτέλεσμα ήταν μία από τις σημαντικότερες διεθνείς συμφωνίες των ετών που προηγήθηκαν του Μεγάλου Πολέμου, η μυστική Γαλλο-Γερμανική σύμβαση της 15ης Φεβρουαρίου 1914. … Πρόκειται για συμφωνία μεταξύ δύο μεγάλων χρηματοπιστωτικών ομίλων στην Γαλλία και την Γερμανία. Ως εκ τούτου υπογράφηκε από τον Sergent, Υποδιοικητή της Τράπεζας της Γαλλίας, τον De Klapka, Γενικό Γραμματέα της Αυτοκρατορικής Οθωμανικής Τράπεζας και τον Δρ. Karl Helfferich, ΔΣ της Deutsche Bank. Επιπλέον, ήταν μία συμφωνία μεταξύ των Κυβερνήσεων Γαλλίας και Γερμανίας. Ως εκ τούτου υπογράφηκε από τον Ponsot, από την Γαλλική πρεσβεία στο Βερολίνο και από τον von Rosenberg, του Γερμανικού ΥΠΕΞ. Η συμφωνία ήταν επίσης αποδεκτή από την Οθωμανική Κυβέρνηση, διότι ο Σουλτάνος επιβεβαίωσε αμέσως τις παραχωρήσεις για τις νέες γραμμές της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και της Συρίας και τις αναγκαίες επεκτάσεις στους Σιδηροδρόμους της ARC. Πολλά έχουν γραφεί για την κυβερνητική υποστήριξη των επενδυτών σε ξένες χώρες, αλλά όσο ο συγγραφέας έχει καταφέρει να διαπιστώσει, πρόκειται για την πρώτη περίπτωση στην οποία μία οικονομική σύμβαση και μία διεθνής [κυβερνητική] συμφωνία έχουν συνδυαστεί σε ένα έγγραφο. Δεν υπάρχουν πλέον συμφωνίες που διαπραγματεύονται μόνο από διπλωμάτες, αλλά από διπλωμάτες και τραπεζίτες!"

Συνοπτικά ο BR θεωρήθηκε στο Λονδίνο, ως απειλή για τη μελλοντική εξασφάλιση αργού από την ευρύτερη περιοχή και η βρετανική απάντηση στην αυξανόμενη γερμανική ισχύ ήταν η δημιουργία μίας σειράς συμμαχιών και συμφωνιών. Από το πετρέλαιο και για το πετρέλαιο ξεκίνησε ο έντονος αγώνας κυριαρχίας μεταξύ του συνασπισμένου σε ισχυρά τραστ μεγάλου κεφαλαίου, με επεμβάσεις και των κυβερνήσεων (Βιδάκης, 2016, σ. 231).

Ειδικά από την επισκόπηση της μελέτης του Earle και νεώτερων αναλύσεων προκύπτει ότι η Βρετανία στο διάστημα 1908-1914 επιχείρησε πολλαπλώς να παρεμποδίσει το έργο της ολοκλήρωσης του BR, αξιοποιώντας κάθε ευκαιρία. Από την πλευρά τους οι Νέο-Τούρκοι επιχείρησαν να εκμεταλλευτούν τον ανταγωνισμό των Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων προς όφελός τους, αλλά τελικά πέτυχαν να τις συσπειρώσουν σε δύο συνασπισμούς, εκ των οποίων ο ένας στόχευε στην διάλυση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας και στην διανομή των εδαφών της και ο δεύτερος στην εκμετάλλευσή της. **Τελικά η αποτυχία ικανοποιητικής για όλους κατανομής των κερδών, θα οδηγήσει το 1914 στο ξέσπασμα του Μεγάλου Πολέμου, με κύριο βραβείο τα εδάφη και τον πλούτο της Μέσης Ανατολής.**

Σύμφωνα με τον Αμερικανό Καθηγητή, πέρα από τον Βόσπορο βρισκόταν μία χώρα δυνητικά πλούσια σε πετρέλαια και μέταλλα … Μία χώρα, η οποία στην αρχαιότητα ήταν εξαιρετικά πλούσια σε γεωργικά προϊόντα και υποσχόταν να εξελιχθεί σε μία πλούσια αγορά για τα δυτικά προϊόντα. Η επικοινωνία με αυτήν την περιοχή θα έπρεπε να διεξαχθεί από έναν Γερμανικά ελεγχόμενο σιδηρόδρομο, ο οποίος θα μπορούσε να διατηρηθεί σε λειτουργία σε καιρό πολέμου, όπως και σε καιρό ειρήνης, χωρίς την βοήθεια ναυτικής δύναμης. **Η Τουρκία προοριζόταν να περιληφθεί στην οικονομική τροχιά μίας βιομηχανικής Γερμανίας!** Η τελευταία περικλεισμένη από Βρετανία, Γαλλία και Ρωσία, διαμορφώθηκε αργά για να επεκτείνει την κυριαρχία της σε αποικίες και ανήμπορη να αναπτύξει θαλάσσια δύναμη μεγαλύτερη από αυτήν των αντιπάλων της (έλλειψη σταθμών ανθράκευσης). Φυσικό επακόλουθο αυτών ήταν η Γερμανική αντίληψη προς μία «ώθηση προς την Ανατολή», (**Drang nach Osten**), μέσω της Βαλκανικής Χερσονήσου, στην γέφυρα της Κωνσταντινούπολης και στις αγορές της Ασίας. **Η γεωγραφική θέση των Κεντρο-Ευρωπαϊκών κρατών κατέστησε αναπόφευκτη μία πολιτική διείσδυσης στα Βαλκάνια, τη Μικρά Ασία και την Εγγύς Ανατολή, καθώς η γεωγραφική θέση της Αγγλίας κατέστησε αναπόφευκτη την ανάπτυξη μίας υπερπόντιας αυτοκρατορίας.** Αν η Γερμανία έμενε αδρανής για την απόκτηση μεριδίου σε Μεσοποταμία, Συρία και Βαβυλωνία, άλλοι θα δρούσαν σίγουρα και το οικονομικό πλεονέκτημα το οποίο, μέσω του BR θα της πρόσφερε πρόσβαση στην Εγγύς Ανατολή, θα εξυπηρετούσε την ενίσχυση των αντιπάλων της, [**σύνδρομο υπεροχής**].

Η γεωγραφική θέση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, ο τεράστιος δυνητικός πλούτος της επικράτειάς της και η πολιτική αστάθεια της κυβέρνησης του Σουλτάνου συνέβαλαν στο να αναδείξουν τον BR, ως ένα από τα πιο πρωταρχικά ιμπεριαλιστικά ζητήματα του 20ού αιώνα. Την εποχή της παραχώρησης το **1903**, οι Οθωμανοί κατείχαν την κυριαρχία στο ασιατικό κατώφλι της Ευρώπης, την Ανατολία και το Ευρωπαϊκό κατώφλι της Ασίας, την Βαλκανική Χερσόνησο. Στην πραγματικότητα αυτή η κυριαρχία από τη Μακεδονία στη νότια Μεσοποταμία αποτελούσε μία ευρεία οδό επικοινωνίας, μία ιστορική παγκόσμια λεωφόρο, μεταξύ της Δύσης και της Ανατολής. **Για ένα ισχυρό έθνος, αυτή η θέση θα ήταν πηγή ισχύος. Για ένα αδύνατο έθνος ήταν μία πηγή αδυναμίας. Στρατηγικά, η περιοχή την οποία προγραμματιζόταν να διασχίσει ο BR, είναι μία από τα πιο σημαντικά μέρη του κόσμου.** Επιπλέον η Αυτοκρατορία ήταν πλούσια στον Ασιατικό της χώρο. Κατείχε τεράστιους πόρους βασικών υλικών της βιομηχανίας, ενώ τα **κοιτάσματα του αργού μόνα τους ήταν αρκετά, για να διεγείρουν την απληστία των Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων.**

ICOPEC 2018: 10 YEARS AFTER THE GREAT RECESSION:
ORTHODOX VERSUS HETERODOX ECONOMICS
9. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY

Halit Sağlam, Mehmet Emin Kenanoğlu

Αν και ο Earle ισχυρίζεται ότι: «**Ούτε η γεωγραφική θέση, ούτε ο οικονομικός πλούτος της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, ήταν η αιτία για την εκμετάλλευσή της από τους ξένους. Εάν η Κυβέρνηση του Σουλτάνου ήταν αρκετά ισχυρή ώστε να παρουσιάσει αποφασιστική αντίσταση στις εγχώριες εξεγέρσεις και στην ξένη ίντριγκα, η χώρα δεν θα είχε πρόβλημα με τον ιμπεριαλισμό**», καθώς και ότι: «**Η Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία ήταν έτοιμη να εκσυγχρονιστεί, σύμφωνα με τα δυτικά πρότυπα [με κυβέρνηση Νεό-Τούρκων]. Οι οικονομικές προοπτικές της Τουρκίας δεν ήταν ποτέ πιο φωτεινές από ότι πριν από το ξέσπασμα του πολέμου…**», <u>εν τούτοις σημειώνει και τα εξής:</u>

α. τα οικονομικά της βρισκόταν υπό το καθεστώς ελέγχου από την Οθωμανική Διοίκηση Δημόσιου Χρέους, η οποία ήλεγχε την οικονομική πολιτική προς το συμφέρον των Ευρωπαίων τραπεζιτών και επενδυτών,

β. οι Μεγάλες Δυνάμεις ανέχονταν υποκριτικά την κυριαρχία και την εδαφική ακεραιότητα της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας,

γ. ο BR και οι διεθνείς επιπλοκές που προέκυψαν από αυτόν, αποδείχθηκαν η καταστροφή της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας.

Το ότι ο BR συνέβαλε στα αίτια της Οθωμανικής συμμετοχής στο Μεγάλο Πόλεμο - και στην αποσύνθεση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας - δεν ήταν τόσο υπαιτιότητα των ίδιων των Οθωμανών, όπως ήταν η πληγή που έπληξε την χώρα, ένα «υποανάπτυκτο έθνος», του Ευρωπαϊκού ιμπεριαλισμού.

Στην ιστορική συνέχεια, αν και το επαναστατικό κίνημα στο Σουλτανάτο υποστήριξε τελικά τον BR, οι Νεό-Τούρκοι θεώρησαν ότι έπρεπε να απαλλαγούν από την εξωτερική εξάρτηση. Αλλά για μία περίοδο μετάβασης, όπου η χώρα θα μπορούσε να μάθει τα μυστικά της προόδου της Δύσης και να τα προσαρμόσει στις δικές της ανάγκες, ήταν καθήκον μίας κυβερνήσεως με προοδευτική πρόθεση να αξιοποιήσει το Ευρωπαϊκό κεφάλαιο και την Ευρωπαϊκή τεχνική βοήθεια. Ο πατριωτισμός και ο μοντερνισμός συμβάδιζαν στο πρόγραμμα των Νεό-Τούρκων, (ανατολίτικος συμβιβασμός, επαναλαμβανόμενη τουρκική πολιτική - Karkazis, Baltos, & Vidakis, 2017. Baltos, Vidakis, & Balodis, 2017). **Επιστρέφοντας στην πλούσια και εμπεριστατωμένη μελέτη του Earle, κατανοούμε ότι η στρατηγική της Αγγλίας μετά το 1902 και το 1911, δεν ήταν πλέον ο ισότιμος διαμοιρασμός των κερδών και του πετρελαίου, από τους Οθωμανούς και τα ισάριθμα ποσοστά σε μία διεθνοποιημένη επιχείρηση, με μία ολοένα και πιο ισχυρή Γερμανία, αλλά η μερίδα του λέοντος από τα λάφυρα, που θα την βοηθούσε να διατηρήσει την πρωτεύουσα θέση της στον Παγκόσμιο Καταμερισμό Ισχύος, [σύνδρομο υπεροχής]: η στρατηγική της δεν ήταν απλά «Ιμπεριαλιστική», ή «Συνεργατική Ιμπεριαλιστική» όπως αυτή π.χ. της Γαλλίας, αλλά αποτυπώνει το «Λεόντειο Ιμπεριαλισμό».**

Η θεώρηση της Οθωμανικής ηγεσίας ότι θα είχε το ελεύθερο στην ανάπτυξη των δυνατοτήτων της χώρας, ενόσω ήταν ευάλωτη σε πολλούς τομείς και επιβαρυμένη με αρκετά μειονεκτήματα, ήταν τραγικά εσφαλμένη. Επιπλέον οι Γερμανικές προσπάθειες για την αποφυγή των αντιρρήσεων των άλλων Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων, για την διανομή των ωφελειών, για την διεθνοποίηση της επιχείρησης, οδηγήθηκαν σε αποτυχία, κυρίως λόγω της έλλειψης αντίληψης για τις βασικές τους (γεωπολιτικές) στοχεύσεις, [η Γαλλία στην απελευθέρωση της Αλσατίας-Λωρραίνης, η Ρωσία στην κατάληψη των Στενών, η Βρετανία στην προστασία των Ινδιών] καθώς στην αυξανόμενη σημασία της αξίας του πετρελαίου για την Αγγλία στις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα, (και συνεπώς και των εδαφών απ' όπου μπορούσε να εξαχθεί), προκειμένου να διατηρήσει την θαλάσσια κυριαρχία της (Βιδάκης & Μπάλτος, 2013). Στη συνέχεια **τα Αραβικά εδάφη <u>έντεχνα</u> διαιρέθηκαν, ώστε να μην υπάρχει ενιαία Αραβική κυριαρχία και συνέχεια από**

τον Περσικό Κόλπο στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, την οποία το Λονδίνο επιτηδευμένα σχεδίασε με την συμφωνία Sykes–Picot του 1916 και συνεπώς δεν θα έπρεπε να υπάρξει στη συνέχεια αντίθετη διάδοχη κατάσταση, (βλ. Χάρτες 3 και 4). **Τα πετρέλαια της περιοχής και ειδικά αυτά της Μοσούλης καθώς και η ανάγκη διαμόρφωσης μίας ισχυρής κοσμικής Τουρκίας ως ανάχωμα στη μπολσεβικική Ρωσία, επαναπροσδιόρισαν την Αγγλική στάση στην υποστήριξη του Κεμάλ, με όλες τις συνεπαγόμενες θυσίες** (Baltos, Vidakis, & Balodis, 2017). **Η δυνατότητα «ένωσης και επικοινωνίας» του Περσικού Κόλπου με λιμένες της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου, παράγοντας ανάπτυξης και ευημερίας της ευρύτερης περιφέρειας από την αρχαιότητα («εύφορη ημισέληνος» – «Fertile Crescent»), ήταν και είναι ακόμη στην παρούσα κατάσταση απευκταία …**

Η επανάληψη συγκεκριμένων πτυχών του Ανατολικού Ζητήματος (Karkazis, Vidakis, & Baltos, 2013, 2014) **και η επαναφορά συγκεκριμένων συναφών ζητημάτων από τον Earle, προσδίδουν μία ισχυρή δόση επικαιρότητας στην όλη κατάσταση.** Πρόσθετα η εν λόγω μελέτη αποκαλύπτει και ομολογεί την υπέρμετρη υποκρισία των ισχυρών, την δύναμη των συμφερόντων, την εκμετάλλευση των πόρων και των μειονεκτημάτων των αδυνάμων, την υπερχρέωση των Οθωμανών και τις επιπτώσεις αυτής της <u>οικονομικής εξάρτησης</u>, την πολύπλευρη βρετανική στρατηγική, τις αποφάσεις των ηγεσιών, τα δυσμενή αποτελέσματα της οικονομικής πολιτικής των «ανοικτών θυρών» στις υποανάπτυκτες χώρες.

Από τα προηγούμενα συνοπτικά συμπεραίνονται ότι ο ανταγωνισμός των Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων συνυπάρχει με συνεργατικές τακτικές, καταλήγοντας σε διπολικές μορφές αντιπαλότητας και σύρραξης, όπου τα συμφέροντα των μικρότερων χωρών (ακόμη και των συμμαχικών) συνήθως υποτάσσονται, με τον οικονομικό έλεγχο σε κύριο ρόλο. Η γεωενέργεια κατέχει πλέον κεντρικό ρόλο - βλ. Γράφημα 1α και Figure 1a (Vidakis & Baltos, 2015). **Ακολουθεί στη συνέχεια η «επανεγγραφή της ιστορίας», για την ολοκλήρωση του έργου, η οποία ίσως πλέον με τις νέες τεχνολογίες κοινωνικής δικτύωσης και να μην απαιτείται.**

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ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

Χάρτης 1: Σχέδια Σιδηροδρομικών Δικτύων στη Μικρά Ασία

Σημ.: Εναλλακτικά σιδηροδρομικά δίκτυα/σχέδια στην Μικρά Ασία:
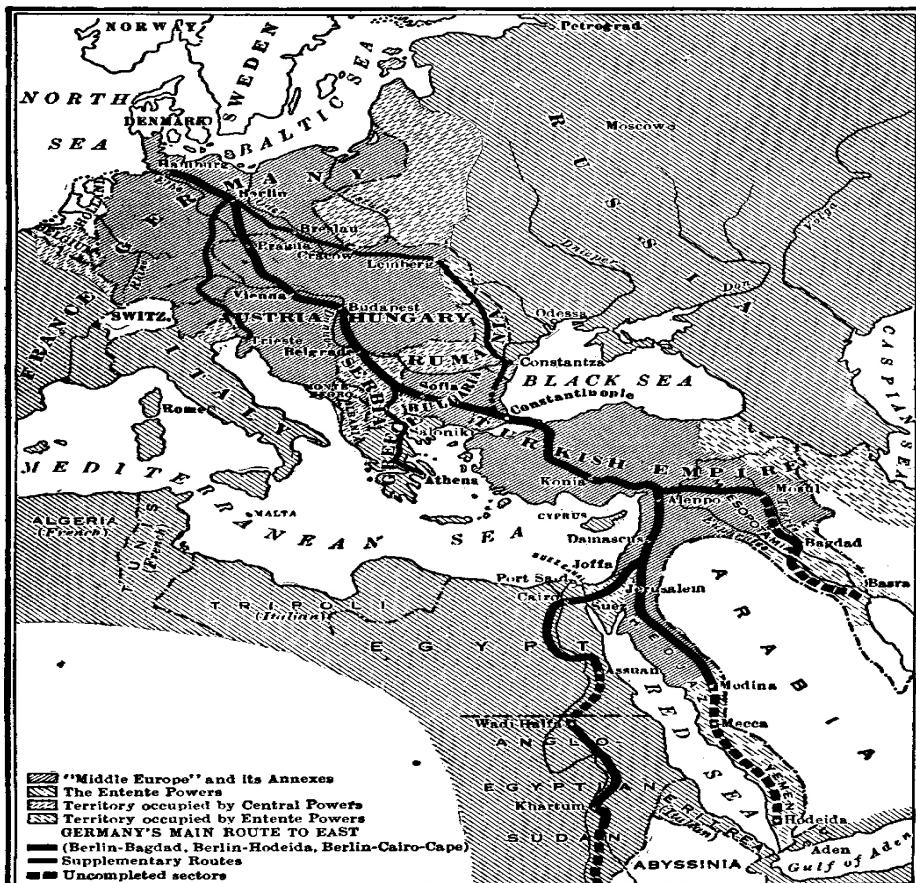
1. το Βρετανικό σχέδιο Ανατ. Μεσόγειος - Περσικός Κόλπος, (British Euphrates Valley Project),

2. η Γερμανική «Βόρεια Διαδρομή»,

3. η Γερμανική «Εγκάρσια ή Νότια Διαδρομή».

Πηγή: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280125666_Technical_landscape_in_the_heart_of_the_city_railway_heritage_at_Istanbul
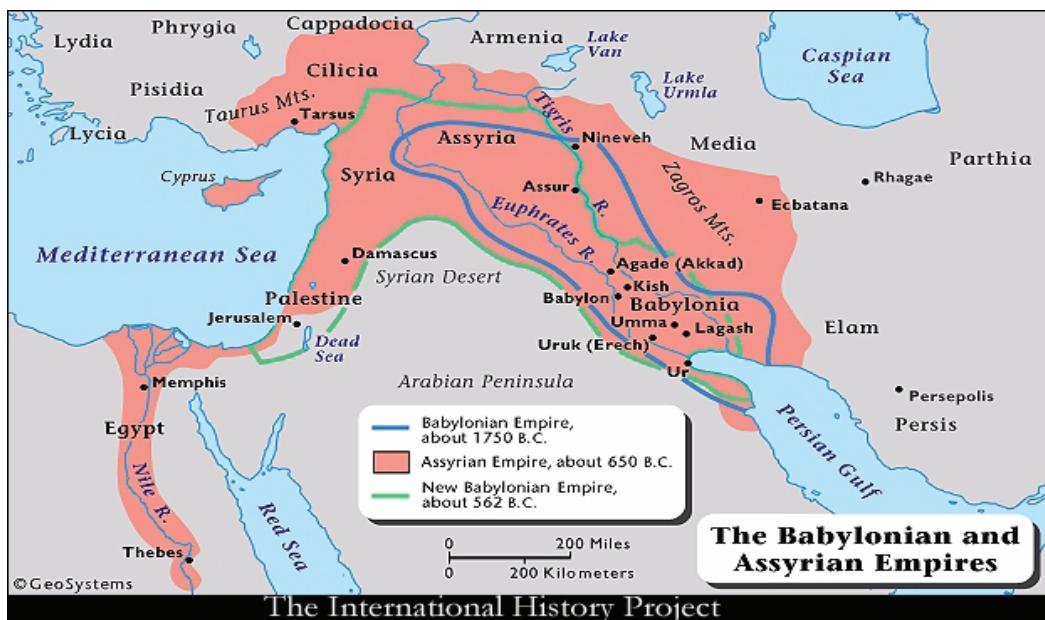
Χάρτης 2: Ο Σιδηρόδρομος της Βαγδάτης

Πηγή: https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/kaiserreich/images/e/ee/Berlin_Baghdad_Railway_Map.jpg/revision/
latest?cb=20170804232926

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Χάρτης 3: Ασιατικές Αυτοκρατορίες στην Εγγύς Ανατολή

Πηγή: http://history-world.org/assyrianmap.jpg

Χάρτης 4: Σενάριο Νέων Συνόρων Συρίας - Ιράκ

Πηγή: http://future.wikia.com/wiki/File:Map_of_proposed_Iraq_split.jpg
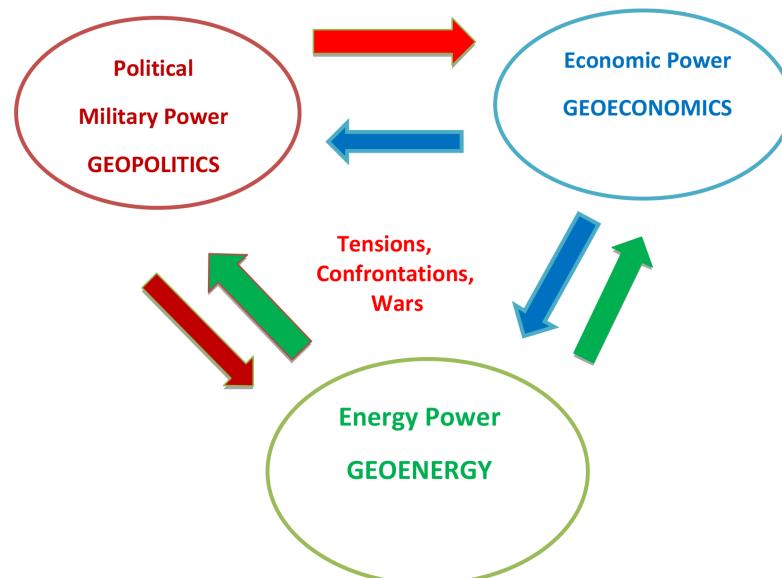
Γράφημα 1α: Υπόδειγμα Διασυνδέσεων Μορφών Ισχύος

Πηγές: Βιδάκης, 2014· Vidakis, Baltos, & Balodis, 2017

Figure 1a
Pattern of Power forms interconnected – "The Supremacy Triangle"

Sources: Βιδάκης, 2014; Vidakis, Baltos, & Balodis, 2017

Notes:

The energy sector is of paramount importance to the economies of all countries. The energy sector greatly affects the economy and military capabilities of a country. When the economy has problems with the acquisition of cheap and secured energy resources, it provokes the intervention of the civilian-military sector. The energy sector can be used as a weapon by the Great Powers of the planet, (for example see USA alliance with Saudi Arabia).

LABOUR MARKET JIGSAW PUZZLE: EARNINGS PIECES MISSING IN TIMES OF AUSTERITY

*Olga Papadopoulou**

Abstract

This paper aims at identifying the main determinants of earnings, estimating the private returns to education and discovering plausible missing pieces, in terms of inequalities, in the labour market jigsaw puzzle of Greece. Dealing with an already fragmented labour market and the formation of individuals' earnings, through education and human capital in general, are the objects of the article within the framework of a volatile national economy that characterized of multiple economical transformations and social changes. As the main theoretical framework, human capital theory will be used with the application of extended Mincer equation, which explains wage income as a function of education, experience and other characteristics, at NUTS 2 geographical level, by using a micro data set from Household Budget Surveys 2011 of Hellenic Statistical Authority. As a result, we come up with a clear picture of the earnings determinants and we formulate appropriate policy recommendations.

Keywords: labour market, returns to education, inequalities, Mincer equation, Greece

Note: * NUTS classification (Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics) is a hierarchical system for dividing up the economic territory of the European Union.

1. Introduction

The last few years have witnessed a growing interest in the studying of labour market, especially under the terms of 2008 global crisis, widely known as Great Recession, following 1930s Great Depression. The Great Recession came after several decades of neoliberal restructuring that enhanced capital's profits at the expense of labour, affected social cohesion, exacerbating inequalities and augmented poverty. With no doubt, the 2008 global crisis transformed the world of labour and labour market (De Beer, 2012; Leschke & Jepsen, 2012; Sallaz, 2013; Theodoropoulou, 2018), because of austerity measures and its relevant austerity policy, since they were prescribed as an antidote to the crisis (Rakopoulos, 2018).

The economic downturn affected significantly European countries, such as Greece that located in the periphery of the European Union. Indeed, the situation remains unresolved for Greece, where fiscal policy turned to a strict austerity policy. Indeed, disorders in labour market have been created, within the framework of a volatile national economy that characterised of multiple economical transformations and social changes, because of the crisis (Papadopoulou, 2013; Matsaganis, 2018). According to Giannitsis, and Zografakis (2015) "Sharp income reductions and soaring unemployment rates have been the most severe economic consequences of the crisis in Greece" (p.22).

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Taking Greece as a laboratory, the formation of the earnings will be studied as an important factor for the competitiveness of the economy, along with its regional challenges, since higher earnings mean higher consumption. If total consumption grows, this will boost sales throughout the industries, increasing productivity which in turn will lead to further growth in earnings. Chtouris, and Miller (2014) highlighted the importance of human capital and its connections for solving economic crisis. Consequently, human capital constitutes a valuable factor in the process of global economic and social transformation, since crisis has wiped out years of economic and social progress. All these have revealed a great need to focus more on the empowerment of human capital and education as key drivers for the achievement of inclusive growth and development (Papadopoulou, 2017).

The aim of this paper is the assessment of the earning function of individuals, by paying the relevant attention at the private returns to education and discovering plausible missing pieces of inequalities, in the labour market jigsaw puzzle of Greece. For this purpose, we employ as main theoretical framework human capital theory and we estimate Mincer equation that can explain earnings as a function of education, experience and other characteristics. Dealing with an already fragmented labour market and the formation of individuals' earnings, through education and human capital in general, are the objects of the article, which aims to contribute to the current scientific discussion. The main research questions are the following:

- "In which extent human capital characteristics (education and experience) explain possible variations in individuals' earnings in the Greek labour market?"

- "Are individuals' earnings determined by personal characteristics and region of residence at NUTS 2 geographical level?"

As a result, we will come up with a clear picture of the differences in earnings determinants among individuals at NUTS 2 level regions, which we consider as the main value added of this paper. The focus on the geographical framework of NUTS 2 level regions is quite essential, because the application of regional policies of the European Union takes place on NUTS 2 regions, making them the appropriate level for analysis, in order to achieve desirable levels of cohesion and development. Last but not least, using the regions as defined at NUTS 2 level, we clearly define the geographical boundaries of the labour markets, which are the same to Greek regions. Comprehending the determinants of earnings can help policy makers better understand Greek labour market and develop policy interventions for those who are at the highest risk of poverty and eventually put the country on a path to increased growth and prosperity. The truth is that there is little empirical evidence that takes into account individuals' region of residence at NUTS 2 level, which is likely to have an impact on their earnings, so additional research is needed. Therefore, understanding how to assess returns to schooling and being able to appropriately apply those results to policy decisions is a critical skill for policymakers to have at their disposal (Patrinos, 2016).

Consequently, the paper is structured as follows. In section of *Theoretical Background*, we briefly outline the context of human capital and its relevant theory. In section of *Method* we explain the main features of the method based on estimation of Mincer equation. The data and sample used for estimation are presented in the section of *Data and Sample*. The *Empirical Analysis* section consists of model estimation and interpretation of results. The conclusions and policy implications are discussed in the last section.

2. Theoretical Background

The emergence of capital as an important economic concept took place in the late 1950s and 1960s. At that time, economists such as Theodor Schultz began to use the term capital to interpret the role of education and to promote development. By definition, human capital includes the stock of individual's talents and abilities, (innate or acquired), such as physical characteristics, talent, knowledge and qualifications. In addition to physical abilities, human capital can be improved by training or experience. Consequently, human capital has been viewed as a function of education and experience, the latter reflecting both training and learning by doing, within and outside workplace. The importance of human capital for economic growth, development and individual's labour market outcomes such as earnings, as developed in particular through education, has been emphasized a lot by economic literature (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2018).

The starting point in the analysis of the economic role of education in the labour market represents the human capital theory, founded on the papers of Schultz (1961), Mincer (1958, 1974) and Becker (1964). From the view of human capital theory, education contributes to the increase of individual's productivity. Consequently higher income of an individual in the future is the result of higher productivity. Therefore, education is the key component in the production process of human capital, together with on-the-job training and learning and cognitive skills. The main contribution of human capital theory is the explanation of both income, which derives from labour, and the existence of wage gap among workers.

Human capital is associated with a wide range of financial benefits and it is considered as the most important factor in the development process. Specifically, Ferreira and Hamilton (2010) found that human capital (years of schooling) is the most important component of intangible capital for all countries, including also high income countries. According to Li and Westlund (2013), human capital in terms of years of education has also played an important role to Chinese economic growth from 1981 to 2010.

3. Method

Mincer equation represents the function of the logarithmic value of earnings from the number of years of schooling, the number of years of work experience and the square term of the number of years of work experience. Mincer equation is the ideal choice among researchers of labour economics, as a starting point and useful tool in order to outline the position of individuals in the labour market (Humphreys, 2013; Patrinos, 2016). Mincer equation has the following form:

$$\log Y_i = \alpha + \beta EDU_i + \gamma EXP_i + \delta EXP_i^2 \tag{1}$$

where, Y_i: the dependent variable represented as the logarithmic value of individual's earnings i, EDU_i: an independent continuous variable represents the number of schooling years of an individual i, EXP_i: an independent variable represents the number of years of work experience of an individual i and EXP_i^2: an independent variable represents the square term of the years of work experience of an individual i.

Besides that, Mincer equation is quite flexible, a crucial fact that enables us to include additional variables in the equation, but also replace years of schooling to relevant educational levels, in order to justify earnings differences among individuals with different educational levels and have a better view at the labour market jigsaw puzzle.

We shall estimate the following extended form of Mincer equation (2) by the least square method, in order to determine the rate of direct effects of the factors on individuals' earnings:

$$\log Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 EDU_1 + \beta_2 EDU_2 + \ldots + \beta_v EDU_v + \gamma EXP_i + \delta EXP_i^2 + \varepsilon CON_i \tag{2}$$

where, Y_i: the dependent variable represented as the logarithmic value of individual's earnings i, EDU_{1-v}: represents a set of dummy variables for each level of education of an individual i, by replacing the continuous variable of years of education, EXP_i: an independent variable represents the number of years of work experience of an individual i, EXP_i^2: an independent variable represents the square term of the years of work experience of an individual i and CON_i: a set of independent control variables represents personal and social characteristics of an individual i, including among others individual's region of residence at NUTS 2 level. These variables function as control variables, because they can justify the direction of the basic variables of the equation, revealing the existence of discrimination and proportional change in individual's earnings.

4. Data and Sample

The analysis in this paper draws from an examination of a micro data set retrieved from the Household Budget Surveys (HBS) of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT) of 2011. HBS is a statistical survey through which valuable data about the cost of living, earnings and employment of individuals are collected from a representative sample of households. An important advantage is the credibility of specific information derived from personal "sensitive" questions in the Greek society, such as the amount of individuals' earnings.

Our sample includes only economically active individuals aged 16 to 64 years old. Persons, who belong in this age group, have the right to work legally and their main source of income is their wage/salary (excluding those who declare income from self-employment, property, pensions, unemployment benefits or income from other sources and individuals with zero earnings). Therefore, individuals out of the labour force are excluded (pensioners, soldiers, housewives, jobseekers, students, inactive individuals or individuals that are Not in Employment, Education or Training - NEET). Finally, individuals who work in the primary sector of economy and follow other professional activities are excluded from the sample, since it is not possible to separate from their earnings the part derived from their work and that part derived from other factors of production (territory, capital, entrepreneurship).

The overall size of the sample is N = 2.348.

The variables that are used are the following:

Earnings

The dependent variable of earnings is defined as the remuneration in terms of cash, which comes from individuals' work. In the statistical analysis the dependent variable is expressed in its logarithmic form (as in Mincer equation), for the convenience and adaptability of data.

Education (levels of education)

According to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), education is classified to the following levels:

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Level 0 (ISCED0) and without training

In this category are included individuals without education and also individuals who have completed pre-primary education and are trained below the next level. ISCED0 includes kindergarten and pre-school. Its duration is set to two years and it covers age groups of 3-5 and 5-7 years old.

Level 1 - ISCED1 (6 years)

It includes individuals with full-time basic education (primary education), based on a class system of one class teacher for more than one subjects.

Level 2 - ISCED2 (9 years)

It is the first stage of secondary education, based on a system of separate teachers for each subject. It includes high - school.

Level 3 - ISCED3 (12 years)

It is the second stage of secondary education, based on the system of general or vocational training. Graduation gives a work permit in a particular professional category. Level 3 includes two types of schools: Unified Lyceums and Technical Vocational Schools (TEEs). The duration of studies at Unified Lyceum is three years and at the Technical Vocational Schools two years (first cycle) or three years (second cycle).

Level 4 - ISCED4 (14 years)

Education at level 4 refers only to non-university studies. It concerns the level after completion of secondary education, but not the tertiary level. In Greece, Vocational Training Institutes belong to this level.

Level 5 - ISCED5 (16 years)

Level 5 is the first stage of tertiary education. It concerns the basic qualification at Universities and Technological Educational Institutions, along with Postgraduate Studies (Master - MSc., M.Eng, M.B.A).

Level 6 - ISCED6 (20 years)

Level 6 is the second level of tertiary education. It concerns studies in universities, which lead to a Doctoral Degree (PhD).

Experience

The variable experience is expressed as the individuals' potential experience instead of the real experience, because of the limitation of the data by Hellenic Statistical Authority. Potential experience is widely used and it is calculated as age minus years of education minus the starting age of compulsory education, in Greek case is 6 years. Additionally, we use as variable the square term of experience, in order to introduce the idea that the individual's earnings profile is concave.

Age

Age range: 16 - 64 years.

Gender

Gender as a dummy variable.

Marital status

The variable includes married, unmarried, divorced or widowed individuals.

(Non) Existence of children in the household

The variable functions as a dummy variable.

Number of children

It is expressed as a continuous variable.

Size of Household

Size of household is the number of individuals that are members of the specific household.

Region of residence

The variable refers to regions of NUTS 2 level in Greece. The regions are the following: Eastern Macedonia/Thrace, Central Macedonia, Western Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Central Greece, Peloponnese, Western Greece, Ionian Islands, Attika, Northern Aegean, Southern Aegean and Crete.

4. Empirical Analysis

The results obtained by the application of the extended Mincer earning equation (2) for our sample are presented in Table 1. As we mentioned earlier, the applied estimation technique is that of least squares. The referent category for educational dummy variables is the "ISCED0 and without training" and the referent category for the variable of the region of residence is the region of North Aegean.

From Table 1, we can notice that returns to education are expectedly much higher among individuals with higher educational levels. The statistical impact of each educational level is higher than that of the previous one, whereas no statistically significant impact of primary education of ISCED1 is observed, compared to the referent category of ISCED0. All in all, educational levels of tertiary education present the highest returns to education.

More specifically, the transition to the next level of lower secondary education (ISCED2) results in an increase in individual's earnings[1] by $e^b = e^{0.259} = 1.295 = 29.5\%$, compared to the referent category. Higher secondary education (second stage of secondary education) (ISCED3) results in an increase by $e^b = e^{0.481} = 1.617 = 61.7\%$, compared to

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1 For the interpretation of coefficients and since the dependent variable of the study is expressed as a logarithm, we apply the following rule: An increase of 1 unit in independent variable "x" is associated with an increase of "b" in log y. To say that log y has increased by "b" is to say that y has increased by a factor of exp(b). Now, for values of "b" close to zero, exp(b) is approximately equal to $1 + b1$, so increasing by a factor of exp(b) is approximately the same as increasing by a factor of $(1+b1)$, which is an increase of $(100 \times b)$ percent. For values of "b">|0.1|, we take exp(b).

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the referent category. Additionally, the transition to the post-secondary educational level (ISCED4) results in an increase in individual earnings by $e^b = e^{0.650} = 1.915$, 91.5%. Similarly, in all the other levels of education, namely post-secondary education, first and second tertiary education (ISCED5 and ISCED6), there is also an increase of earnings, compared to the referent category. In addition, the work experience term is positive and statistically significant. For instance, an additional year of work experience would increase earnings of an individual by $(0.010 \times 100) = 1.0$ percent. Moreover, the squared experience term is negative and non-statistically significant, suggesting that there is not a concave earning profile for our sample.

By extending the basic Mincer equation, we take into consideration other personal characteristics of employed persons such as region of residence, gender, marital status, existence and number of children and household size. With the inclusion of individual's region of residence at NUTS 2 level, the importance of space is highlighted in the formation of individuals' earnings at different regions. Having the region of South Aegean as the referent category (Table 1), statistically significant differences in earnings are observed between the regions of Central Macedonia and the South Aegean. In particular, the earnings of an individual, who resides in the region of Central Macedonia are lower, compared to the earnings for an individual of South Aegean. The results reveal that the residence in one of the other regions, compared to the South Aegean region, is not an influential factor for earnings.

The influence of other control variables related to personal and social characteristics of individuals in Greece is statistically significant and with the expected sign. Specifically, the results suggest that there is a difference in earnings in the terms of marital status, since married people have 8.7 percent higher earnings than non-married persons. A plausible explanation could be the increase of the productivity of married persons due to the need of providing the necessary living conditions for their families.

Furthermore, we identify a statistically significant effect of the variables number of children and household size. Finally, gender and the existence of children do not appear as statistically significant determinants of earnings.

Table 1. Estimated earnings function at NUTS 2 level regions in Greece

Explanatory variables	Entire Sample
Constant	8.984*
	(0.117)
Levels of Education	
ISCED1	0.077
	(0.080)
ISCED2	0.259**
	(0.083)
ISCED3	0.481*
	(0.081)
ISCED4	0.650*
	(0.089)
ISCED5	0.861*
	(0.082)
ISCED6	1.249*
	(0.156)
ISCED0 (ref.)	-

Experience	0.010*
	(0.001)
Experience-square/100	-0.012
	(0.008)
Gender	0.015
(1=male)	(0.022)
Marital Status	0.087**
(1=married)	(0.031)
Existence of Children	-0.056
(1=yes)	(0.042)
Number of children	-0.168*
	(0.022)
Household size	0.223*
	(0.012)
NUTS 2 Regions	
Eastern Macedonia/Thrace	- 0.087
	(0.083)
Central Macedonia	- 0.183**
	(0.072)
Western Macedonia	- 0.045
	(0.099)
Thessaly	- 0.150
	(0.082)
Epirus	0.132
	(0.100)
Ionian Islands	- 0.097
	(0.101)
Western Greece	- 0.059
	(0.082)
Central Greece	- 0.050
	(0.089)
Peloponnese	- 0.079
	(0.087)
Attica	- 0.128
	(0.068)
Northern Aegean	- 0.157
	(0.103)
Crete	0.017
	(0.082)
Southern Aegean (ref.)	-
R^2	0.289
F-stat	37.07
Durbin-Watson (*d*)	1.967

Note: Dependent variable is "Logarithm of earnings"

p-values are in parentheses, * significance at $p < .001$, ** significance at $p < .05$.

Source: Own calculations (data from EL.STAT).

5. Conclusions and policy implications

In this paper, we make an attempt to estimate the earning function for employed individuals in Greece, by putting an emphasis on the differences between regions at NUTS 2 geographical level. For our sample, we confirm the basic assumption of Mincer equation meaning that education and experience represent significant determinants of employed individuals' earnings. However, we have to highlight the non-significance of primary education to the labour market jigsaw puzzle. In addition, tertiary education appears as significant determinant for earnings.

These findings might be further utilised in formulating policy guidelines for reforms in the education system. Firstly, the improvement of training possibilities of employed individuals with only primary education would increase their skills and the possibility to move educational level. It seems that the value of education is high, especially during economic crisis and shortly after. Consequently, continuous investment in individuals' education which may generate lasting effect on earnings and thus economic growth and development is extremely vital. According to the obtained results, we can further formulate policy recommendations that will improve the appeal of Vocational Education and Training (VET). This can be done by an appropriate design and greater funding of active labour market programs that still are at a primary stage.

Furthermore, the Greek State should encounter the human capital challenge: matching skills and labour market needs, improving also the quality of education. Education that can offer future employment for all graduates should be the target of all state policies. This way can lead to elimination of migratory movements inside (from one region to another) and outside the country, reducing "brain drain" phenomenon in Greece.

All in all, the study addresses socio-economic challenges that can promote development policies on NUTS 2 level regions, but also in broader or smaller geographical entities, in order to avoid divergence across regions, which is an important piece in the productivity puzzle.

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LONG CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS AND TECHNOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

*Aris Papageorgiou**

Abstract

The history of (modern mechanized) capitalism from the Industrial Revolution onwards is characterized by consecutive technological revolutions each of which breaks off when the previous one has exhausted its potential. Technological revolutions are initiated by a nucleus of core economic sectors that assume a leading role throughout the economy and constitute the springboard for the diffusion of the technological revolution to the whole economy. This study attempts, via the use of logistic growth curves, to show that various series related to the basic economic sectors of each technological revolution have followed a long cyclical pattern which is more or less consistent with the periodization of so-called Kondratiev cycles.

Keywords: Long Cycles, Technological Revolutions, Logistic Growth, Leading Sectors

1. Introduction

Long cycles known also as 'long waves' or 'Kondratiev cycles' are long-term fluctuations that embrace various important facets of economic activity such as prices, production volume and profitability. They have an approximate duration of forty to fifty years and consist of two phases, an upswing and a downswing, each of approximately equal duration. Foremost among the pioneers of long-cycle analysis was the Russian economist Nikolai Kondratiev who produced a number of works on the subject during the 1920s that culminated in his crucial paper titled 'Long Cycles of Economic Conjuncture' which was published in 1926 (Kondratiev, 1998). Kondratiev's interest was first stimulated by his observation that the wholesale price level of advanced capitalist economies (Britain, USA France) had presented long cyclic fluctuations from the 1780s (when the Industrial Revolution was ignited) up until the 1920s. He then proceeded to look for long cycles in other variables as well, based on the periodicity derived from his wholesale price series.

In this paper we attempt to examine the link between the concept of technological revolutions and long cycles. In Section 2 we present a particular price index that will assist us in periodizing long cycles; in Section 3 we briefly discuss some milestones in the literature connecting the Kondratiev cycle to technological revolutions; in Section 4 we present our empirical findings and finally in Section 5 we conclude.
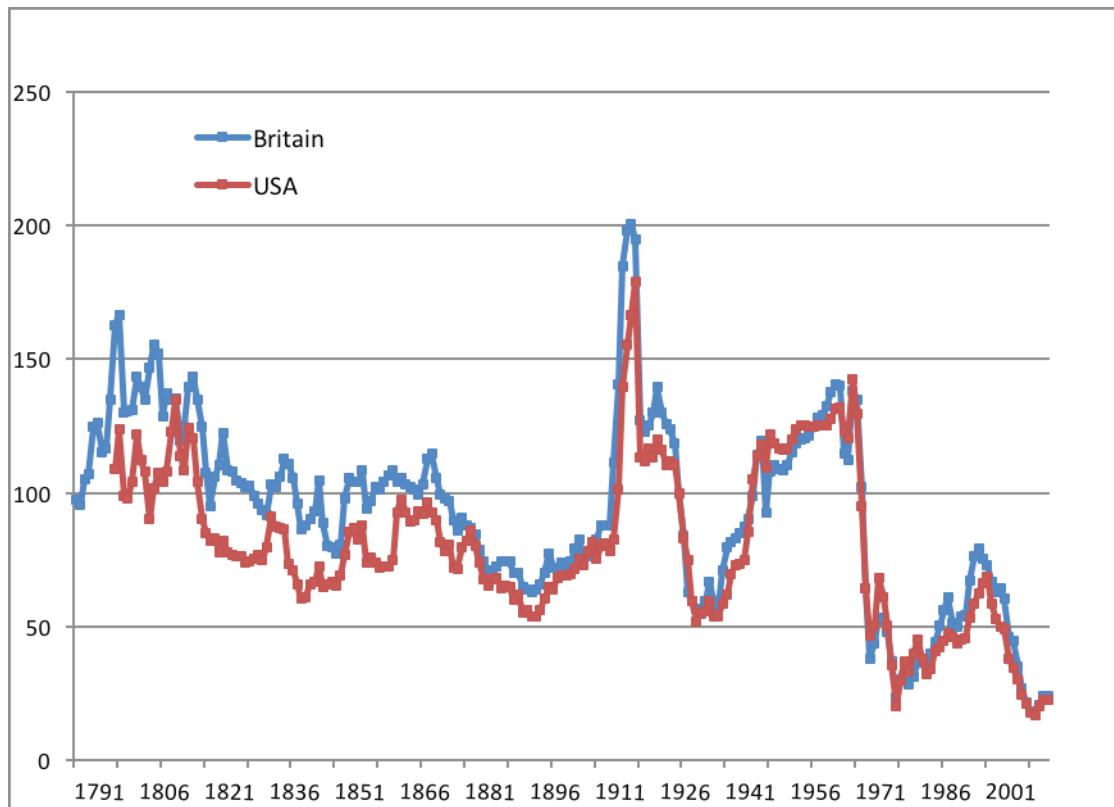
2. The Normalized Price Index

The fact that, after WWII, the price levels of advanced capitalist economies followed an almost uninterrupted inflationary trend led almost all authors working in the field of long cycles to the conclusion that it was not possible for the price level to be still used as an indicator of the (cyclical) phase of economic activity, as was routinely done by economists in the 150-year interval between the ignition of the Industrial Revolution and WWII, whereby the periods of inflation were linked with rising profitability (and thus economic prosperity) and the periods of

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deflation with low-growth or even contracting profitability (and thus economic stagnation) (Hobsbawm, 1999, pp. 53-54). However, Anwar Shaikh has shown that if we divide the price level by the price index of gold then the series of long cycles in this particular price index does not stop after WWII(Shaikh, 2016, pp. 62-65 and 184-188). In Figure 1 we present this normalized price index for Britain and the USA. The pre-WWII long cycles are quite evident and are almost concurrent in periodization with those price cycles noted by Kondratiev (Kondratiev, 1998, p. 31). But the striking fact now is that long cycles are evident also for the postwar period. In Table 1 we present a tentative periodization of long cycles (based on the normalized price index), which will assist us in the empirical section in the fitting of logistic curves.

Figure 1: Wholesale Price Index and Gold Price Index, USA & Britain (1791-2016)

Sources: Wholesale Price Index - Jastram (2009, Tables AE1 and AE2), Price Index Of Gold - Officer & Williamson (2016)

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Table 1: Periodization of Long Cycles in the Normalized Index

	USA	Britain
1st Long Cycle	**1791-1843/1851**	
Upper Turning Point	1814	1809
Lower Turning Point	1843/1848	1851
2nd Long Cycle	**1843/1851-1896**	
Upper Turning Point	1872	1873
Lower Turning Point	1896	1896
3rd Long Cycle	**1896-1934/1938**	
Upper Turning Point	1920	1919
Lower Turning Point	1934/1938	1935/1938
4th Long Cycle	**1934/1938-1980/1983**	
Upper Turning Point	1967/1970	1966/1967
Lower Turning Point	1980/1983	1980/1983
5th Long Cycle	**1980/1983-202;**	
Upper Turning Point	2001	1999
Lower Turning Point	-	-

3. Long Cycles and Technological Revolutions

In his 1926 paper Kondratiev presented a number of stylized facts that characterized every long cycle in the history of capitalism, starting from the Industrial Revolution in the 1780s. For our present purpose, which concerns the connection between technological revolutions and long cycles, we should note that one of this stylized facts was that the introduction of significant technological change takes place, mainly, during the downswing of the long cycle. In his paper Kondratiev tried to corroborate this assertion by presenting lists of significant technological innovations that were introduced during the downswing of each long cycle and that contributed to the transition to the upswing of the long cycle that followed (Kondratiev, 1998, pp. 39-40).

Schumpeter, in his monumental *Business Cycles* (1939), rendered the concept of *swarms* of innovations the touchstone of his theory of cyclical fluctuations. Expanding on Kondratiev's argument, Schumpeter also placed the time of introduction of those swarms of basic technological innovations that are responsible for the movement of the long cycle, in the down phase of each previous long cycle, and argued that the results of basic innovations diffuse on a large scale in the upswing of the next long cycle, resulting each time in a new technological revolution (Schumpeter, 1939, Volume I, pp. 254-255).

The economic theorization of serious cyclical fluctuations, let alone *long-term* ones, entered a period of neglect after the end of WWII when world capitalism enjoyed the greatest boom of its history. However, this situation changed with the onset of the great stagflation of the 1970s. Gerhard Mensch in his very important book *Stalemate in Technology* (Mensch, 1979) argued that the basic problem capitalism faced during the 1970s was the exhaustion of the expansionary (and profitability) potential of basic industrial innovations that were diffused across the spectrum of advanced economies during the long postwar boom. According to Mensch this was a recurrent feature of advanced capitalist economies that was organically 'rectified' by the introduction of new swarms of basic innovations during the (late) downswing of the long cycle. The eventual diffusion of these basic innovations led then to the upswing of the next long cycle.

Dosi (1984) used the term 'technological paradigm' which he defined as "a model and a pattern of solution of *selected* technological problems, based on *selected* principles derived from natural sciences and on *selected* material technologies" (Dosi, 1984, p. 83). Each technological revolution in the history of capitalism was associated with such a paradigm. According to Dosi 'profitability' is the deciding criterion as far as the choice between available and competing technologies is concerned. Once a concrete choice has been made (by the relevant business enterprises) then the economy will enter a 'technological trajectory' imposed by the selected paradigm. The technological trajectory then constitutes the framework of the normal troubleshooting of any technical problems that arise within the confines of the selected technological paradigm, creating strong mechanisms that tend to exclude technological solutions (to production problems) that lie outside the paradigm.

Carlota Perez, in a series of contributions, expanded on Dosi's work.[1] Her analysis is concerned with the leading economic sectors that carry the technological revolutions which characterize the rising phases of Kondratiev cycles. Moreover, Perez identifies a type of commodity that constitutes a 'basic input' in every technological revolution. The basic input of each successive technological revolution has the following characteristics (a) a low (and/or falling) relative cost; (b) a practically unlimited supply potential (at least for the duration of the technological revolution); (c) it is used by the leading sectors and can be readily diffused in many other economic sectors as well (Freeman & Perez, 1988, p. 252).

Related to Perez's work is the very important book by Freeman & Louça (2001) about the connection between technological revolutions and the Kondratiev cycle. The authors prefer the term 'long wave' rather than 'long cycle'. The rising phase of each 'long wave' then constitutes the period of diffusion of the technological revolution across the economy while the downward phase corresponds to the structural crisis which stems from the stagnation of the profitability potential of the existing technological paradigm and the beginnings of the installation of a new paradigm that will lead the next cycle. In Table 2 we present a summary of the arguments by Freeman & Louça. In the following section we will test for the existence of long cycles by fitting logistic curves to variables related to the leading sectors and basic inputs of the second, third and fourth long cycles; the series examined will come mainly (but not exclusively) from the leading world power of each cycle. It is also noteworthy that although Freeman & Louça were not acquainted with the normalized price index, their periodization is quite close to the one derived by this index.

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1   Most important of these are Perez (1983) and Freeman & Perez (1988) while Perez (2002) is the most comprehensive presentation of her views.

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Table 2: Technological Revolutions in the History of Capitalism - Basic Features

	Title	Upswing Phase	Downswing Phase	Leading Economic Sectors	Basic Inputs	Leading World Power
British Industrial Revolution	The Age of Cotton, Iron, and Water Power	1780s -1815	1815 - 1845	Textiles (Cotton)	Iron	Britain
2nd Kondratiev Cycle	The Age of Iron Railways, Steam Power and Mechanization	1840s – 1870s	1870s - mid-1890s	Railways	Coal, Iron	Britain
3rd Kondratiev Cycle	The Age of Steel, Heavy Engineering, and Electrification	Mid-1890s - 1914	1920s - 1930s	Electricity	Steel	USA
4th Kondratiev Cycle	The Age of Oil, Automobiles, and Mass Production	1940s - 1960s	1970s - 1980s	Automobile	Oil	USA
5th Kondratiev Cycle	The Age of Information and Communication Technology	1980s -		Computers	Electronic Chip	USA

*Source: Freeman & Lou*çā (2001).

4. Empirical Results

Our econometric tool in testing for the existence of long cycles will be the logistic growth curve. The basic features of the logistic curve are: (a) it is symmetric around its inflection point which is also its midpoint, (b) to the left of the inflection point the growth rates of the variable to which the logistic is fitted depict a rising trend while to the right of the inflection point a falling trend. Figures 2a and 2b depict an ideal logistic curve and the cycle of growth rates to which it corresponds.

*Figure 2a: Logistic Growth Curve*
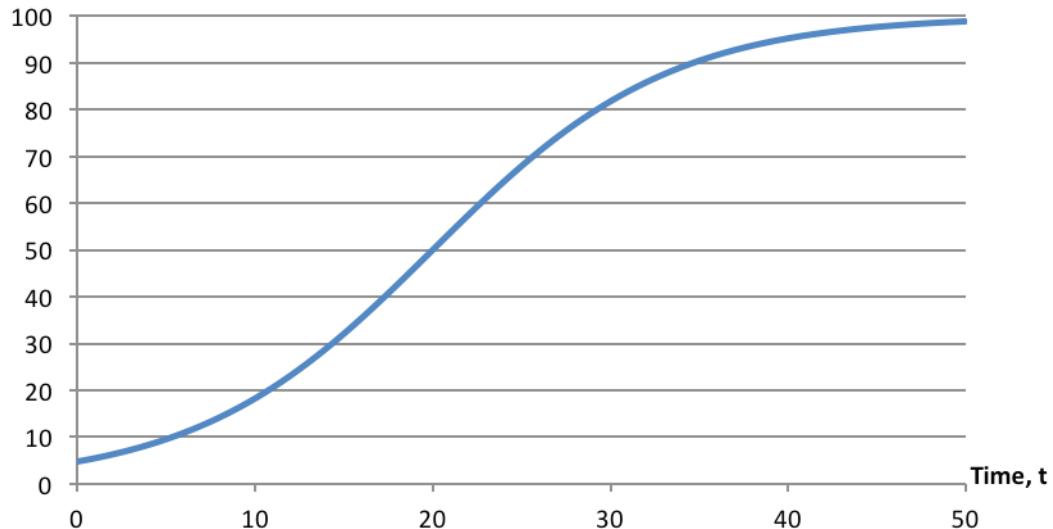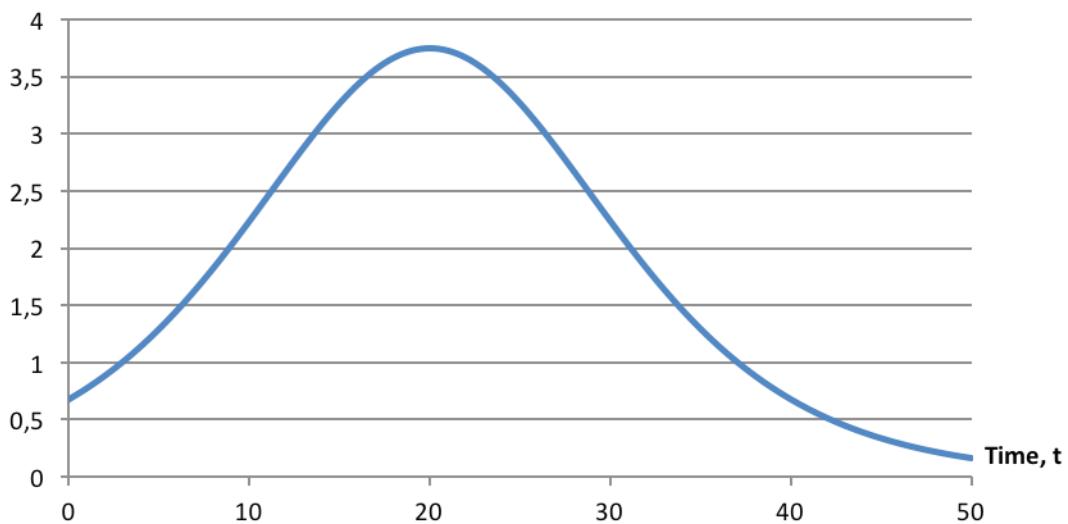
Figure 2b: Growth Rate of the Logistic Curve

The simple logistic curve has three parameters and is given by the following equation:

$$Y(t) = \frac{K}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$$

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K is the upper asymptote of the curve. The parameter t_m denotes the year that corresponds to the inflection point of the logistic curve and thus to the maximum growth rate of the variable under examination. The parameter *Δt*, on the other hand, denotes the speed of completion of the logistic process which is, in effect, the number of years that are required for this process to proceed from the year corresponding to 10% to the year corresponding to 90% of the value of its upper asymptote *K* (Marchetti, 1991, p. 13; Grubler, 1990, pp. 14-15).

In our analysis we use two forms of the logistic curve. In the cases where the series (to be tested for long cycles) commences its historical course at the beginning of the long cycle that interests us, we use the simple three-parameter logistic curve with just one (upper) asymptote *K*. But in those cases where the variables under examination have already undergone a significant development (before the start of the long cycle) we use the four-parameter logistic curve that includes also a lower asymptote *A* (Furuya *et al.*, 2015). The formula of this logistic curve is:

$$Y(t) = A + \frac{K\text{-}A}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$$

Finally, in those cases where the lower asymptote *A* is found to be not statistically significant we treat it as a constant by substituting in its place the initial value of our time series; we then estimate the remaining three parameters.

Concerning periodization, i.e. choosing the start year and the end year when we test for the existence of a logistic growth process, the normalized price index will be of great assistance, as we will proceed to test for the existence of long cycles, in a series of variables, based (more or less) on the periodization obtained by the normalized index.

In Table 3 we present six time series that are related to the leading sector of the second long cycle, that is the railways, for the leading capitalist economy of the period, i.e. Britain. All six estimations were performed with the logistic curve of the form

$$Y(t) = \text{Initial Value} + \frac{K\text{-Initial Value}}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$$

In all estimations the obtained t-statistics indicate zero p-values for the three parameters (K, t_m, *Δt*).

Table 3*: Railways and the Second Long Cycle, Britain - Logistic Curve Estimations

Variables[2]	2nd Long Cycle	K (asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R^2
(1) Freight of commodities, mil. miles	1852-1895	146.437 (53.018)	1871.69 (3419.821)	33.52 (19.873)	0.988
(2) Freight loaded, mil. tons	1856-1893	312.722 (37.054)	1874.789 (2699.403)	30.05 (15.18)	0.985
(3) Length of line, klm.	1850-1896	28445.75 (101.882)	1867.56 (4548.692)	30.38 (22.129)	0.99
(4) Commodities, Revenue - £ mil. (1873)	1850-1895	62.82 (47.775)	1873.752 (3226.497)	34.22 (21.066)	0.99
(5) Total Revenue, £ mil. (1873)	1850-1893	119.267 (38.166)	1874.779 (2690.858)	34.61 (19.768)	0.99
(6) Profits, £ mil. (1873)	1854-1895	54.032 (34.062)	1874.448 (2218.144)	32.76 (13.121)	0.976

*Sources: (1) & (2): Mitchell (1988, pp. 545-6)

(3): Mitchell (2013a, Table F1)

(4): Nominal revenues (from sales of commodities) were obtained from Mitchell (1988, pp. 545-6). Price deflator: For the 1856-1895 period we used the price index for British railways in Feinstein (1972, T136); for the 1850-1855 period we used the wholesale price index in Jastram (2009).

(5) Nominal total revenues were obtained from Mitchell (1988, pp. 545-6), except for the value for the year 1868 which is not included in Mitchell and which we obtained from Arnold & McCartney (2005, p. 50). Price deflator: For the 1856-1893 period we used the price index for British railways in Feinstein (1972, T136); for the 1850-1855 period we used the wholesale price index in Jastram (2009).

(6) Nominal Profits were obtained from Mitchell (1988, pp. 545-6). Price deflator: For the 1856-1895 period we used the price index for British railways in Feinstein (1972, T136); for the 1854-1855 period we used the wholesale price index in Jastram (2009).

In Table 4, we present estimations on series related to the basic inputs of the second long cycle. Series (1) and (2) are expressed in 7-year moving averages. The estimations for these variables were performed with the four-parameter logistic $Y(t) = A + \frac{K-A}{1+ e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$. The estimation for variable (3) was performed with the logistic curve of the form $Y(t) = \text{Initial Value} + \frac{K-\text{Initial Value}}{1+ e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$. The values of t-statistics are in parentheses and all indicate zero p-values.

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2   Variable (1) is the million miles traveled by freights of commodities on Britain's railways; variable (2) is the millions of tons of these commodities; variable (3) represents the total kilometers of railway line in use, for every year of the period covered by the 2nd long cycle; variables (4) and (5) are the real revenues (base year 1873) which the railway companies derived from freights of commodities and from commodities plus passenger tickets respectively; variable (6) is equal to variable (5) minus the working expenses of the railway companies.

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Table 4*: Coal, Iron and the Second Long Cycle, Britain - Logistic Curve Estimations

Variables	2nd Long Cycle	A (lower asymptote)	K (upper asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R^2
(1) Pig Iron, thousands of tons (7-year MA)	1850-1896	1951.523 (6.652)	8071.480 (73.999)	1865.899 (2317.267)	32.4 (10.527)	0.988
(2) Iron, exports - thousands of tons (7-year MA)	1850-1896	992.999 (3.269)	3485.933 (20.979)	1868.045 (924.463)	22.50 (2.75)	0.8
(3) Coal, mil. tons	1850-1895	-	194.39 (38.089)	1873.124 (2102.477)	38.77 (15.281)	0.981

*Sources: (1) Mitchell (2013, Table D8)
(2) Mitchell & Deane (1962, pp. 146-7)
(3) Mitchell (1988, pp. 247-8)

In Tables 5 and 6 we present estimations for the leading sector (electricity) and for the basic input (steel) of the third long cycle. The estimations were performed with the simple three-parameter logistic $Y(t) = \frac{K}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$
. The values of t-statistics are in parentheses and they all indicate zero p-values.

Table 5*: Electricity and the Third Long Cycle, USA - Logistic Curve Estimations

Variable	3rd Long Cycle	K (asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R^2
Output of Electric Energy (GWh)	1899-1935	126075.37 (17.921)	1920.61 (2156.205)	25.22 (8.967)	0.97
Value of Electrical Equipment, $ 1913, 7-year MA	1892-1937	498.342 (13.009)	1916.31 (1193.494)	28.032 (5.617)	0.87

*Sources: Production of Electric Energy - All values are taken from Mitchell (2013b, D22) except for some years that were missing from Mitchell's series and were taken from other sources. Specifically, the values for the years 1899 and 1909 are from Kendrick (1961, p. 590) and for the years 1913 to 1916 and 1918, 1919 from Gould (1942, p. 131)

Electrical Equipment: The values of the series '[Current] Value of Electrical Equipment' are from Carter *et al.* (2006, Table Dd477, p. 650) for the period 1892 to 1937, except for the years 1934 and 1936 for which no values are given. For these years we used the growth rates derived from the series for Net Capital Stock for Electrical Equipment (in current prices) of the Bureau of Economic Analysis (2015b, Table 2.1, line 17), and this series was also used for the extension of the previous (Carter *et al.*) series to include the years 1938 to 1940. In order to express the resulting series in real terms, we divided it by the price index for capital goods in Carter *et al.* (2006,

Table Dd492, p. 651); the price index series was extended to include the years 1938 to 1940 by means of the USA wholesale price index in Jastram (2009).

Table 6*: Steel Production (million tons) in the World and the USA - Logistic Curve Estimations

3rd Long Cycle	K (asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R²
World (1880-1935)	94.2 (40.914)	1906.6 (2765.995)	38.0 (17.273)	0.98
USA (1880 - 1934)	40.6 (36.741)	1905.8 (2841.606)	25.9 (10.863)	0.96

*Sources: USA (Mitchell 2013b, Table D9)

World: Steel Statistical Yearbook (1993, p. 1) for the 1900-1935 period. For the 1880-1899 period we summed the steel productions of the USA, Britain, Germany and France and extended the series for world production backwards according to the growth rates of the sum obtained. The source for the three European countries is Mitchell (2013a, Table D9).

In Table 7 we examine variables related to the leading sector of the fourth long cycle, the automobile industry. These variables are the physical volume of world production, the value of output in the US automobile industry, and the world production of the leading postwar Japanese manufacturer, Toyota. The estimations for variables (1) and (3) were performed with the four-parameter logistic $Y(t) = A + \frac{K\text{-}A}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t\text{-}t_m)/Δt}}$, while for variable (2) with the simple three-parameter logistic $Y(t) = \frac{K}{1 + e^{(-4.39)*(t\text{-}t_m)/Δt}}$. The values of t-statistics are in parentheses and they all indicate zero p-values.

Table 7*: Automobile and the Fourth Long Cycle - Logistic Curve Estimations

Variable	4th Long Cycle	A (lower asymptote)	K (upper asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R²
(1) Number of Automobiles, World Production, millions	1947-1984	5.59 (6.525)	29.84 (39.205)	1964.73 (3430.56)	19.97 (7.687)	0.97
(2) Toyota, Number of Automobiles, World Production	1947-1983	-	3487048.34 (38.181)	1971.13 (6048.506)	16.97 (17.293)	0.99
(3) Automobiles USA, Value of Output, $1970 millions	1948-1983	16.63 (11.005)	45.11 (26.643)	1966.17 (2156.683)	20.74 (4.812)	0.95

*Sources: (1) - Brown (2011, appendix to Chapter 9), (2) - http://www.toyota-global.com/company/history_of_toyota/75years/data/automotive_business/production/production/overview/index.html , (3) Bureau of Economic Analysis (2015a, Tables 7.2.4A [line 1] and 7.2.5A [line 1])

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Finally, in Table 8 we present estimates pertaining to the production and consumption of the basic input of the fourth long cycle, that is oil, for the capitalist economies, the centrally planned economies (CPE) and their 'sum', i.e. the world economy. Estimations were performed with the four-parameter logistic $Y(t) = A + \frac{K-A}{1+ e^{(-4.39)*(t-t_m)/\Delta t}}$, The values of t-statistics are in parentheses and they all indicate zero p-values (except for the A parameter in the 'production of CPE' which has a p-value of 0.158).

Table 8*: Oil (thousand barrels per day) and the Fourth Long Cycle - Logistic Curve Estimations

Variable	4th Long Cycle	A (lower asymptote)	K (upper asymptote)	t_m (inflection point)	Δt (10%-90%)	R²
World Production	1949-1986	12596.6 (10.817)	61577.37 (62.171)	1966.319 (5253.11)	16.35 (10.517)	0.985
Production of Capitalist Economies	1949-1986	12276.3 (11.565)	46477.23 (54.414)	1965.662 (4284.248)	13.41 (7.406)	0.97
Production of CPE	1949-1986	446.63 (1.445)	17572.44 (30.948)	1971.064 (4247.115)	27.4 (12.826)	0.994
World Consumption	1949-1986	12448.48 (13.116)	61898.69 (73.049)	1966.687 (6343.091)	16.81 (12.915)	0.99
Consumption of Capitalist Economies	1949-1986	11545.78 (13.797)	48198.81 (70.464)	1965.964 (5618.836)	15.39 (10.797)	0.986
Consumption of CPE	1949-1986	1150.16 (6.662)	14159.01 (56.956)	1969.850 (7027.099)	19.75 (16.22)	0.994

*Source: van der Linde (1991, p. 82)

5. Conclusions

According to Kondratiev's theory we would expect important economic variables to move in synchronous (and long-cyclic) fashion with the price level. We have used the normalized price index as the price series relevant for our periodization purposes, in terms of cycles derived by the process of logistic growth. The average peak years for the normalized indexes of Britain and the USA are 1872.5, 1919.5 and 1968. From the Tables of the empirical section we can see that the inflection points of the logistic fits, which indicate maximum growth rates, take place in years that are very close to the maximum points of the normalized index.[3] Hence, it seems that variables pertaining to the leading sectors and the basic inputs of the Kondratiev cycles from the mid-19th century up to the mid-1980s did indeed follow a long-cyclic pattern, similar to that of the (normalized) price index.

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3   The sole exception are the two steel series where we have a midpoint considerably earlier. The reason for this is that there was a rapid replacement of iron rails by steel rails during the downswing of the 2nd long cycle, from approximately 1880 onwards.

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THE CLASS CONFIGURATION OF WAGE LABOUR IN GREECE: CHANGES DURING THE RECENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

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Abstract

In a recent study of the Labour Institute of General Confederation of Greek Workers (INE-GSEE), the class configuration of the Greek social formation during the period 2006-2014 has been identified, on the basis of the Marxist theory of modes of production. Taking advantage of the results of that study, the purpose of the present paper is to investigate in particular the class configuration of salaried classes in Greece, as well as the changes that occurred in the period of the recent economic crisis. Data analysis shows that salaried social classes as a whole have been shrunk in absolute terms, while the supervision on the working class in the capitalist production process has been increased.

Keywords: social classes, wage labour, Greece, Greek economic crisis

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the class configuration of wage labour in Greece. The latter constitutes the social subject of the trade union movement. More precisely, we attempt to focus on the changes that have occurred in the structure of wage labour during the current economic crisis.

In order to carry out this investigation and for the determination of social classes, we have followed the Marxist theory of modes of production. The empirical part of our paper has been based on secondary data derived from labour force surveys and especially from the results of a recent study titled *The Class Structure of Greek Society and the Position of the Working Class* (Economakis, Zisimopoulos, Katsoridas, Kollias, & Kritikidis, 2015).

2. Mode of Production, Production Relations, Social Classes: The Economic and The Political-Ideological Criterion of Class Determination

Social classes are distinguished into "fundamental" and "non-fundamental" or "intermediate" social classes.

"[T]here are three relations, which together constitute the relations of production: *ownership*, *possession* and the *use* of the means of production". The particular combination of the relations of production constitutes the "matrix" of (every) mode of production. It is necessary to note that "[u]se of the means of production is defined as the exclusive performance of the function of labour,…, [o]wnership…consists in the control of the means, objects and results of the productive process", and possession of the means of production is "the management (direction) of the production process and the power to put the means of production to use…[O]wnership as an economic relation exists in a relation of homology (coincidence-correspondence) with possession" (Economakis, 2005, p.

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13). The "fundamental" social classes are formed within the modes of production, as the "carriers" of the relations of production. In non-fundamental social classes belong those social classes that are not "carriers" of production relations in a mode of production, or those social classes that are not formed within the modes of production –and thus cannot be defined on the basis of the economic criterion– but are constituted within the framework of the state's function. (Economakis, 2005, p. 14; Milios and Economakis, 2011, p. 228).

3. The Social Classes within The Modes of Production: CMP, SCMP, HMP

There are two preconditions for the emergence of the CPM, one "elementary" and one "specifically capitalist feature".

The "elementary feature" of the matrix of the capitalist mode of production is the "homology of the relation of ownership and possession in the class 'carrier' of ownership (real ownership) by separation of free-immediate-producers from possession of the means of production. Real ownership connotes that the free workers work to the benefit of the class 'carrier' of ownership" (exploitation relationship, surplus-value production and extraction, remuneration from variable capital) (Economakis, 2005, p. 14).

The "specifically capitalist feature" of the matrix of the capitalist mode of production is the total disengagement of the real owner of the means of production from the need to work directly (or to exert the function of labour), i.e. from the use relation. The "specifically capitalist feature" is resulted from the change in the quantitative scale of production, and thus from the change of the volume of capital employed by an individual employer. The volume of capital determines thus the volume of wage labour employed (Economakis, 2005, pp. 14-15).

Given the above, two fundamental social classes that are formed within the CMP are the "capitalist class" (the owners of the means of production and the top managers) as the exploiting class "carrier" of the real ownership relation, and the "working class" as the exploited class "carrier" of the use relation (see Economakis, 1999).

Within the CMP, the "new petty bourgeoisie" is formed as a non-fundamental social class. This social class consists of a special kind of wage earners (lower level managers, supervisors) who, despite the fact that they are also exploited as the working class, are neither "carriers" of the use relation nor "carriers" of the real ownership relation, but, nevertheless, they exert power that is assigned by the capitalist class (Milios and Economakis, 2011; see also Poulantzas, 1975).

Under conditions of total engagement or under conditions of non-total (partial) engagement of the real owner in the labour process, two distinct non-capitalist modes of production are formed. The first one (total engagement of the real owner in the labour process) is the SCMP and the second one (partial engagement of the real owner in the labour process) is the HMP (Economakis, 2000; Economakis, 2005).

Within the SCMP, one social class is exclusively formed, the "traditional petty bourgeoisie", which belongs to the fundamental social classes of the social formation. The simple commodity producer (self-employed) is the exclusive "carrier" of the relations of production (real ownership and use relation). Apart from the owner of the production unit, the (non-salaried) contributing family workers belong in the traditional petty bourgeoisie, too. It must be noted that there is no exploitation relationship within the SCMP.

Within the HMP, two fundamental social classes are formed, which are both "carriers" of production relations: the "middle bourgeoisie" ("small employers" and contributing family workers as "carriers" of the real ownership

and of the partial use) and the "spurious working class" (as "carrier" of the use relation, i.e. it is subjected to surplus-value extraction). The salaried class of HMP is called spurious working class, in order to be distinguished from the working class which is exclusively formed within the CMP (see Economakis, 2000; Economakis, 2005).

4. The Social Classes within The State: General Government and State Capitalist Enterprises

Within the general government, three non-fundamental social classes are formed, which cannot be defined as the "carriers" of production relations. These classes are: "the new petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism", the "upper state bureaucracy" and the "lower ranking civil-servants" (see Economakis *et al.*, 2015). Within the general government, capitalist exploitation relations do not exist, i.e. production and extraction of surplus value.

"[T]he new petty bourgeoisie [of the state mechanism]… comprises all those wage earners who staff the apparatuses of the capitalist state, hence exercise power in the name of the capitalist system in the process of its social reproduction" (Milios and Economakis, 2011, p. 231). It consists of civil servants that ensure "the cohesion of capitalist political power (state bureaucracy, the judicial apparatus, the military, etc.) and the systematization and dissemination of the ruling ideology, such as education" (*ibid.*, p. 232). These employees are salaried from the general government revenues (see Kappos, 1987).

The lower hierarchical levels of civil servants (e.g. artisans, public service cleaners) who do not perform functions that ensure the consistency of state power or the systematization and dissemination of the dominant ideology constitute the class of the lower ranking civil-servants.

The senior civil servants, the "heads" of the state mechanism, exercise directly (i.e. non-delegated by others) authority for the reproduction of the capitalist system within the framework of the "relative autonomy" of the state (Economakis *et al.*, 2015; see also Poulantzas, 1975, pp. 183 ff). We will call these "heads" of the mechanism of the capitalist state upper state bureaucracy.

We consider the state capitalist enterprises (state-owned industries, public enterprises etc.) as a special form of the capitalist enterprise. Therefore, all our basic determinations on the CMP and therefore on the social classes that are formed within CMP, are applied in state capitalist enterprises.

5. The Social Classes of The Social Formation and The Practical Limits For The Separation of Modes of Production

The separation of social classes at the level of production modes is the result of the separation-determination of the different modes of production (Economakis, 2000). The determination of separation limits of the different modes of production depends on the "degree" to which the "carriers" of real ownership simultaneously constitute (or not) "carriers" of the use relation. This "degree" is directly linked to the number of salaried employees or to the non-existence of salaried employment.

In accordance with the relative literature review (see Economakis *et al.* 2015, pp. 57 ff.) and given that in every production process where exploitation relations exist (production and extraction of surplus value) there is at least one employer and one salaried employee, the numerical limits of the modes of production can be summarized in the following table.

Table 5.1 Modes of production: numerical limits	
Mode of production	**Employed/salaried employees**
SCMP	1 employed/0 salaried employees
HMP	2-5 employed/1-4 salaried employees
"Grey area" between HMP και CMP	6-9 employed/5-8 salaried employees
CMP	10≤ employed/9≤ salaried employees

6. The Salaried Social Classes and The Displayed as Salaried Social Classes

Based on the above analysis we can define the social classes that are formed within the wage labour. This determination takes place within those modes of production in which wage employment exists, as well as within the state.

Both the top managers of the private and the state capitalist enterprises are displayed as salaried social classes in the bourgeois statistical taxonomies. However, salaried relation is an expression of the exploiting production relations, and as such it concerns the exploited classes of the CMP (working class and new petty bourgeoisie) and not the "carrier" of real ownership (capitalist class) (see Economakis, 2018; Zisimopoulos, 2018).

More precisely, the wage labour exists within the CMP, the HMP and within the "grey area" between HMP and CMP. Within CMP, the top managers are displayed as salaried social class, however their revenue derives mainly from profits (Economakis, 1999, 2000, 2018). Both the working class and the new petty bourgeoisie are the hired classes of the CMP, and both are paid by variable capital. Within the HMP, one salaried social class, the spurious working class is exclusively formed, which is paid by variable capital. Within the "grey area" between the CMP and the HMP, the working class or the spurious working class, and the new petty bourgeoisie are formed. Both are paid by variable capital (Zisimopoulos, 2018).

All the social classes which are formed within the state capitalist enterprises and the state mechanism are (or displayed as) salaried social classes. In the state capitalist enterprises they are paid either by profits (the top managers) or by variable capital (the working class and the new petty bourgeoisie). In the state mechanism they are paid by the state revenue (*ibid.*).

7. Methodology

The empirical investigation of the class configuration is based on the recent study *The Class Structure of Greek Society and the Position of the Working Class* (Economakis *et al.*, 2015) and on the secondary data derived from it. These secondary data concern the total labour force for the period 2006-2014 (second quarter).

The social classes are determined from the combination of six specific questions of the labour force questionnaires concerning the distribution of labour force. The combination of these six questions can define the "carriers" and the "non-carriers" of production relations, i.e. fundamental and non-fundamental social classes within the modes of production, as well as the non-fundamental classes within the state. More precisely, these questions concern: a) the employment status, b) the ownership status of the enterprise/organization (private or public sector), c) the one-digit groups of individual occupations, d) the occupational status, e) the managerial status (i.e. the supervision-coordination or the non-supervision-coordination of other employees) and f) the number of employees at workplace.

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8. The Class Configuration of The Greek Social Formation and of The Wage Labour

In Table 8.1 the class configuration of the wage labour in terms of absolute numbers for the same period is depicted. Table 8.2 depicts the sub-categories of the salaried social classes as a percentage of the total wage labour.

According to Table 8.2, the fundamental social classes represent approximately 65% of the total wage labour and the non-fundamental represent 35% of the total wage labour. The larger portions of the wage labour are the working class of the CMP (26.88% in 2006, 28.26% in 2014), the new petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism (25.18% in 2006, 27.44% in 2014), the spurious working class that is formed within the HMP (21.01% in 2006, 20.01% in 2016) and the spurious working class or working class that is formed in the "grey area" between HMP and CMP (12.38% in 2006, 10.95% in 2014). The rest portions of the social classes are all below 5% of the total wage labour.

Table 8.1 The salaried social classes and the displayed as salaried social classes according to the social division of labour, 2006-2014 (second quarter)

Social division of labour	Salaried social classes	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Fundamental social classes						
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the private capitalist enterprises (3)	5,232	8,586	7,068	9,488	8,160
	Working class (4)	780,433	823,620	733,608	619,802	645,930
HMP	Spurious working class (7)	610,061	647,368	654,329	479,647	457,378
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	Spurious working class or Working class (grey area) (11)	359,302	379,049	350,088	265,898	250,319
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the state capitalist enterprises (12)	5,109	7,336	6,180	4,178	1,591
	Working class (state capitalist enterprises) (13)	129,430	125,976	99,737	75,135	69,555
	Total salaried fundamental social classes	*1,889,567*	*1,991,935*	*1,851,010*	*1,454,148*	*1,432,933*
Non-fundamental or intermediate social classes						
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (private capitalist enterprises) (14)	111,540	118,678	119,977	127,587	111,459
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (grey area) (15)	17,803	22,367	25,150	24,530	15,648
General government	Upper state bureaucracy (16)	12,893	12,853	10,690	7,843	9,574
	New petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism (17)	731,025	753,101	747,003	654,461	627,084
	Lower ranking civil-servants (18)	122,846	109,592	109,880	86,882	78,061
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (state capitalist enterprises) (19)	17,520	19,918	13,385	11,113	10,523
	Total salaried non-fundamental social classes	*1,013,627*	*1,036,509*	*1,026,085*	*912,416*	*852,349*
	Total salaried social classes	*2,903,194*	*3,028,444*	*2,877,095*	*2,366,564*	*2,285,282*
Source: Zisimopoulos, 2018, p. 175.						

Table 8.2 The salaried social classes and the displayed as salaried social classes according to the social division of labour as % of wage employment 2006-2014 (second quarter)

Social division of labour	Salaried social classes	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Fundamental social classes						
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the private capitalist enterprises (3)	0.18	0.28	0.25	0.40	0.36
	Working class (4)	26.88	27.20	25.50	26.19	28.26
HMP	Spurious working class (7)	21.01	21.38	22.74	20.27	20.01
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	Spurious working class or Working class (grey area) (11)	12.38	12.52	12.17	11.24	10.95
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the state capitalist enterprises (12)	0.18	0.24	0.21	0.18	0.07
	Working class (state capitalist enterprises) (13)	4.46	4.16	3.47	3.17	3.04
	Total salaried fundamental social classes	*65.09*	*65.77*	*64.34*	*61.45*	*62.70*
Non-fundamental or intermediate social classes						
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (private capitalist enterprises) (14)	3.84	3.92	4.17	5.39	4.88
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (grey area) (15)	0.61	0.74	0.87	1.04	0.68
General government	Upper state bureaucracy (16)	0.44	0.42	0.37	0.33	0.42
	New petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism (17)	25.18	24.87	25.96	27.65	27.44
	Lower ranking civil-servants (18)	4.23	3.62	3.82	3.67	3.42
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (state capitalist enterprises) (19)	0.60	0.66	0.47	0.47	0.46
	Total salaried non-fundamental social classes	*34.91*	*34.23*	*35.66*	*38.55*	*37.30*
	Total salaried social classes	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Source: Zisimopoulos, 2018, p. 176.						

One interesting finding derived from Table 8.1, is the change of ratio between the new petty bourgeoisie (supervisor) and the working class (supervised) of the CMP in private capitalist enterprises. While in 2006 one supervisor corresponded to seven supervised workers, in 2014 the ratio change to one supervisor for six supervised workers. This change in the span of control stresses the increase of the control processes by the capitalist class at the workplace.

According to Table 8.3, the salaried social classes as a whole were reduced during the examined period (percentage change 21.28%). The social class that faced the greatest reduction in terms of absolute numbers is the spurious working class. The working class of the CMP also faced a great reduction during the examined period. The reduction of the new petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism was also oversized.

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Table 8.3 The salaried social classes and the displayed as salaried social classes, changes 2006-2014 (second quarter)		Change 2006-2014	Precentage change 2006-2014
Social division of labour	**Salaried social classes**		
Fundamental social classes			
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the private capitalist enterprises (3)	2,928	55.96%
	Working class (4)	-134,503	-17.23%
HMP	Spurious working class (7)	-152,683	-25.03%
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	Spurious working class or Working class (grey area) (11)	-108,983	-30.33%
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	Capitalist class: top managers of the state capitalist enterprises (12)	-3,518	-68.86%
	Working class (state capitalist enterprises) (13)	-59,875	-46.26%
	Total salaried fundamental social classes	-456,634	-24.17%
Non-fundamental or intermediate social classes			
CMP-Private capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (private capitalist enterprises) (14)	-81	-0.07%
"Grey area" between HMP and CMP	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (grey area) (15)	-2,155	-12.10%
General government	Upper state bureaucracy (16)	-3,319	-25.74%
	New petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism (17)	-103,941	-14.22%
	Lower ranking civil-servants (18)	-44,785	-36.46%
CMP-State capitalist enterprises	New petty bourgeoisie of the CMP (state capitalist enterprises) (19)	-6,997	-39.94%
	Total salaried non-fundamental social classes	-161,278	-15.91%
	Total salaried social classes	-617,912	-21.28%
Source: Zisimopoulos, 2018, p. 175, adapted by the authors.			

9. Discussion

The total reduction of the salaried social classes was the result of the deep recession that the Greek economy has been facing since 2008.

As regards the spurious working class, one explanation for its reduction during the current crisis could be the mass closure of the small enterprises in which spurious working class is employed. Such explanation is also supported by the reduction of the middle bourgeoisie of the HMP (see Economakis *et al.*, 2015).

The great reduction of the working class formed within the CMP could be potentially explained by the closure of private capitalist enterprises. Such explanation is also supported by the huge reduction of the capitalist class of the CMP of private capitalist enterprises (see Economakis *et al.*, 2015). In any case, this explanation also needs further research.

The reduction of the new petty bourgeoisie of the state mechanism is related to the restrictive economic policy during the current crisis period. Under the pressure of troika for public sector restriction through –among others– the downsizing of public sector employment, many public servants preferred retirement in order to avoid redundancy.

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A GAME THEORY ANALYSIS: BASEL DECISIONS AND MINIMUM ADEQUACY RATE /

BİR OYUN TEORİSİ ANALİZİ: BASEL KARARLARI VE ASGARİ SERMAYE YETERLİLİK ORANI

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Abstract

The growth of the share of financial institutions' capital in risky assets leads to financial markets becoming more vulnerable to economic crises. In order to prevent this, the Basel Committee holds the preliminary plan for raising the minimum capital adequacy ratio while taking the decisions of Basel 1, Basel 2 and Basel 3. From this point of view, in this study we investigate the outcomes in the case if the share of the bank's assets to risky assets is determined by an ultimatum game between the bank and the Basel Committee. The discount rate, which represents time cost, is taken as 0.5. As a result of the bargaining, it is concluded that about 25 percent of the capital of the bank will be allocated to risk-free assets.

Keywords: Basel decisions, minimum capital adequacy rate, bargaining games

Özet

Finansal aracıların sermayelerinin riskli varlıklara ayrılan payın büyümesi, finansal piyasaların iktisadi krizlere karşı daha kırılgan hale gelmelerine yol açmaktadır. Bunu önlenmesi amacıyla Basel Komitesi, Basel 1, Basel 2 ve Basel 3 kararları alınırken asgari sermaye yeterlilik oranının yükseltilmesine yönelik amacı ön planda tutmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle bu çalışmada banka sermayesinin riskli varlıklara ayrılacak olan payın banka ile Basel Komitesi arasındaki bir ültimatom pazarlık sonucunda belirlenmesi durumunda nasıl bir sonucun oluşacağı araştırılmaktadır. Zaman maliyetini ifade eden iskonto oranı 0.5 olarak ele alınmaktadır. Pazarlık sonucunda banka sermayesinin yaklaşık yüzde yirmi beşinin risksiz varlıklara ayrılacağına dair bir sonuca varılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Basel kararları, asgari sermaye yeterlilik oranı, pazarlık oyunları

1. Giriş

Küreselleşmenin etkisiyle birlikte finansal piyasalarda yaşanan gelişmeler neticesinde finansal piyasalarda serbestleşmeler önemli ölçüde gerçekleştirildi. İktisadi hayatın çarklarının dönmesinde yüksek düzeyde etkili olan maksimum kar güdüsü, finansal aracıların ellerinde tuttukları varlıkları yüksek getirili aktiflere aktarmalarında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Yüksek düzeyde getiri elde etmenin yolu, yüksek düzeyde risk alınmasını gerekli kılmasından ötürü, finansal aracılar ellerinde tuttukları varlıkları yüksek risk taşıyan aktiflere aktarmaktadırlar. Bu durum, finansal krizlerin oluşmasına, şiddetlenmesine ve kronik hale gelmesine yol açmaktadır. Dolayısıyla finansal krizlerle daha etkin bir şekilde mücadele edilebilmesi için finansal aracıların sermayelerinin aktarıldığı alanların düzenlenmesi zorunluluk teşkil etmektedir.

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G10 ülkeleri 1975 senesinde bankacılık denetim ve gözetim otoritesi olarak Basel Denetim Komitesi'ni kurdular. Basel Denetim Komitesi'nin temel vazifesi, üzerinde uzlaşma sağlanan bankaların sermaye yeterliliğinin ölçülmesi ve bu çerçevede asgari standartların karşılanmasının sağlanmasıdır (Çelik ve Kızıl, 2008). Bu noktadan hareketle yapılan bu çalışmada rassal seçilen bir bankanın sermayesinin riskli varlıklara ayrılacak payın Basel Denetim Komitesi ile banka arasındaki bir ültimatom pazarlık süreci sonucunda belirlenmesi koşulu altında nasıl bir sonucun ortaya çıkacağı tespit edilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

2. Literatür Taraması

Çelik ve Kızıl (2008),banka sermaye yeterliliği hususunda Basel II'nin ortaya koyduğu kriterlere odaklanmaktadır. Basel II'nin piyasa riski ve kredi riski tanımlamalarında önemli yenilikleri ortaya koyduğu belirtilmektedir. Böylece Basel II ile birlikte yeni bir risk tanımlamasının standartlar bütünlüğüne dahil edildiğine dair açıklamalarda bulunulmaktadır. Ayrıca çalışmada Basel II'nin Türk Bankacılık Sistemi üzerindeki etkileri de tartışılmaktadır. Türkiye'de Basel II'nin bankacılık sektöründe sermaye ihtiyacının artmasına neden olacağına dair bir sonuca varılmaktadır.

Külahi vd.(2013), Türk Bankacılık Sektörü'nün Basel Kriterleri'ne uyum sürecinde kat ettiği mesafeye odaklanmaktadır. Türk Bankacılık Sektörü'nün Basel kriterlerini uygulamada başarılı olduğuna dair sonuca varılmaktadır. Ayrıca Türkiye'nin bu kriterlere uyum sürecinde gösterdiği başarıların ülkenin makro ve mikro iktisadi değişkenlerini olumlu etkileyeceği belirtilmektedir.

Arslan(2007), Basel Kriterleri'nin önemine ve Türkiye Ekonomisi üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Basel 2 kriterlerinin bilhassa bankaların kredi verme koşullarını ağırlaştırdığına ve teminat hususunda işletmelere ağır koşullar yüklediğine dair açıklamalarda bulunulmaktadır. Bankaların Basel 2 kriterlerine uyum sürecinde işletmelerden daha başarılı bir form çizdiğine dair bir sonuca varılmaktadır.

3. Model ve Analiz

Bu çalışma, banka ile Basel Denetim Konseyi arasında oynanacak ültimatom pazarlık modeli çerçevesinde banka sermayesinin riskli aktiflere ayrılacak olan kısmın belirlenmesine odaklanmaktadır. Hükümetin banka ile Basel Komitesi arasında oynanacak ültimatom pazarlık sonucunda belirlenecek oranlar doğrultusunda bankanın riskli aktiflerinin toplam sermayesi içindeki payını ayarlaması koşulu altında bankanın riskli aktifleri nedeniyle kaybedeceği sermayesini geri iade etme taahhüdünde bulunduğu varsayılmaktadır. Ayrıca bu taahhüdün inandırıcı olduğu da varsayılmaktadır. Bankalar kar maksimizasyonu güdüsüyle hareket eden kuruluşlardır. Yüksek düzeydeki karın elde edilebilmesi ,riskin alınmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle bankalar, sermayelerinin belli bir kısmını risk taşıyan aktiflere ayırmak istemektedirler. Ancak riskli aktiflerin toplam banka sermayesi içindeki pay arttıkça finansal krizlerin oluşma riski de artmaktadır. Bu durumda hükümetin bankaya sermaye yardımında bulunmak zorunda kalması ve böylece belli bir maliyete katlanması, hükümetin Basel Komitesi'ne duyduğu güvenin azalmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu durum, Basel Komitesi açısından önemli bir kayıptır. Yapılacak pazarlık sürecinde bir zaman maliyetinin varlığından söz edilebilir. Nitekim, anlaşma süreci uzadıkça bankanın faaliyetlerini yürütmesi de güçleşecek ve Basel Komitesi üzerindeki baskılar da artacaktır. Zaman maliyetini ifade eden iskonto oranlarının her iki oyuncu için (banka ve Basel Komitesi) eşit ve 0.5 olduğu varsayılmaktadır.

Sermayenin banka tarafından t periyodunda riskli aktiflere ayrılacak kısmın $b_{t,B}$ ile gösterilmesi durumunda bankanın fayda fonksiyonu şu şekilde olacaktır:

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$$u_{BANKA}\left(b_{t,B}, b_{t,D}\right) = b_{t,B}$$

Sermayenin banka tarafından t periyodunda risksiz aktiflere ayrılacak kısmın $b_{t,D}$ ile gösterilmesi durumunda Basel Komitesi'nin fayda fonksiyonu şu şekilde olacaktır:

$$u_{BASEL}\left(b_{t,B}, b_{t,D}\right) = b_{t,D}$$

Oyunun ilk periyodunun bankanın sermayenin $b_{1,B}$ kadar kısmını riskli aktiflere ayırmayı teklif etmesiyle başladığı varsayılmaktadır. Bunun temel nedeni, sermayenin sahibinin banka olmasıdır. İlk periyotta Basel Komitesi, bankanın teklifini kabul veya ret edebilir. Şayet teklif kabul edilirse banka sermayesinin $b_{1,B}$ kadar kısmını riskli aktiflere ve $b_{1,D} = 1 - b_{1,B}$ kadar kısmını risksiz aktiflere ayıracaktır. Teklif ret edilirse oyun, ikinci periyoda düşecektir. İkinci periyodun başında Basel Komitesi banka sermayesinin $b_{2,D}$ kadar kısmının risksiz aktiflere ayrılmasını teklif eder. Şayet banka, Basel Komitesi'nin teklifini kabul ederse sermayesinin $b_{2,D}$ kadar kısmını risksiz aktiflere ve $b_{2,B} = 1 - b_{2,D}$ kadar kısmını riskli aktiflere ayıracaktır. Teklif ret edilirse oyun üçüncü periyoda düşecektir. Üçüncü periyodun başında bankanın sermayenin $b_{3,B}$ kadar kısmının riskli aktiflere ayrılmasını teklif etmesiyle başlayacaktır. Şayet Basel Komitesi teklifi kabul ederse banka sermayesinin $b_{3,B}$ kadar kısmı riskli aktiflere; $b_{3,D} = 1 - b_{3,B}$ kadar kısmı risksiz aktiflere ayrılacaktır. Basel Komitesi teklifi ret ederse her iki oyuncu da sıfır alacaktır.

Pazarlığın üç periyottan sonra anlaşmayla bitmesi durumunda $b_{3,B}, 1 - b_{3,B}$ oyuncuların fayda fonksiyonları şu şekilde olacaktır:

$$u_{BANKA}\left(b_{3,B}, 1 - b_{3,B}\right) = (0.5)^2 b_{3,B}$$

$$u_{BASEL}\left(b_{3,D}, 1 - b_{3,D}\right) = (0.5)^2 b_{3,D}$$

Oyun, mükemmel bilgili dinamik bir oyundur. Oyunun mükemmel Nash dengesi, geriye doğru çıkarsam yöntemiyle tespit edilmektedir.

Oyuna bankanın teklif sunmasıyla başlandığı için son periyotta banka teklif sunacaktır. Üçüncü periyotta bankanın teklifi $\left(0 \leq b_{3,B} < 1\right)$ ise Basel Komitesi teklifi kabul edecektir; $b_{3,B} = 1$ durumda ise Basel Komitesi kabul etmekle reddetmek arasında kayıtsız kalacaktır. Bankanın üçüncü periyotta 1'e çok yakın teklifini Basel Komitesi kabul edecektir. Bu durumu banka ve Basel Komitesi bilmektedir. Bu durumda banka sermayenin yaklaşık olarak $(0.5)^2=0.25$ kadar kısmını riskli aktiflere ve yaklaşık olarak sıfır düzeyindeki kısmını da risksiz aktiflere ayıracaktır. Bu nedenden dolayı Basel Komitesi, ikinci periyotta $b_{2,D}$ teklifini $0.5 b_{2,D} \leq (0.5)^2$ ve dolayısıyla da $b_{2,D} \leq (0.5)$ şeklinde sunmak zorundadır. Aksi takdirde banka teklifi reddedeceği için oyun üçüncü periyoda geçecek ve banka sermayesinin yaklaşık olarak sıfır kadarı risksiz aktiflere ayrılacaktır. $b_{2,D}^* = (0.5)$ değeri Basel Komitesi'nin ikinci periyotta faydasını maksimize eden değerdir.

Birinci periyotta banka, oyunun ikinci periyoda düşmesi durumunda Basel Komitesi'nin $b_{2,D}^* = 0.5$ teklifinde bulunacağını bilmektedir. Bundan dolayı bankanın birinci periyottaki $b_{1,B}$ teklifinin $1 - b_{1,B} \geq (0.5)(0.5)$ ve dolayısıyla da $0.75 \geq b_{1,B}$ olması zorunludur. Aksi takdirde Basel Komitesi, teklifi reddedecek ve oyunda ikinci periyoda düşülecektir. Dolayısıyla bankanın faydasını maksimize edecek teklif değeri $b_{1,B}^* = 0.75$'tir
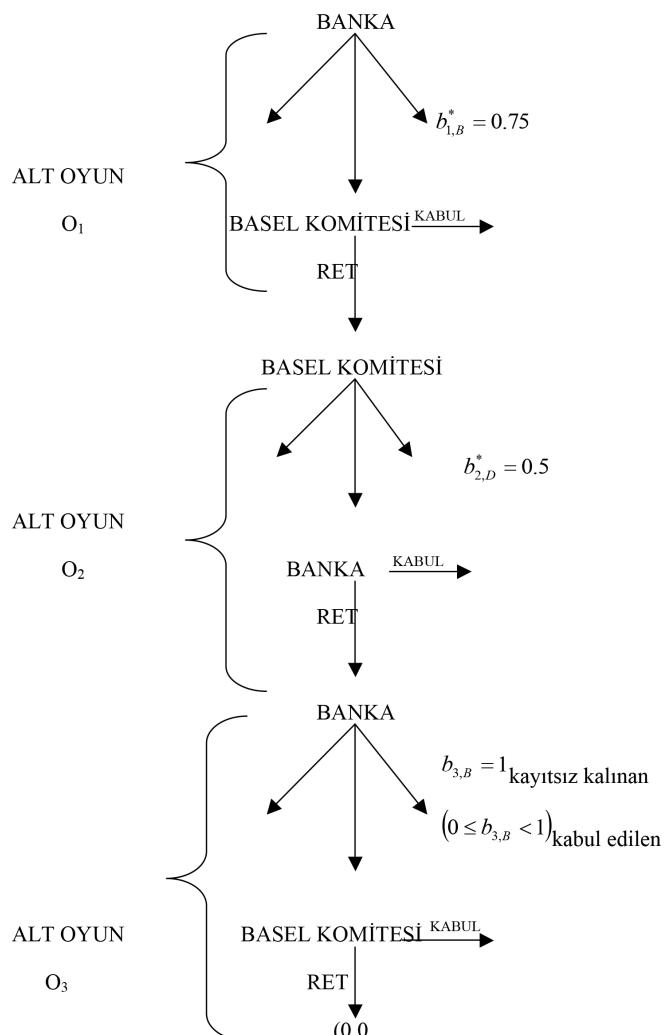
Alt oyun mükemmel denge strateji profili şu şekilde olacaktır:

Bankanın stratejisi:1.periyot: teklif: $b_{1,B}^* = 0.75$;; 2.periyot: kabul eğer $1 - b_{2,D}^* \geq (0.5)$ (ve dolayısıyla da $b_{2,D}^* \leq 0.5$) aksi takdirde reddeder;3.periyot: teklif: $b_{3,B} = 1$

Basel Komitesi'nin stratejisi:1.periyot kabul eder eğer $1 - b_{1,B} \geq 0.25$ (ve dolayısıyla da $b_{1,B} \leq 0.75$), aksi takdirde reddeder; 2.periyot: teklif: $b_{2,D}^* = 0.5$; 3.periyot kabul eder eğer $1 - b_{3,B}^* > 0$ (ve dolayısıyla da $b_{3,B}^* < 1$, kayıtsız kalır eğer $1 - b_{3,B}^* = 0$ (ve dolayısıyla da $b_{3,B}^* = 1$),aksi takdirde reddeder.

Sonuçlanan strateji profili $b_{1,B}^* = 0.75$ ve $1 - b_{1,B}^* \geq 0.25$ (ve dolayısıyla da $b_{1,B}^* \leq 0.25$) pazarlık anlaşmasını veren alt oyun mükemmel dengedir.

Şekil 1: Üç Periyotluk Ültimatom-Pazarlık Oyunu

4. Sonuç

Banka sermayesinin riskli varlıklara ayrılacak olan payın banka ile Basel Komitesi arasındaki bir ültimatom pazarlık sonucunda belirlenmesi durumunda banka sermayesinin yaklaşık yüzde yirmi beşi risksiz varlıklara geriye kalan yaklaşık yüzde yetmiş beşi ise riskli varlıklara ayrılacaktır. Bu her şeyden evvel, Basel Kriterlerine uyum sürecinde hükümetlerin Basel Kriterleri'nin uygulanması konusunda bankalara verecekleri desteğe bağlıdır.

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BİR OYUN TEORİSİ ANALİZİ: ENDÜSTRİ 4.0 DEVRİMİ / A GAME THEORY ANALYSIS ON INDUSTRY 4.0.

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Özet

Globalleşmenin etkisiyle rekabet olgusu, kar maksimizasyonu güdüsü ve teknolojideki ilerlemeler-bilhassa bilişsel teknolojideki ilerlemeler-toplumların hızlı ve etkin bir şekilde yüksek ilerleme sürecinde uzun mesafe kaydetmelerinde etkili olmaktadır. Bu süreçteki en önemli dönüm noktalarından biri olan endüstri 4.0 devrimi, üretim sürecinde yeni bir devrimin önemli bir işaretidir. Bu dönemde özellikle de robot emeğinin kullanıldığı akıllı fabrikaların üretim sürecinde faaliyet göstermeleri dikkat çekmektedir. Endüstri 4.0 devrimiyle değişen(değişecek) üretim sürecine odaklanan bu çalışma, hükümet, firma ve tüketici arasındaki dinamik bir oyun üzerinden temel almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dinamik oyunlar, industry 4.0., teknolojik gelişme.

Abstract

Competition as the result of globalization, motive of profit maximization, and progress in technology, in particular in cognitive technology, are effective in development of societies. One of the most important turning points in this process, the industry 4.0 revolution, is an important sign of a new revolution in the production process. It is noteworthy that smart factories, in which robot labor is used, operate in the production process in this period. In this study, we focus on the production process, which varies by the industry 4.0 revolution, by using a dynamic game between the government, the firm and the consumer.

Keywords: Dynamic games, industry 4.0., technological advance.

1. Giriş

Globalleşmenin etkisiyle iktisadi, sosyal ve siyasal alanlarda yaşanan gelişmelerin neticesinde artan rekabet koşullarına uyum sağlamaya yönelik stratejiler, etkin bir şekilde izlenmektedir. Artan rekabet koşullarıyla birlikte ABD, Almanya ve Japonya üretim rekabetindeki üstünlüklerini Brezilya, Çin ve Hindistan'a kaptırmaya başlamaktadır. Bunun birlikte Almanya'da, ABD'de ve Japonya'da rekabet üstünlüğünün öteki ülkelere kaptırılmaması adına da önemli çalışmalarda bulunmaktadır.

Globalleşmenin etkisiyle rekabet olgusu, kar maksimizasyonu güdüsü ve teknolojideki ilerlemeler-bilhassa bilişsel teknolojideki ilerlemeler-toplumların hızlı ve etkin bir şekilde yüksek ilerleme sürecinde uzun mesafe kaydetmelerinde etkili olmaktadır. Bu süreçteki en önemli dönüm noktalarından birisi de Endüstri 4.0 devrimidir. Nitekim endüstri 4.0 devriminin toplumsal yapının birçok faktörünü yeniden şekillendireceğinden şüphe duyulmamaktadır.

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2. Literatür Taraması

Aksoy (2017) çalışmasında geçtiğimiz beş yüz yılda özellikle Sanayi Devrimi sonrası tüm dünyada etkisini hissettiren Büyük Dönüşümün, insanın hem diğer insanlarla hem de doğayla olan ilişkisini eşi görülmemiş biçimde değiştirdiğini göstermiştir. Teknoloji olgusu üzerinden ele alındığında ise Sanayi Devrimi'nden bugüne dört aşamalı bir süreç ya da kendi içinde farklılaşan dört evrim karşımıza çıkar. Bu çalışmada, hala devam eden bu devrim ve bu devrimin önemli belirleyenlerinden olan teknoloji olgusu, özelde Endüstri 4.0 üzerinden ve kapitalizme özgü dinamikler devreye sokularak ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca değişim halinde bir olgu olan Endüstri 4.0'ı anlamaya ve açıklamaya dair sorular sorulmuş ve bu sorulara cevaplar bulunmaya çalışılmıştır.

Şener ve Elevli (2017) çalışmalarında 4. Sanayi devrimi olan Endüstri 4.0'a geçiş yapabilmek için Endüstri 4.0'ı incelemişler, bilinmesi gereken yetileri sıralamışlar ve bu süreci hızlandırmak için farklı bir akademi tavsiye etmişlerdir. Türkiye'nin yaş ortalaması 29 olduğu için gerekli alt yapılar sağlandıktan sonra Türkiye'nin bu geçişi başarı ile tamamlayabileceğini göstermişlerdir

Yıldız (2018) çalışmasında modern sanayi gelişiminin birkaç yüz yıldır sürdüğünü ve günümüze gelinceye kadar üç büyük sanayi devrimi ortaya çıkardığını şu an ise Endüstri 4.0 olarak adlandırılan dördüncü sanayi devrimine girildiğini belirtmiştir. Bu çalışmaya göre Endüstri 4.0, birbirleriyle haberleşen, sensörlerle ortamı algılayabilen ve veri analizi yaparak ihtiyaçları fark edebilen robotlarla üretimi devralıp; daha kaliteli, daha ucuz, daha hızlı ve daha az israf yapan bir üretim yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, Endüstri 4.0, modüler yapılı akıllı fabrikalarda siber fiziksel sistemler ile fiziksel işlemleri izleyerek nesnelerin birbirleriyle ve insanlarla iletişime geçmesine izin verir ve bunun sonucu olarak merkezi olmayan işbirlikçi kararların verilmesini sağlar. Günümüzdeki rekabet ortamında işletmelerin varlıklarını koruyabilmeleri ve sürdürebilmeleri için Endüstri 4.0'ı organizasyonlarına uygulaması kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Bunun için de Endüstri 4.0 kavramının ve temel olan paradigmalarının çok iyi bilinmesi gerekmektedir. Bundan dolayı bu çalışmada, Endüstri 4.0 ve temel paradigmaları açıklanmış, akıllı fabrikalar hakkında bilgi verilerek genel bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır.

Endüstriyel gelişimin geçtiğimiz yüzyılda turizm ekonomisine sağladığı katkıların yanında, dijital ve mobil alandaki teknolojik gelişmelerin sektör üzerinde yarattığı etkiler birçok sektörde olduğu gibi farklı çalışmalarla incelenmiştir. Ancak, özellikle 2015 sonrasında ivmelenen yüksek teknolojik gelişmelerin tüm bunların toplamından daha fazla etki yaratacağı açıktır. Turizm ekonomisinde ve sektöründe oluşacak büyük değişimlere sanal ve arttırılmış gerçeklik, çok boyutlu yazıcılar, robotlar ve otomasyon, hologram boyutundan bakılan bu çalışma ile Endüstri 4.0 kapsamında karşılaşılabilecek durumlara karşı zihinsel hazırlık altyapısı oluşturulmak istenmiştir. Mevcut kavramları yenileri ile kıyaslayan bu kuramsal çalışmanın gelecekteki teknolojik gerçekleşmeler ışığında veri ve nicel analizlerle incelenmesi ile Türkiye'deki turizm işletmelerine finansallarına ve turizm ekonomisine etkisi daha somut analiz edilebilecek ve bu çalışmanın bunlar için önemli bir kaynak olacağı düşünülmektedir. (Mil ve Dirican, 2018)

Dijitalleşme hem günlük yaşamımızı hem de iş ve eğitim hayatlarımızı, teknoloji-bağımlı bir forma dönüştürmektedir. Bu sürekli dönüşüm içerisinde, kesintisiz olarak gerçekleştirdiğimiz öğrenme deneyimlerinin de dijital dünya ile karşılıklı bir etkileşim halinde olduğu görülmektedir. Toplumsal gelişimin ve kalkınmanın en önemli yapıtaşlarından olan üniversiteler ise bu dönüşüm içerisinde etki yaratması gereken itici bir kuvvet olarak yer almalıdır. Bu çalışma kapsamında, dijital dönüşüm ve Sanayi 4.0'ın sosyal ve eğitsel süreçlere etkisi ele alınarak Üniversite 4.0'a geçiş için döngüsel bir kavramsal harita çizilmiştir. Söz konusu kavramsal harita, Yenilikçi Yönetim ve Liderlik, Hayat

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Boyu Öğrenme ve Destek Hizmetleri bileşenlerinin; Yatırım Getirisi (ROI), Kalite Güvence ve Akreditasyon ile Fonlama süreçlerinden oluşmaktadır. (Hilal Seda Yıldız Aybek, 2017)

3. Model

Firma, devlet ve tüketici arasındaki etkileşimi açıklayan bu model, Endüstri 4.0'ın gelişiminin olumlu ve olumsuz yönlerine odaklanmaktadır.

Oyunun birinci periyodunda firma, endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla katlanacağı optimal maliyet düzeyini belirlemek istemektedir. Oyunun birinci periyodunda hareket eden firmanın fayda düzeyini etkileyen değişkenler şunlardır:

1. Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda firmanın elde ettiği bir kar düzeyi bulunmaktadır. Bu, endüstrinin gelişimi sonucunda oluşan yeni ürünler bağlamında düşünülmelidir. Endüstrinin gelişimi sonucunda firmanın elde ettiği kar düzeyi arttıkça firmanın fayda düzeyi artmaktadır.

2. Endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararları oluşmaktadır. Bu zararları minimize etmek amacıyla firmanın katlanmak durumunda kalacağı maliyet düzeyi arttıkça firmanın fayda düzeyi belli bir seviyeye kadar artsa da söz konusu seviye aşıldıktan sonra azalmaktadır. Nitekim, endüstrinin gelişimi sonucunda insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine verilen zarar düzeyi karşılandıkça üretim sürecindeki çarkların dönmesinde de kolaylık sağlanacaktır. Dışsal fayda açısından durum değerlendirilmesinin yapılması gerekmektedir.

3.Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda oluşan çevresel maliyetler arttıkça firmanın fayda düzeyi azalmaktadır.

$$u_{firma} = h(\Re, \vartheta, \kappa)$$

$\Re$:Endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla firmanın katlanacağı maliyet düzeyi

ϑ: Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda firmanın elde ettiği dışsal kar düzeyi

κ: Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda oluşan çevresel maliyet düzeyi

Firmanın fayda fonksiyonu, ikinci dereceden endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla katlanacağı maliyet düzeyine göre türevi alınabilir niteliğe sahiptir.

Oyunun ikinci periyodunda tüketici hareket etmektedir. Tüketici, endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde arzu edeceği mal tercihi çeşitlilik düzeyini belirlemektedir. Tüketicinin fayda düzeyini etkileyen değişkenler şunlardır:

1. Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda oluşan çevresel maliyetler arttıkça tüketicinin fayda düzeyi azalmaktadır.

2. Endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde tüketicinin artırmak istediği mal tercihi çeşitliliği söz konusu olmaktadır. Ancak arzu edilen mal tercihi çeşitliliği arttıkça belli bir seviyeye kadar tüketicinin fayda düzeyi artsa da bu seviye aşıldıktan sonra azalmaktadır. Bunun temel nedeni, beklentilerin karşılanma düzeyi ile ilgilidir.

$$u_{tüketici} = m(\kappa, \alpha)$$

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α: Endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde tüketicinin artırmak istediği mal tercihi çeşitliliği düzeyi

Tüketicinin fayda fonksiyonu, ikinci dereceden endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde arzu edilecek mal tercihi çeşitlilik düzeyine göre türevi alınabilir niteliğe sahiptir.

Oyunun son periyodunda hükümet hareket etmektedir. Hükümet, endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde devletin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyini minimize etmek istemektedir. Hükümetin fayda düzeyini etkileyen değişkenler şunlardır:

1. .Endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda oluşan çevresel maliyetler arttıkça devletin fayda düzeyi azalmaktadır.

2. Endüstri 4.0 aşamasında işgücü piyasasında insanın emeğini robotun emeği ikame edecektir. Bu durum, devlet açısından üç temel değişikliğe işaret etmektedir. Birincisi, robotlardan vergi alınamayacağı için devletin vergi gelirlerinde bir azalma oluşacaktır. Bu, devletin fayda düzeyinin azalmasına neden olacaktır.İkincisi, üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarılması gereken sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları artacaktır.Sosyal yardım transfer harcamalarının belli bir seviyeye kadar artması,sosyal refah devlet anlayışından ötürü devletin fayda düzeyinin belli bir seviyeye kadar artmasını sağlasa da bu seviyeden sonra azalmasına neden olacaktır. Üçüncüsü, robotların işgücü piyasasında yer almalarının devletin işgücü piyasasındaki hizmet maliyetinin de azalmasına olanak sağlayacak olmasıyla ilgilidir.

$$u_{hükümet} = f(\kappa, tax, trans, hiz)$$

tax:Endüstrinin gelişmesiyle birlikte robotun emeğinin kullanılması nedeniyle oluşan vergi kaybı

$trans$:Endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde hükümetin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyi

hiz: robotların işgücü piyasasında yer almalarıyla birlikte devletin işgücü piyasasındaki azalacak olan hizmet maliyeti düzeyi

Hükümetin fayda fonksiyonu, ikinci dereceden endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde devletin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyine göre türevi alınabilir niteliğe sahiptir.

Oyun mükemmel tam bilgili dinamik bir oyundur. Bu nedenle oyunun mükemmel Nash dengesi, geriye doğru çıkarsama yöntemiyle tespit edilmektedir. Oyunda en son hareket eden hükümettir. Hükümet, endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde devletin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyini optimize etmek istemektedir:

$$\frac{\partial u_{hükümet}}{\partial trans} = \frac{\partial [f(\kappa, tax, trans, hiz)]}{\partial trans} = 0$$

Eşitlikten endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde hükümetin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı optimal ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyi fonksiyonu elde edilmektedir:

$$trans^* = g(\kappa, tax, hiz)$$

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Oyunun ikinci periyodunda tüketici, endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde arzu edeceği optimal mal tercihi çeşitlilik düzeyini belirlemektedir:

$$\frac{\partial u_{t\ddot{u}ketici}}{\partial \kappa} = \frac{\partial[m(\kappa,\alpha)]}{\partial \kappa} = 0$$

Eşitlikten endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde tüketicinin arzu edeceği optimal mal tercihi çeşitlilik düzeyi fonksiyonu elde edilmektedir:

$$\kappa^* = m(\alpha)$$

Oyunun birinci periyodunda firma, endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla katlanacağı optimal maliyet düzeyini belirlemektedir.

$$\frac{\partial u_{firma}}{\partial \Re} = \frac{\partial[h(\Re,\vartheta,\kappa)]}{\partial \Re} = \frac{\partial[h(\Re,\vartheta,m(\alpha))]}{\partial \Re} = \frac{\partial[T(\Re,\vartheta,\alpha)]}{\partial \Re} = 0$$

Eşitlikten endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde firmanın endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla katlanacağı optimal maliyet düzeyi belirlenmektedir.

$$\Re^* = E(\vartheta,\alpha)$$

4. Sonuç

Endüstri 4.0 devrimi sürecinde endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde firmanın endüstrinin gelişiminin insan sağlığına ve çevre kirliliğine zararların minimize edilmesi amacıyla katlanacağı optimal maliyet düzeyi, endüstrinin gelişmesi sonucunda firmanın elde ettiği dışsal kar düzeyine ve tüketicinin artırmak istediği mal tercihi çeşitliliği düzeyine bağlıdır. Endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde tüketicinin arzu edeceği optimal mal tercihi çeşitlilik düzeyi, tüketicinin artırmak istediği mal tercihi çeşitliliği düzeyine bağlıdır. Endüstrinin gelişmesi neticesinde hükümetin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı optimal ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyi, endüstrinin gelişmesiyle birlikte robotun emeğinin kullanılması nedeniyle oluşan vergi kaybına, hükümetin üretim yapmayan ve sadece tüketen insanlara aktarmak durumunda kaldığı ekstra sosyal yardım transfer harcamaları düzeyine ve robotların işgücü piyasasında yer almalarıyla birlikte devletin işgücü piyasasındaki azalacak olan hizmet maliyeti düzeyine bağlıdır.

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