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## ÖZGÜN MAKALE / ORIGINAL PAPERS

- **The Politics of George Bernard Shaw’s “History Plays”: The Man of Destiny, Caesar and Cleopatra, Saint Joan, In Good King Charles’s Golden Days**  
*George Bernard Shaw’un “Tarih Oyunları”nın Politikası: The Man of Destiny, Caesar and Cleopatra, Saint Joan, In Good King Charles’s Golden Days.....*4-21  
*Evrin Doğan Adanur*
- **The Impacts of Ideology and Discourse on Women’s Subjugation in Sarah Scott’s A Description of Millenium Hall**  
*Sarah Scott’ın A Description of Millenium Hall Adlı Eserinde İdeoloji ve Söylemin Kadınların Baskılanmasındaki Etkileri .....*22-36  
*Şebnem Düzgün*
- **The Predicament of Three Romantic Heroes/Heroines: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary and Bradley Pearson**  
*Üç Romantik Başkahramanın Açmazı: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary and Bradley Pearson .....*37-44  
*Kuşu Tekin*
- **The Effect of Trade Liberalisation on Economic Growth: Does Size or Density Matter?**  
*Ticaret Serbestleşmesinin Ekonomik Büyümeye Etkisi: Nüfus Hacmi mi Yoksa Yoğunluğu mu Önemli? .....*45-58  
*Umut Erksan Senalp*
- **Küresel Dengesizlikler Döneminde Türkiye Ekonomisinin Sürdürülebilir Cari Açık Sorunu**  
*Global Imbalances and Sustainable Current Account Deficit Problem of Turkish Economy .....*59-74  
*Mehmet Fatih Ekinci*

# The Politics of George Bernard Shaw's "History Plays": The Man of Destiny, Caesar and Cleopatra, Saint Joan, In Good King Charles's Golden Days<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

In his history plays, Irish playwright and critic George Bernard Shaw not only debates social problems but also reflects his views on history. No matter how many of Shaw's plays have historical content, the ones that can be categorized as "history play", namely The Man of Destiny, Caesar and Cleopatra, Saint Joan, In Good King Charles's Golden Days, incorporate both a challenge to the Victorian history play and an assertion that history is written by "great men". Rejecting the idea that history is progress, in his history plays, Shaw contests "historical truth" with regards to the historical past and present with an anachronistic approach.

## Keywords

*George Bernard Shaw, history play, historical truth*

To Bernard Shaw most of the past is simply a mess which ought to be swept away in the name of progress, hygiene, efficiency and what not.

George Orwell, *The Collected Essays 2*, 136

<sup>1</sup> A shorter and different version of this article is published in One Day: George Bernard Shaw (Ed. Burçin Erol. Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2017). This article is published with the permission of the editor.

Contesting history as literature or literature as history, together with the debate regarding the distinction between the historian and the creative writer in terms of their function and value, has been an ancient argument. Aristotle challenged the Platonic veneration of the historian over the poet by deeming poetry more philosophical, therefore closer to truth, since poetry deals with the "universal" while history is restricted to the "particular." For Aristotle, the poet does not basically represent particular events or situations but brings about the universal and characteristic elements, according to the law of probability or necessity, illuminating the essential "nature" whether or not it is historically accurate or based on lived experience. The poet even "chances to take an historical subject" but this does not make him less of a poet since "there is no reason why some events that have actually happened should not conform to the law of the probable and possible, and in virtue of that quality in them he is their poet or maker" (Butcher 1894, 37)

The question of the playwright as historian has been another debate since Shakespeare whose "history plays" deal with the medieval English kings and most of whose tragedies have historical themes. Fundamentally anachronistic, Shakespeare's approach to historical matters brought about the discussions on the frame of the history play. Herbert Lindenberger suggests that the term "historical drama" is paradoxical in its essence with "the first word qualifying the fictiveness of the second, the second questioning the reality of the first" (1957, x). For Irving Ribner, "in the history play the dramatic and the historical intentions are inseparable" and the playwright "assumes the functions of the historian as well" (2005, 12). Moreover, adding to the elements of the genre, M. M. Reese remarks that it is the "serious political issue" that makes a history play, as only then would it "serve the recognized purposes of history" (1961, 66). Different from this category, Ribner identifies another form, "romantic drama employing historical figures" which also at some level deals with history but without a historical concern, without an "attempt to accomplish the serious purpose of the historian" (2005, 267).

But then, who writes history, after all? Most characters in Shakespeare's plays, be it in his histories, tragedies, or romances, are historical and they are more viable than their representations in "historical" records. Most of Bernard Shaw's plays also have historical themes and/or settings in which he places his historical characters in imaginary situations or his commonplace characters in historically accurate settings. From *The Devil's Disciple* to *The Six of Calais*, from *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* to *Great Catherine*, the theatre, for Shaw, is an arena where he discusses his ideas on different subjects as he uses "drama as a platform to discuss his ideas on society, politics, religion, education, philosophy, etc. in order to achieve social reform" (Şenlen Güvenç 2017, 37). History provides Shaw the opportunity to look at the past with his contemporary sensibilities to comment on the present and bring an outlook to the future. Still, only four of Shaw's plays can be categorized within the broadly definable "history play" tradition for converging and diverging reasons. *The Man of Destiny*, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, *Saint Joan*, and *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* are Shaw's history plays in which his notion of history is observable in response to the Victorian sense of history regarding a reading of the past epochs through Victorian sensibilities.

Bernard Shaw, in his long career as a playwright and critic lived through times of growth and disintegration. His dramatic work encompasses all the crucial notions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century thought, simultaneously appertaining and being critical to Victorian assumptions as his "mind has reflected in all its complexity the intellectual life of his time" (Wilson 1999, 355). Moreover, for Julian B. Kaye, Shaw "created a synthesis of the 'leading tendencies' in the last stage of the nineteenth-century tradition" (1958, 8). Shaw's approach to history is likewise diverse, being the product of and a challenge to the contrasting ideologies of his time.

History was a popular and important phenomenon in the Victorian age. As J. L. Wisenthal suggests, the three great issues of Victorian intellectual experience were the "Great Men, progress, and the directions of English history" (1988, 12). The two influential contemporary sources of this intellectual life were the ideologically contesting historical work of Thomas Babington Macaulay and Thomas Carlyle.

Whereas Macaulay saw a sense of material and intellectual progress in history and an advancing development in society, Carlyle opposed such historical progress and saw a constant change in the course of history that may culminate in destruction. In Wisenthal's words, "for Macaulay the Victorian age is the best of times, while for Carlyle it is the worst of times" and where Macaulay "asserts the superiority of the present over the past," Carlyle "gives the impression that men have on the whole responded more effectively to Nature and Fact in the past than in the present" (1988, 8). Henry Thomas Buckle was another important historian whose unfinished *History of Civilization in England* also supported the idea of human progress and achievement and advocated that great men are created by the society to which they belong. Buckle's influence on Shaw is evident in his suggestion in *History of Civilization in England* on the progress of history: "One error conflicts with another, each destroys its opponent, and truth is evolved. This is the course of the human mind, and it is from this point of view that the authors of new ideas, the proposers of new contrivances, and, the originators of new heresies, are the benefactors of their species" (Buckle 1864, 408).

Shaw's approach to history encompasses these contemporary ideologies providing a discussion on and synthesis to them. In terms of progress, a topic discussed extensively in *Caesar and Cleopatra*, a disappointment with the 2500 years of historical progress is evident: "All this ye shall see; and ye shall marvel, after your ignorant manner, that men twenty centuries ago were already just such as you, and spoke and lived as ye speak and live, no worse and no better, no wiser and no sillier," as Ra states in the Prologue (1949, 133). Shaw witnesses that history and civilization have not improved human beings. In this manner, in line with Carlyle, Shaw opposes the Victorian sense of history, which promotes the assertion that Victorian age is the culmination of all past progress.

If there is any progress and any kind of upward movement in history, Shaw proposes, it can only be possible through the achievements of "Great Men," who have the Life Force and vitality to change the course of history. Again in tune with Carlyle, who proposed that "the history of the world is but the biography of Great

men” (1908, 37), and fostered by the ideas of Nietzsche and Hegel, Shaw saw the individual as the only agent of historical progress. His suspicion regarding progress or continual progress in history is due to the scarcity of people with such historical greatness. Lacking a deterministic view of history, Shaw maintains that historical progress is only possible through the originality and will of these great personages: These people are rare, unconventional, and possess a resolute will, the Life Force. In his *Maxims for Revolutionists* he states that the “reasonable man adapts himself to the world: the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man” (n.pag). This attribute of “unreasonableness” is important for greatness, as it, in the end, provides progress through conflict. As he proclaims in the Preface to *Geneva*, the “apparent freaks of nature called Great Men mark not human attainment but human possibility and hope. They prove that though we in the mass are only child Yahoos it is possible for creatures built exactly like us, bred from our unions and develop from our seeds, to reach the heights of [...] towering heads” (1990, 315). In this manner, Shaw has contempt over the masses as he has “a doubt which had grown steadily in [his] mind during [his] forty years of public work as a Socialist: namely, whether the human animal, as he exists at present, is capable of solving the social problems raised by his own aggregation or, as he calls it, his civilization” (Preface to *Back to Methuselah* x). As Martin Meisel states “[f]or Shaw, the ‘essential truth’ of any historical conflict lay in the ideas (and the institutions insofar as they embodied the ideas) at stake in the conflict. Consequently, Shaw’s history-makers are men and women who embody passionate ideas, dramatically articulating and expounding themselves” and “Shaw as a historian belonged very much to the idealist school of the nineteenth century; for he presented ideas, embodied in men, as realities of history, and will, not accident as its driving energy” (Meisel 1963, 373; 375). Greatness, for Shaw, hence, lies in a person’s originality, uniqueness, defying convention, and in his shaping his times rather than being passively shaped by his historical consequences. Therefore, Shavian understanding of history is not based on culture creating great personages but on

great personages having the will and vitality to change their culture and thus the course of history. In his history plays, Shaw puts together such characters that have changed the direction of history under scrutiny.

The function of history, too, is contended in Shavian understanding. Shaw repeats in the Preface to the *Heartbreak House* that “we learn from history that men never learn anything from history” (n.pag). Shaw understands the value and function of historical literature as he declares that his knowledge of French history came from Dumas père and of English history from the work of Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare (qtd. in Wisenthal 1963, 15). He further claims in *Everybody’s Political What’s What?* that:

...I had already learnt all I knew of English history, from King John to the final suicide of the English feudal aristocracy and its supersession by the capitalists on Bosworth field, from the chronicle plays of Shakespear. Adding to these congenial authorities the Waverley novels of Walter Scott I came out with a taste of history and an acquaintance with its personages and events which made philosophy of history real for me when I was fully grown. (1944, 180-1)

Shaw looked for historical truth through “inevitable sacrifice of verisimilitude” in order to achieve “sufficient veracity” from as much as he “can gather from the available documentation” as he states in the Preface to *Saint Joan* (1969, 44). The important matter for him is the ideas surrounding the historical fact that his “conception of history” is “essentially the history of ideas” (Wisenthal 1988, 39). No matter how historically accurate Shaw is in his adherence to the historical sources, he speculates on the fictitious nature of history being, therefore, essentially critical of history and history writing. His Warwick in *Saint Joan* states that “It is only in history books and ballads that the enemy is always defeated” (1969, 86) and “History, sir, will tell lies, as usual” states Burgoyne in *The Devil’s Disciple* (1949, 110). These “falsehoods called history” as stated by Judge in

*Geneva* (1990, 361) were scrutinized by Shaw in many instances:

Historical facts are not a bit more sacred than any other class of facts. In making a play out of them you must adapt them to the stage, and that alters them at once, more or less. Why you cannot even write a history without adapting the facts to the conditions of literary narrative, which are in some respects much more distorting than the dramatic conditions of representation on the stage. Things do not happen in the form of stories or dramas; and since they must be told in some such form, all reports, even by eyewitnesses, all histories, all stories, all dramatic representations, are only attempts to arrange the facts in a thinkable, intelligible, interesting form—that is, when they are not more or less intentional efforts to hide the truth, as they often are. (“Ten Minutes with Mr Bernard Shaw” qtd. in Wisenthal 1988, 49)

For Shaw, history writers consult their imaginations when they write histories that require the pretension of the literary narrative, which is also the approach of the dramatist. Therefore, although respect for historical sources is important for Shaw, he is against a pedantic approach towards historical material. In fact, for him, history is a form of storytelling and only possible through the agency of narrative.

Even though Shaw is sceptical towards historical facts, he still has belief in a notion of history: “Though history is adulterated with lies and wishful guesses, yet it sifts and sheds them, leaving finally great blocks of facts” (1944, 366). Shaw distinguishes the historical fact from the historical truth in that he claims that knowing history as a series of facts is like trying to know London “from the pages of a telephone directory” (1944, 180). What Shaw is after is the historical truth, which might be attained not simply by facts but by ideas accrued to the historical data:

[History] is only a dramatization of events ... I never worry myself about historical details until the play is done; human nature is

very much the same always and everywhere. And when I go over my play to put the details right I find there is surprisingly little to alter ... You see, I know human nature. Given Caesar, and a set of circumstances, I know what would happen, and when I have finished the play you will find I have written history. (“Mr. Shaw’s Future. A Conversation” qtd. in Wisenthal 1988, 50)

Historical truth is more important than historical fact not only because it provides a means to reflect on the past for its own sake but also because it helps us make associations with the present, which in turn is important as it provides a potential to correlate with the future.

Shaw’s understanding of history is an amalgamation of the Victorian historical principles, all of which he challenges one way or another. This challenge continues ardently in his response to the Victorian history play with his employment of an “emphasis on discursive rational elements, an anti-heroic tone and diction, an overtly modern perspective and a consciousness of different possible views of an event (Harben 1988, 22). Meisel accounts three basic elements of the Victorian history play as elaborate spectacle, romantic intrigue and flamboyant histrionics all of which Shaw is fundamentally critical of. The highly artificial Victorian history play with its well-made play structure and larger than life heroic depictions of historical personages, sensational plots, sentimental characterization, elaborate sets and costumes, impassioned dialogues and sentimental language used history as a backdrop in order to provide room for romantic and melodramatic intrigue, or as Shaw defines it in Preface to *In Good King Charles’s Golden Days*, “historical romance, mostly fiction with historical names attached to the stock characters of the state” (1974, 9). Ayşegül Yüksel puts forward that Shaw fought against the “mediocrity” that dominated the nineteenth-century “thought, behaviour and artistic creation” (2013, 109). And as Nicholas Grene suggests, “one of the commonest form of inauthenticity in historical drama drives from a superficial concern with the accurate recreation of the period” (1984, 132). Shaw fundamentally opposes the pseudo-historicity of these popular plays and states that

If the characters are clothed in romance [i.e. “garbs of romance”], ... they are not historical. No historical character is worth dramatizing at all unless the truth about him or her is far more interesting than any romancing. A good play about Rip Van Winkle is not spoiled by calling it Rip Parnell; but it does not thereby become an historical play. Shakespeare always stuck close the chronicles in his histories. And they survive, whilst hundreds of pseudo-historical plays have perished (“The Theatre Today and Yesterday according to George Bernard Shaw” qtd. in Harben 1988, 23).

Shaw’s response to the Victorian tradition was to reinvent the history play by mixing modes and revolving the action and discussion around anti-heroic and lifelike depictions of great historical characters. In Wisenthal’s words, “history is alive and unexpected rather than predestined or accidental has its counterpart in Shaw’s dramatic form in his rejection of the well-made play” (1988, 172). Using the well-made play elements to devastate audience expectations. Shaw challenges not only form but also the plot of accepted modes in order to promote his ideas on the great personages and historical progress. Therefore, instead of “love affairs and little accidents” that “determine the direction of history” in the nineteenth century historical romance, in Shaw’s history plays “the motive force is the human will, which gives expression to the conceptions created by the human mind” because “[t]he plot of history, in Shaw’s plays, is neither pure romance nor pure tragedy nor pure comedy, but a vital, unexpected encounter between antithetical ways of interpreting the historical process” (Wisenthal 1988, 39; 177). Shaw, in this manner, is providing a new approach to the history play rejecting histrionic convention and focusing on the workings of history and its actors, instead.

Herbert Lindenberger suggests four levels of reality when analyzing historical drama: the historical sources used, theatrical conventions followed in the adaptation of the material, historical continuity, and the state of the audience that is “the influence of our present situation on the interpretation of the work” (1957, 10). Shaw’s history plays share common characteristics in their focus on great historical

characters that share formidable will and character. Shaw takes these well-known characters out of their historical context and places them in imaginary situations with historically accurate details especially in terms of their characterization. In the anti-heroic representation of these traditionally heroic characters, there is an anti-romantic sentiment even in otherwise romantic situations. Still, preserving the outline of history, Shaw’s characters fulfill their destinies, in that the fates of the historical characters are predetermined by historical sources. Therefore, Shaw portrays these characters in the form of a discussion play and puts them in conversation with Shaw’s present and at times, these historical personages become mouthpieces for Shaw to share his personal views as what is important is not to figure out what happened in the past but how that past is determined and determines the present.

*The Man of Destiny* focuses on Napoleon in an anti-heroic anti-romantic manner quite against tradition. Written in 1896, it can be considered Shaw’s first history play, although it is generally not analyzed under such a heading. It is a history play as its focus is a historical “Great Man.” Written in response to a Sardou play in which Napoleon, in Shaw’s words, is “nothing but the jealous husband of a thousand fashionable dramas” (1948, 110), *The Man of Destiny* is set in an imaginary situation in which Napoleon meets a strange lady at an inn at Tavazzano, after the Battle of Lodi, right before he became one of the greatest men in history, “still in the stage of gaining influence [...] by displays of pluck” (1987, 164). In a Victorian manner, the play involves a misplaced letter regarding a secret affair of Josephine with Paul Barras and purposely plays with the expectations of a romantic intrigue with a historical character, a mysterious lady, and secret letters and criticizes the contemporary representations of Napoleon by “presenting him as an ironic blend of the admirable and the ignoble, yet focusing on qualities of mind and will which accounts for his genius” (Harben 1988, 24). This “fictitious paragraph of history,” as the play is duly subtitled, is a history play in that Shaw paints a relatively accurate Napoleon with historical details such as his shabbiness and lack of personal hygiene and at the same time highlighting his strong will

and formidable intellect. Napoleon acts in a given probable situation and does not rise as a model of perfection but as a man with flaws. As Shaw praises him in the Preface, historical Napoleon has “prodigious powers of work, and a clear realistic knowledge of human nature in public affairs” and is “imaginative without illusions, and creative without religion, loyalty, patriotism or any of the common ideals” (1987, 163). This is a quite anti-Victorian representation of Napoleon that manifests itself in his “war of will” with the Strange Lady. Stripping the meeting off of expected sexual connotations, the encounter shows Napoleon’s extraordinary response to a scandalous situation proven by a letter from Josephine to Barras. Instead of a conventional contemporary response to such a situation, Napoleon secretly reads the letter and chooses to ignore it as he is not a man who “wants to be compelled by public opinion to make a scene, to fight a duel, to break up his household, to injure his career by a scandal, when he can avoid it all by taking care not to know” (1987, 188). His attitude shows why he is indeed a “man of destiny,” destined to be great not only because of his military prowess but also in his ability to understand things as they are. As he explains to the Lady:

There are three sorts of people in the world: the low people, the middle people and the high people. The low people and the high people are alike in one thing: they have no scruples, no morality. The low are beneath morality, the high above it. I am not afraid of either of them [...]. It is the middle people who are dangerous: they have both knowledge and purpose. But they, too, have a weak point. They are full of scruples: chained hand and foot by their morality and respectability. (1987, 205)

Napoleon proves himself to be different from these kinds of people. Acting against the expected patterns of behaviour, Napoleon, through “sufficient veracity,” is the “unreasonable” man on which “all progress depends on” (*Maxims* n.pag). Therefore, Shaw, in *The Man of Destiny*, devastates the romanticism expected from what looks like a conventional historical romance through the unconventional character of the historical protagonist, which in Shaw’s idea, is the main source

of historical progress.

Caesar in Shaw’s *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1898) is presented as an older general. He is not romantic but political, not infatuated by Cleopatra but by power and authority. Shaw does not completely strip the play off of the romantic connotations of the popular story but reinforces it with political postulations. Caesar, as Shaw describes him in the Notes to *Caesar and Cleopatra*, is a practical man with “an air of frankness, generosity and magnanimity” which “enables him to estimate the value of truth, money or success in any particular instance quite independently of convention and moral generalization” (1949, 7). Like other great men, Caesar rises above all others with his intellect and unexpected behavior and gets what he wants even in adverse situations. Shaw thinks that Shakespeare sacrificed the greatness of Caesar to put Brutus on a pedestal in *Julius Caesar* in Preface to *Three Plays for Puritans*, as “[i]t cost Shakespear no pang to write Caesar down for the merely technical purpose of writing Brutus up” (1949, xxxii) and presents a completely unShakespearean Caesar and Cleopatra in his play. Despite the abundant witty references to Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* especially in his characterization of Cleopatra as a simplistic girl in her teens as opposed to the mature Cleopatra in Shakespeare’s play. In terms of Caesar, dramatic irony reaches its peak when Rufio tells Caesar he would not let him go to Rome without his shield as there are “too many daggers there.” Caesar answers “It matters not: I shall finish my life’s work on my way back; and then I shall have lived long enough. Besides: I have always disliked the idea of dying: I had rather be killed” (1949, 239). Caesar is too focused to let anything, romance or even the burning of library of Alexandria, swerve him from his goal. He is not at all touched when the news about the fire arrives. This scene also is a reference to Shaw’s insistence on the importance of the future.

THEODOTUS: What is burning there is the memory of mankind.

CAESAR: A shameful memory. Let it burn.

THEODOTUS: [wildly] Will you destroy the past?



CAESAR: Ay, and build the future with its ruins. (1949, 179)

Shaw portrays a Caesar who is not touched by idealism. Caesar works as the spokesperson of Shaw in this scene communicating his ideas on the past and the future.

For Shaw, the past that Caesar represents is not much different from the audience's present. Underlining his rejection of Victorian progress and civilization, Shaw makes parallelisms between Rome and England as two imperialist and capitalist states as the people of Rome were bought "with words and with gold" just like the contemporary English as "the road to riches and greatness is through the robbery of the poor and slaughter of the weak" (Shaw 1949, 130).

In *Saint Joan* (1924), too, there is the depiction of a great personage, who, no matter how adverse her situation is regarding the status quo, follows her higher calling and meets her destiny. Shaw dwells on a historical character in this "chronicle play" in relation to "the romance of her rise, the tragedy of her execution, and the comedy of the attempts of posterity to make amends for that execution" (Shaw 1969, 39). Relying mostly on T. Douglas Murray's translations of the trial manuscripts of Joan of Arc, Shaw marks an important phase of history in which he questions the nature of the feudal order and the medieval church. Joan, as a remarkable character faces the strict and unchanging social and religious order. In his approach to a canonized saint, Shaw again has a different approach by presenting her as a human being thus making her greatness believable. Nicholas Grene suggests that "Shaw's object was to write a play in which what he took to be the historical significance of the life of the fifteenth-century saint would be manifest to a twentieth-century audience" (1984, 133). In this manner, Shaw not only brings the past to the present but also shows how the unbroken will and spirit of one simple character can have a tremendous effect on history.

Saint Joan's France is, just like Caesar's Rome, at a historical threshold during the decline of the feudal order. The "simplicity" of Joan's faith is refused by his contemporaries for Shaw due to the contemporary "anti-metaphysical temper"

(1969, 40). She appears as a great personage not only in her own time but also in Shaw's with regards to her untraditional ways of thinking and behaviour. Even her appearance is uncommon: "She is an able-bodied country girl of 17 or 18, respectably dressed in red, with an uncommon face; eyes very wide apart and bulging as they often do in very imaginative people, a long well-shaped nose with wide nostrils, a short upper lip, resolute but full-filled mouth, and handsome fighting chin [...]. Her voice is normally a hearty coaxing voice, very confident, very appealing, very hard to resist" (1969, 52). She is a vital but at the same time spiritual character. She succeeds in the war but later outwitted by her comrades, which Shaw sees as tragic. Despite her love for freedom and bravery, she is not like the heroes of Victorian melodrama who are eager to martyr themselves: "I am a coward" she states "I am frightened beyond words before a battle, but it is so dull afterwards when there is no danger" (1969, 101). No matter how she recants in order to escape torture and burning at the stake, she tears up her recantation when she learns that she is sentenced to life in prison. For Shaw, despite the fact that she is venerated by the later generations, the world is not yet ready to understand greatness.

In *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* (1939), as "A True History That Never Happened," Shaw presents his view of the Restoration politics by presenting his King Charles II who, for him, was "the first king of England whose kingship is purely symbolic" and "had to reign by his wits and not by the little real power they had left him" (1974, 11). Shaw's portrait of the king is historically accurate despite the fact that the situations are imaginary in the king's dealings with Isaac Newton, the dissenter George Fox, and artist Godfrey Kneller "in an act of historical justice," together with the queen and the king's mistresses. No matter how the king and his mistresses raise expectations on romantic intrigue, Shaw stays away from sensation and let his characters convey their ideas on the "sordid facts of Charles's reign" (1974, 9). Through this conversation, Shaw presents his view of this important point in English history. Despite its anachronicity and impossibility of the gathering of these people in the same room at any point in history, Shaw, through the use of the plausible creates an imaginary situation in order not only

to “pleasantly amuse” but to give, as he states in *Everybody’s Political What’s What?* “a knowledge of the dynamics of Charles’s reign; that is of the political and personal forces at work with it, that ten years of digging up mere facts in the British Museum or the Record Office could not give” (1944, 181).

In his long career as a thinker and dramatist of his age, Shaw adapts different philosophical assumptions, at times synthesizing, at times setting them in opposition. Although Shaw is no historian, nor was meant to be, his history plays, work as histories telling, not the popular accounts of the historical times they deal with, but of the historically significant people as great personages that changed the course of history. Although there are differences in tone and style among them, *The Man of Destiny*, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, *Saint Joan*, and *In Good King Charles’s Golden Days* are Shaw’s history plays in which he attempts to update history, to read the past from a present consciousness, and to make the audience “conscious of an epoch fundamentally different from their own” as such “circumstances no longer apply to active life” (1969, 40). In these plays, Shaw assumes the role of the historian in representing the contemporary ideologies in his view of the past.

For Georg Lukacs, unlike the novel which represents the before and after, “Drama paints the great historical explosions and eruptions of the historical process. Its hero represents the shining peak of these great crises” (1989, 150). Likewise, the “world-historical individual” is displayed through the Shavian portrayals of Napoleon, Caesar, Saint Joan, and Charles II that make these plays in question “history plays” as Shaw juxtaposes chosen historical fact with historical truth molding them with ideas and imagination. Shaw reinvents the history play not only by challenging the conventions of the Victorian historical romance form but also by reflecting his ideas on history, whose progress is only possible through the achievements of great personages in relation to his ideas on Creative Evolution, Vitalism, and Life Force, and which is important not because it makes us understand the past in its own terms but because it helps us reflect on our present and future.

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### George Bernard Shaw'un "Tarih Oyunları"nın Politikası: The Man of Destiny, Caesar and Cleopatra, Saint Joan, In Good King Charles's Golden Days

#### Öz

İrlandalı oyun yazarı ve eleştirmen George Bernard Shaw yazdığı tarih oyunlarında sadece toplumsal sorunlara değinmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda bu oyunlarda tarihe bakış açısını da yansıtmıştır. Her ne kadar Shaw'un yazdığı pek çok oyun tarihsel içeriğe sahip olsa da "tarih oyunu" olarak sınıflandırılabilen The Man of Destiny ("Kaderin Adamı"), Caesar and Cleopatra ("Sezar ve Kleopatra"), Saint Joan ("Azize Joan") ve In Good King Charles's Golden Days ("İyi Kral Charles'ın Altın Günlerinde") oyunlarında hem Viktorya dönemi tarihsel oyunlarına bir meydan okuma vardır hem de Shaw'un

tarihin "büyük insanlar" tarafından yazıldığı tezi öne sürülür. Tarihin bir gelişmeden ibaret olmadığı tezini savunan Shaw, bu oyunlarda, anakroniktik bir yaklaşımla geçmiş ve çağdaş bağlamında "tarihsel gerçek" olgusunu tartışmıştır.

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

*George Bernard Shaw, tarih oyunu, tarihsel gerçek*

# The Impacts of Ideology and Discourse on Women's Subjugation in Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millenium Hall*

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## Abstract

In *A Description of Millenium Hall* (1762), Sarah Scott depicts a matriarchal society in which women are emancipated from male oppression. The writer argues that women's degradation is not natural since it is the patriarchal ideology which affirms women's mental and physical inferiority. Accordingly, she underlines the importance of education in women's mental liberation. In this context, she creates the ladies of Hall, who are intelligent and educated enough to govern their society according to reason and justice. Scott also deconstructs patriarchal family structure, which is based on male supremacy, and forms a family structure in which there is no domineering relationship between family members. Moreover, she emphasizes the importance of economic emancipation of women in the liberation of females. She argues that women who do not have any economic freedom are forced into marriage, and they are dominated by their husbands who have the privilege to earn their own money. The present study aims to examine power relations between men and women in *Millenium Hall* to show that Scott challenges the male discourse which supports men's superiority.

## Keywords

*Sarah Scott, A Description of Millenium Hall, Women's Oppression, Ideology, Discourse, Power, Deconstruction*

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Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millenium Hall* (1762) is one of the earliest feminist utopias. The novel provides a matriarchal society as an alternative to the patriarchal community where women are oppressed and despised as inferior beings. The writer argues that male discourse constructs females as weak, ignorant and fragile creatures to give men superiority and the right to dominate women. To subvert the dominant discourse of patriarchy, she produces counter, female discourse which condemns the subjugation and manipulation of the weaker. Dixie's female discourse which is based on Christian teachings supports the unity of all living beings, and it is against racial, gender, and class discriminations. The aim of the present study is to examine the power relations between male and female sexes in *A Description of Millenium Hall* to prove that Scott challenges patriarchal authority through destabilizing oppressing and discriminative male discourse.

Sarah Scott was born to the Robinsons, an upper class family, in 1723. The estate she lives with her family is inherited by her mother Elizabeth Drake, a well-educated woman (Spencer 1986 v, Kelly 1995, 19). Scott is exposed to gender discrimination early in her life (Kelly 1995, 19). Scott and her sister Elizabeth are educated at home, and also in boarding school (Dunne 1994, 54), but their education is confined to domestic issues, and it aims to "fit them for the marriage market" (Kelly 1995, 19). However, their brothers receive an education which is supposed to make them candidates for "public careers and public affairs," and they have a chance to have careers in "diplomacy, law, the clergy, and the merchant navy" (Kelly 1995, 19). Scott and her sister raise questions about "their domestic milieu, education, and social culture" (Kelly 1995, 20). The former writes letters which ridicule "the vain society lady," and "the arrogant man of fashion," and she criticizes such upper-class conventions as using "the language of idealized love and courtship" (Kelly 1995, 20). The literary career of Sarah Scott begins with her first novel, *The History of Cornelia* (1750) (Spencer 1986, vii). After her separation with her husband in 1752, she starts to write to sustain herself because the allowance provided by her husband is not enough for her to lead a comfortable life (Spencer 1986, v, vii). In *Millenium Hall* (1762), and Sir

George Ellison (1766) Scott criticises the domination of women and slaves by the patriarchal authorities. She offers a society based on Christian morals, which argue for a harmony between God's creations, as an alternative to the male-dominated society having a hierarchal structure. In the 1760s, Sarah Scott starts to write historical works, including *History of Gustavus Erickson, King of Sweden* (1761), *The History of Mecklenburgh* (1762), and *The Life of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigne* (1772) (Spencer 1986, vii). According to Scott, history should instruct people (Gräf 2016, 125). Therefore, her historical works, like her other novels, have "religious moralising attitude" (Gräf 2016, 125).

Millenium Hall is basically about a female society which is observed by a male foreigner coming from the patriarchal world. The male narrator who has just returned from Jamaica to England takes a trip for the recovery of his health with his young friend Lamont. Their coach is broken down in a stormy weather, and they have to stay in an estate called by the narrator Millenium Hall, which is established by honest and cultivated women coming from upper classes. Mrs Maynard, one of the ladies living at Hall, starts to narrate the stories of the founders of Hall. She starts with the stories of Miss Mancel and Mrs Morgan. Miss Mancel is brought up by her aunt because her parents are abroad. On her aunt's death she is taken care of by a rich man who provides for her education. She meets Mrs Morgan (née Miss Melvyn), in the boarding school, and the two become close friends. Their friendship is disturbed when the latter is forced to marry a wealthy man whom she does not love. After leaving the boarding school, Miss Mancel has to work to support herself since her benefactor, whom she learns to have some passion for her, dies without leaving anything for her in his will. As a work of providence, she is brought together with her long-lost mother, in whose house she works as a maid. Mrs Morgan, meanwhile, is oppressed by her ill-tempered husband who does not respect her intellectual capacity. The two friends are reunited when Miss Mancel's mother and Mrs Morgan's husband die. Having inherited a large amount of money, they establish Millenium Hall to provide a shelter for the poor, the dependent and the deformed. The two are joined by other upper-class ladies, in-

cluding Lady Mary Jones and Miss Selvyn. The former receives the upper-class education which is inadequate to provide her with a deeper understanding about philosophy and religion, while the latter is brought up by her surrogate father, an educated middle class man who teaches her the ancient philosophy and the principle economic rules to survive on a small income. Lady Mary is transformed by Miss Selvyn, who values modesty, honour, and virtue, and she understands the futility of upper-class life based on pleasure, folly, levity, and gaiety. Miss Trentham is another woman joining the ladies of the Hall. She is an orphan raised by her grandmother, who supplies a good education to her. She is taught philosophy, and several languages, including Greek and Latin. When her grandmother dies, she inherits a good amount of money, and settles at Millenium Hall. She later invites Mrs Maynard, the cousin of the male narrator, who inherits a small fortune from her late husband. Impressed by the stories of the intelligent and virtuous ladies, the narrator and Lamont decide to revise their previous opinions about women, and the former decides to imitate the life style of the ladies who live according to Christian principles.

In Millenium Hall, Sarah Scott studies the effects of dominant, male ideology in constructing the power relations between male and female sexes. Foucault argues that power relations exist "between men and women, young people and old people, parents and offspring, teachers and students, priests and laity, an administration and a population" (1978, 103). He states that in the order of sexuality men, parents, adults, and doctors are the ones who possess power, and the group that is deprived of power is constituted by women, children, adolescents, and patients (Foucault 1978, 99). Lady Melvyn, the mother of Mrs Morgan, is forced to marry Sir Charles, "an easy-tempered [and] weak man ... by the desire of her parents, contrary to her inclination" (Scott 1986, 31). Lady Melvyn does not want this conjugal union because she is mentally superior to Sir Charles; however, as she is a child and a woman, the dominant patriarchal discourse denies her individuality, and induces her to a subject that lacks free-will: "Their [her parents'] authority had been necessary to reduce her to compliance, not from any particular dislike to

Sir Charles, who had deservedly the reputation of sobriety, and great good nature, and whose person was remarkably fine; but Lady Melvyn perceived the weakness of his understanding” (Scott 1986, 31). When she moves from her parents’ house to her husband’s house, she is supposed to obey her husband, another authority figure of the patriarchal family. However, Scott subverts the conventional sexual power relations by delineating Lady Melvyn, the wife, as the real head of the family who takes decisions about the household affairs, and who leads her husband. Although Lady Melvyn is the true leader in the family, she behaves as if it were her husband that is “the principal person, and director of all their affairs” (Scott 1986, 33). She also tries to “supply the apparent deficiencies in her husband’s understanding, by a most respectful deference to his opinions,” and she struggles to “make all her actions appear the result of his choice, and whatever he did by her instigation” (Scott 1986, 32). Although Lady Melvyn disguises her real capacity to play the role of a submissive and an ignorant wife, her role as the controller in the marriage is understood after her decease. She is praised as “an excellent example,” and she is appreciated for her great influence on her husband, and “her extraordinary merit” (Scott 1986, 33). In this way, Sarah Scott reveals the invalidity of patriarchal discourse which argues that men have the right to control women as they are mentally the superior.

Scott argues that men not only struggle for power in domestic relations but also in economic relations. She argues that men restrict women’s property rights to make them economic dependants. According to the eighteenth-century legal discourse, a woman, who has a brother, cannot inherit anything “except a discretionary dowry” (Hunt 2014, 60). The marriage settlements have also the role of “concentrat[ing] and entail[ing] property in the male line” (Perry 2013, 25). The property shared by the wife and the husband pass down to their eldest son, not to the younger sons, or to the daughters (Perry 2013, 25-26). Moreover, if a woman is “separated from her husband, her property [is] by law subsumed under his” (Nussbaum 2011, 79). Miss Trentham, who does not have any brothers, or sisters, inherits his father’s fortune (Scott 1986, 180). However, Miss Denhams, her

cousins, do not get anything from their father who leaves them in the care of their grandmother. Although they have a sum of money reserved as their dowry, they do not have the right to manage it (Scott 1986, 191). When Mrs Tonston, formerly the eldest Miss Denham, is separated from her husband, she is deprived of her fortune, and he “allow[s] her a mere trifle for her support” (Scott 1986, 198). Having hardly any chance to have “a decent maintenance,” without the support of her husband, she seeks Miss Trentham’s help to convince Mr Tonston to supply her with the money necessary for leading a respectable life (Scott 1986, 198). As her sustenance is provided by her husband, she is the subordinate in economic power relations. However, Scott proposes an economic discourse which condemns the subordination of women as inferior economic subjects. Marriages conducted at Millenium Hall are not based on a great economic disparity between men and women. The ladies of Hall supply women with money to prevent men from oppressing women through their economic power. The ladies give their consent to the marriage of a young woman who loves “a young farmer of good character,” and they support her economically so that she should not depend on her husband (Scott 1986, 113).

The writer also investigates the role of education in regulating power relations between men and women. Foucault argues that education is an important means conducting power relations: “Educational or psychiatric institutions, with their large populations, their hierarchies, their spatial arrangements, their surveillance systems, constituted, alongside the family, another way of distributing the interplay of powers and pleasures” (1978, 46). Women writers of the eighteenth century, like Scott, generally want women to have “a broader education and more fully intellectual training” (Kelly 1995, 14). However, such eighteenth-century thinkers as Rousseau are not in favour of providing women with an education based on mental cultivation. Rousseau contends that women’s education should be limited to the development of basic abilities necessary for assisting men: “[T]he whole education of women ought to relate to men. To please men, to be useful to them, ..., to raise them when young, to care for them when grown, ... , and

to make their lives agreeable and sweet” (Emile 1979, 365). However, Scott argues that the kind of education considered proper for women by the patriarchal discourse restricts woman’s mind as it only aims to supply women with domestic talents. A conventional education reserved for women is comprised of “dancing, music, and drawing” (Scott 1986, 39). Women are not provided with “[a] universal knowledge” which is only required by men who are able to travel “through all the countries in Europe, some parts of Asia and Africa” (Scott 1986, 44). Nor are they given a chance to learn philosophy, or to read “books on abstruse subjects” (Scott 1986, 44).

The author defies male ideology which argues for women’s physical and mental inferiority by showing that if women receive an education aimed for the development of mental and physical skills, they can be equal to men. The ladies of Hall, who have received education uncommon to their sex, do the works reserved for men in the patriarchal world. They are the brainworkers of Millenium Hall who assume the roles of a ruler, a rule maker, an economist, and a superintendent. The ladies, who have been ruled by men in the patriarchal society, rule the people at the Hall according to Christian laws (Scott 1986, 118). They establish “schools and alms-houses,” and they work to ameliorate “[t]he condition of the poor” (Scott 1986, 111). They are also rule makers who “[draw] up several regulations, to secure the peace and good order of the society” (Scott 1986, 65). Moreover, they are “good economists” who settle the economic matters of their community (Scott 1986, 59). They create an economic system in which they aim to provide a prosperous life for “as large a part of mankind as possible” (Scott 1986, 112). The ladies are also superintendents whose duty is to inspect “all over [people’s] houses” to make sure that they are “clean and neat” enough to provide a healthy space for the inhabitants (Scott 1986, 14). They not only inspect houses but also the schools. They visit schools in their vicinities, and control if children are taught “real piety” (Scott 1986, 151). Women of Hall are also employed in manual works done by men in the patriarchal society. The ladies assign some of the young girls they have brought up as carpenters who are capable of “making up the furniture,

and decorating it” (Scott 1986, 149). The young girls, who furnish the house of a clergyman’s widow, prove themselves so skilled in their work that the male narrator “[gives] them due praise upon their performances” (Scott 1986, 151). Female carpenters also mend the furniture of a decayed estate, and they are supervised by “one of their mistresses,” who like an architect, gives the girls directions to “[re-]pair] the decays of time” (Scott 1986, 178). Women’s success both as brainworkers and manual workers controverts the male discourse which argues that women do not have the physical and mental capacity to do the works carried out by men.

The writer regards patriarchal family discourse, which assigns man as the head of the family, as a means used to reinforce the power of patriarch. In the eighteenth century, those who have “[a] blood relation, or a relation in law” are called kinsmen (Tadmor 2004, 128). However, it is common among female writers to build “fictional and actual living groups outside the boundaries of marriage and kinship” (Sant 2005, 374). Scott deconstructs patriarchal family structure in which members are related by blood or marriage to form sisterhood whose members are not necessarily related by blood. Although there is no blood relation between the ladies establishing Millenium Hall, they are “like sisters” who are closely bound by love and respect (Scott 1986, 15). Mrs Morgan and Miss Mancel, Lady Mary Jones and Miss Selvyn, and Miss Trentham, who are acquainted before their removal to the Hall, form a female community. Mrs Morgan and Miss Mancel share their distress with one another, and they try to find solutions for their problems. Miss Mancel, who is disturbed by the sexual assaults of Mr Hintman, “communicat[s] the vexation of her mind to Miss Melvyn, who [is] still more alarmed” (Scott 1986, 46). Miss Melvyn, who is forced to marry Mr Morgan, finds consolation in the presence of Miss Mancel, who “embrace[s] her distressed friend with an air of such tender, though silent sympathy, as soften[s] the horror of Miss Melvyn’s mind, and [brings] a shower of tears to her relief” (Scott 1986, 74). Miss Selvyn, on the other hand, protects Lady Mary Jones from the temptations of Lord Robert, a “rake” who claims Lady Mary’s “light” behaviour shows there is no “great fund of virtue [in her]” (Scott 1986, 163). Mrs Maynard “nurses” Miss Trentham when she catches the smallpox, and the latter invites her

to the Hall “to spend the first part of [her] widowhood” (Scott 1986, 200). The ladies also treat people living in the Hall as family members, and they dedicate themselves to “working for the poor people, ... visiting, ... admonishing, ... [and] teaching them” (Scott 1986, 67). The deformed who are isolated from the able family members in the patriarchal society are included into the family circle of Millenium Hall where they receive “[t]he tender inquiries the ladies made after their healths, and the kind notice they took of each of them” (Scott 1986, 21). Accordingly, Scott challenges the patriarchal discourse which regards blood relation as necessary to form a family, and shows that it is not kinship but love, good-will, virtue, compassion, and regard that establish “[an] amiable family” that is “perfectly agreeable” (1986, 1, 10).

The matriarchal family created by Scott stands in binary opposition to the patriarchal family of the eighteenth century. The latter, unlike the former, has a hierarchical structure. In the patriarchal family, women are subordinated to the male members of the family (i.e. fathers, brothers, and husbands), and they are supposed to fulfil their filial or wifely obligations set by men. Male ideology argues that a daughter should submit to the will of her parents, and it is “[a wife’s] duty to obey him [her husband]” (Scott 1986, 57). The founders of Millenium Hall reject to adopt the social identities of a wife and mother imposed by the patriarchal ideology. They prefer to remain single and childless, and assume the role of a surrogate mother who takes care of children’s education, brings up girls, and gets them married (Scott 1986, 113-14, 150). Moreover, the ladies give the inhabitants of Hall “some good advice” like mothers to “[show them] kindly how much it was [their] duty to agree together, and to forgive everybody their faults, or else [they] could not hope to be forgiven by God” (Scott 1986, 15). They also experience motherhood through adopting the children of poor families: “[The] good ladies ... take every child after the fifth of every poor person ... They [the children] are pretty company for us, and make us mothers again” (Scott 1986, 14). In this way, they give nurture to dependants without being kept under male control.

In the matriarchal family created by Scott, the ladies also assume the role of men,

which subverts the male discourse that discharges women from manly duties. The ladies of Hall, like men, hold the money, and they use it to supply “all the necessaries of life” for their family members “in the way of meat, drink and firing” (Scott 1986, 59, 14). They take over the role of a family head since it is the ladies, not men, who manage “everything in their family” (Scott 1986, 111). They organize the family life “with great economy” to secure “[a life of] a comfortable degree of plenty” (Scott 1986, 111). As family leaders, the ladies are responsible for the economic welfare of their family: “They have always paid nurses for the sick, font them every proper refreshment, and allow the fame sum weekly which the sick person could have gained, that the rest of the family may not lose any part of their support, by the incapacity of one” (Scott 1986, 111). They also conduct family prayers, which is a duty of “the Master of the Family” in a patriarchal family (Allestree 86). People gather at Hall on holy days to hear the ladies “read prayers, and a sermon to ... their own family” (Scott 1986, 14). Revealing women’s capacity to undertake man’s duties as the head of family, the author unsettles the hierarchical structure of patriarchal family where women are given an inferior position.

Scott considers marriage to be another means manipulated by male discourse to subjugate women. She criticizes the fact that marriage institution is constructed by men as a site of confinement and oppression for women. In the eighteenth century, religious and patriarchal ideologies are used to justify women’s confinement, and their subordination to their husbands. The religious ideology of the middle ages reduces women to a position of subordinate beings who “should obey their husbands,” and “accept her husband as her master” (McDowall 1989, 62). Similarly, eighteenth-century patriarchal ideology argues that “women must submit to their husbands in all things” (Fortier 2016, 115). Male oppression is also justified through the legal discourse of the eighteenth century. Judge Buller argues in 1782 that “it was perfectly legal for a man to beat his wife, as long as he used a stick no thicker than his thumb” (qtd. in Flynn 1982, 88). Mary Astell criticizes male discourse which condemns women to servility in marriage life: “It being thought a



Wife's Duty to suffer everything without Complaint. If all Men are born Free how is it that all Women are born Slaves? As they must be, if the being subjected to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary Will of Men, be the perfect Condition of Slavery?" (Astell 1996, 18-19; emphasis in original). Astell also attacks the religious discourse which justifies husband's domination over his wife. She criticizes the fact that religious discourse tries to "prove Adam's Natural Right to Rule" by claiming that "GOD told Eve after the Fall, that her Husband shou'd Rule over her" (Astell 1996, 19; emphasis in original). Therefore, women writers of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries create secluded spaces in their fictions to escape from marriage, a patriarchal institution in which women are confined and oppressed (Sant 2005, 374).

Scott thinks that women are confined to men's houses, and they are subjected to male rules and male oppression in marriage. Mr Morgan is a man whose idea about marriage is shaped by religious and patriarchal ideologies. Therefore, he expects his wife to submit to his will without showing any resistance. He clearly expresses that he does not want his wife and her friend Miss Mancel to shake his authority by questioning his manners: "Madam, my wife must have no other companion or friend but her husband; I shall never be averse to your seeing company, but intimates I forbid; I shall not choose to have my faults discussed between you and your friend" (Scott 1986, 80). Mr Morgan's strict orders forbidding his wife from having an intimate relation with Miss Mancel are an example of verbal oppression. On the other hand, his rejection to Mrs Morgan's desire of seeing Miss Mancel, with whom she is "[u]nited from their childhood," is not based on a sound reason (Scott 81), but it is a sign of male whimsy about having a domestic recognition. Therefore, Mr Morgan is "[an] arbitrary husband" who limits his wife's freedom arbitrarily to make her completely obedient to him (Scott 1986, 81). He also expects her to submit to his will about domestic affairs. Mrs Morgan wants her servants to "enjoy the comforts of plenty, and when sick, receive the indulgence which that condition requires" (Scott 1986, 84-85), but Mr Morgan does not want his conducts about domestic economy to be discussed, and he ac-

cuses his wife of "extravagance" (Scott 1986, 85). As Mrs Morgan suffers from erratic domination of her husband, she is considered to be "a victim" confined to the restrictive conjugal life (Scott 1986, 85). However, the author is not against marriage, she just reconstructs the marriage discourse of patriarchy which degrades women as inferior to her husband. She regards matrimony as "a general duty" and "as absolutely necessary to the good of society," but she argues that women should be equal partners of their spouses, and she believes that economic liberation of women has a crucial role in creating equality between married couples (Scott 1986, 115). The ladies of Hall supply women with money to prevent men from oppressing women through their economic power. Miss Mancel gives a bride "a fortune," and provides her with the capital to make her "have share of employment and contribute to the provision for her family" (Scott 1986, 114). In so doing, Miss Mancel helps the young woman to be a partner, not a subordinate, to her husband in the management of their domestic economy.

Arguing that women's inferiority is imposed by male discourse, Scott criticizes the fact that men manipulate their socio-economic privileges to dominate females. The author challenges patriarchal discourse which regards women as weak and ignorant creatures. She asserts that if women, like the ladies of the Hall, have the opportunities to have their own money, and to receive an education which aims to cultivate their mind, they can be emancipated from male oppression. She also defies male ideology by stating that it is not women's mental or physical inferiority but it is male discourse which is responsible for the deprivation of females of the same economic, educational, and occupational rights as men. In order to prove the validity of her idea, she forms a matriarchal society governed according to Christian values which are against discrimination, subjugation, and manipulation. In this utopian world of women, women are not dominated by men, but they are provided with socio-economic opportunities to prove themselves equal to men. Moreover, the writer claims that the domestication of women as an obedient wife and a nurturing mother is a patriarchal strategy to prevent the female sex from having an active role in public sphere which is dominated by men. Therefore, she

subverts matrimonial discourse of patriarchy which confines women, the inferior sex, to the domestic sphere. Instead of a marriage based on the supremacy of men, she offers a matrimonial model in which the couples share equal domestic and social roles. Showing that women's oppression is ideological and man-made, Scott defies male discourse which disempowers woman as a domesticated, inferior, and dependent being.

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### Sarah Scott'ın A Description of Millenium Hall Adlı Eserinde İdeoloji ve Söylemin Kadınların Baskılanmasındaki Etkileri

#### Öz

Sarah Scott, A Description of Millenium Hall (1762) adlı eserinde kadınların erkek baskısından kurtarıldığı anaerik bir toplumu tasvir eder. Yazar, kadınların zihinsel ve fiziksel güçsüzlüğünün ataerik ideolojinin iddiası olduğuna inandığı için kadınların ayrıştırılmasının doğal olmadığını savunur. Bu nedenle, kadının zihinsel açıdan özgürleştirilmesinde eğitimin önemini vurgular. Bu bağlamda, akıl ve adalete göre toplumlarını yönetebilecek kadar zeki ve eğitilmiş olan Hall'ın kurucu kadınlarını yaratır. Scott ayrıca, erkek egemenliğine dayanan ataerik aile yapısını değiştirir ve aile üyeleri arasında hiyerarşik bir ilişki bulunmayan bir aile yapısı oluşturur. Ayrıca, kadınların özgürleşmesinde kadınların ekonomik özgürlüğünün önemini vurgular. Ekonomik

özgürlüğü olmayan kadınların, evlenmeye zorlandıklarını ve kendi paralarını kazanma ayrıcalığına sahip olan kocaları tarafından baskılandıklarını savunur. Bu çalışma, Scott'ın erkeklerin üstünlüğünü savunan erkek söyleme karşı çıktığını göstermek için Millennium Hall'da erkekler ve kadınlar arasındaki güç ilişkilerini incelemeyi amaçlar.

#### **Anahtar kelimeler**

*Sarah Scott, A Description of Millenium Hall, Kadınların Baskılanması, İdeoloji, Söylem, Güç, Değişirme*

# **T**he Predicament of Three Romantic Heroes/ Heroines: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary and Bradley Pearson

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#### **Abstract**

This article investigates the common features of three fictional characters who have become iconic figures in Western literature: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary, and Bradley Pearson. The particular focus of the article is on the striking parallels between the way the three characters' perception of outer reality, and the role imagination plays in their assessment of and reaction to incidents occurring in their surroundings. It is seen that although the three protagonists stand out as fictional creations of novelists from three different eras, they try to exist and realise their seemingly impossible ideals in the same fragile world. All of the protagonists attain spiritual growth, a sort of enlightenment towards the end of the novels, but unfortunately this growth is accompanied by their destruction.

#### **Keywords**

*Cervantes, Flaubert, Murdoch, Romantic Heroes/Heroines, Illusion-Reality, Destruction*

This article attempts to investigate the common features of three fictional characters who have become iconic figures in Western literature: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary, and Bradley Pearson. The particular focus of the article is on the striking parallels between the way the three characters' perception of outer reality, and the role imagination plays in their assessment of and reaction to incidents occurring in their surroundings. It is seen that although the three protagonists stand out as fictional creations of novelists from three different eras, they try to exist and realise their seemingly impossible ideals in the same fragile world. As for the shared features: all the three protagonists fail to fit into their present social environment; they are either different from or superior to the other members of their class, and they are all dissatisfied with their circumstances. All of the protagonists are self-deceptive, cherishing ideas, and visions beyond their means, and they all end up in self-destruction for the sake of their ideals. They all are obsessive readers of some sort. A shared fate is that all of the protagonists attain spiritual growth, a sort of enlightenment towards the end of the novels, but this growth is accompanied by their destruction.

Cervantes' Don Quixote is considered to be the first modern novel. According to J.M. Sobre, what makes the novel a precursor is the watchful contrast established by Cervantes between Don Quixote and an epic hero ("Don Quixote, the Hero Upside-Down" 140). The author portrays the protagonist as a parody of both epic heroes and romance knights. In the novel Don Quixote is presented as a character in his fifties. He is obsessed with reading books of chivalry to such an extent that he even sells a great part of his fertile land to purchase books of knight-errantry. He is so immersed in those Medieval romances that he spends whole nights and days over his books; thus with little sleep and much reading, he loses his wits. He starts identifying himself with exemplary knights; he craves involving in valorous deeds and adventures. Although the ideal knights with whom he identifies himself are both physically and mentally perfect, Don Quixote appears to be quite unhealthy, weak and incapable in either ways, due to his obsession. Having lost his wits almost completely, he believes that he should become a knight and wander

around the world with his horse and armour in quest of adventures, to experience what he has read in books of chivalry. His parodic picture is completed by his rusty armour, and the barber's wash-basin, which serves as a helmet, tied up to his head with green ribbons. He mounts the skinny "Rosinante," which he sees as a brave knight's horse, and, accompanied by his squire Sancho Panza, he sets out for adventures. Under his richly imaginative gaze, windmills turn into giants, cats into wizards, lions into villains, flocks of sheep into armies to fight against; poor country inns become castles, while peasant girls appear to him like beautiful noble ladies, one of them being his beloved "Dulcinea."

Coming back to his squire, as his name "Panza" (stomach) suggests, Sancho is a very down-to-earth character, concerned about practical problems, such as being able to feed himself and his family, or acquiring a certain wealth to lead a better life. At the outset of the events he appears to be the exact opposite of Don Quixote; he has no lofty ideals and no visions whatsoever. Yet it is due to his weak hope that Don Quixote might reward him with land, that he accepts to become his so-called "squire"; that is to say, even such a realistic person as Sancho has some dreams to pursue still, he counterbalances Don Quixote's extreme imagination throughout the episodes, all the while Don Quixote implants the seeds of his vivid imagination into Sancho's character. When Don Quixote comes to his senses on his deathbed at the end of the novel, it is Sancho's turn to have difficulties in coping with the crude reality.

It could be said that the counterbalance between Don Quixote's and Sancho Panza's characters reflects the overall structure of the novel itself. Cervantes explores the ambiguous relations of illusion and reality in human life through these two charming characters. The author blends genres as well as realistic and idealistic elements. On the one hand, the existence of the colour and tone of the world of medieval chivalry, though depending on the hero's self-deception, adds an important element of idealisation; on the other hand, the chivalric world is continually disrupted by elements of contemporary life uttered by the narrator, such as the

realities of landscape and speech, peasants and nobles, inns and highways. Thus the author moves back and forth between the realistic and the romantic, truth and vision, practical facts and lofty values. Cervantes is regarded as the progenitor of the modern novel due to his mastery in mingling concrete reality with highly idealistic values.

Flaubert's Emma Bovary is the second romantic heroine to be discussed in the scope of this article. Emma Bovary is a middle-class woman, a romantic idealist living in the provincial France of 1850s. She develops a feeling of superiority in her childhood, for she is brought up by her father as a spoiled child who is a small farmer. Old Rouault provides Emma with a convent boarding school education above her social status. This education inflames Emma's dissatisfaction of her social class. When she returns to the farm, she spends her time dreaming romantic situations for herself. She marries Charles to get rid of the narrowness of her life. Unfortunately, her husband turns out to be more despicable than her father. Following her wedding, Emma immediately sinks into disappointment and boredom out of which she tries to distract herself through playing the piano, embroidering, decorating her house, and above all, reading romantic novels of all sorts. She is disgusted with the mediocre, vulgar, dull society surrounding her. She tries to compensate for the void in her life by obtaining material objects like expensive furniture and clothes, for objects stand for the emotions she lacks in her life. She is always restless, but especially after the ball at the Chateau Vaubyessard, she becomes half delirious due to her obsession for wealth and glory; she seeks to attain an aristocratic way of living and to experience intense passion and excitement. Her failure to accept her social status and financial means causes her to accumulate an immense debt which plays a role in her eventual decision to commit suicide. However, it is not only the literal but also the emotional bankruptcy that bring about Emma's destruction. Unable to ease her ever dissatisfied soul, she seeks consolation in the ephemeral excitements of adultery; her first affair, with Rodolphe, ends up in disappointment and a severe nervous breakdown as he refuses to elope with her to Italy. Whereas her affair with Leon simply fades

out in mutual boredom, only leaving Emma with the abovementioned huge debt. Emma's adultery could be interpreted as a form of rebellion against the bourgeois society she so intensely detests. From this perspective, her relationship with Lheureux, who is a typical bourgeois, becomes significant; perhaps Lheureux tries to ruin her due to her difference; he believes that Emma should be eliminated from the society she is rebelling against. Thus, disillusioned both in her material and emotional expectations, Emma finds no other solution than putting an end to her miserable life. She swallows arsenic and dies in excruciating agony.

The path leading to Emma's end is marked by her extremely vivid imagination, coloured by her reading of romantic novels, and her incessant self-deception. As Carla L. Peterson suggests in "The Heroine as Reader in the Nineteenth Century Novel," "Emma has a "remarkable ability to turn in periods of frustration or inaction to books for inspiration" to such an extent that "she finds in herself the strength to become an active and creative artist" (171). Under the influence of her romantic fantasies, a second of eye contact she establishes with the Viscount at the ball causes her to dream about him almost until the end of her life; a base womaniser like Rodolphe, who has no more virtue than being able to wear elegant clothes, appears to her as the ideal and unforgettable lover; she tries to make a romantic poet out of the weak and incapable Leon. Emma is a female Quixote who, due to her excessive reading of romantic fiction, sees wonders of all sorts in the dull bourgeois environment surrounding her, as well as in herself.

The last romantic hero, who has common character traits with the formerly discussed two, is Murdoch's Bradley Pearson in *The Black Prince*. The major theme of *The Black Prince* is the relationship between art and love in articulating truth. Being a follower of both Plato and Neo-Platonists, Murdoch believes that the world of everyday life is a world of illusions, behind which exists a world of truth containing ideal forms. When one is finally able to see the world of ideal forms, one is glimpsing truth. Between these illusory and true worlds, art has a special place, for it is through art that an artist is able to bring viewers out of the illusory

plane into the true one. Art functions as a fundamental philosophical instrument that can give higher meanings to life. Art transcends the world of appearances; art imitates the divine truth directly as is held by the Neo-Platonists. The motive urging Bradley Pearson to write a deeply meaningful novel in *The Black Prince* is the expression of the artist's desire to preserve a glimmer of truth for others. Although Pearson suffers from writer's block for most of the novel, his experience of love-Eros-finally enables him to create his master work. Bradley writes his book when he is convicted to a life-long sentence. He succeeds in writing his long-awaited novel when he becomes selfless in prison. According to Murdoch, becoming neutral, impersonal, and selfless are the prerequisites for creating a work of art. The creator of an art work must suffer from formlessness prior to the creation process. Parallel to the idea of the author, Bradley's identity is definitely formless until he composes his novel. He starts as a solipsist, a typical self-centred egoist. Nevertheless, he becomes selfless when he falls in love with Julian. This love allows Bradley not only to create the true work of art, which he aspires for throughout the novel, but also to reach moral improvement in the end. As Bradley points out in the novel, human love is the gateway to all knowledge. He attains knowledge and truth through his love experience with Julian. His love of Julian allows him to experience the three phases of love: the pure physical human love, which is lower and has an enslaving power; yet, it is the first step towards spiritual love; then he falls in love with the idea of being in love: this is the phase of spiritual love leading to liberation; the last phase which Bradley experiences at the end of the novel is the beauty of knowledge and truth which he seeks throughout his life.

Murdoch's novel contains both realistic and experimental elements. The content of the work is realistic but in terms of form and technique, it is unconventional. The setting and the characters are realistically drawn; there is a sense of real time, but the author's handling of her subject matter goes beyond the limits of reality as is conceived in the traditional sense. The novel's social setting, its convincing round characters and the sense of real time constitute the elements of classic re-

alism. Nevertheless, the polyphony and polysemy of the novel effectively work against the monologism of the classic realist text. The effect of various discourses in the novel emphasises that truth is a more fluid, more unstable entity than Bradley wishes to make it. He intends his novel to function like the classic realist text, as a hierarchy of discourses which places the reliable, unchallenged metalanguage of the author outside them, pointing out where the other discourses stand in relation to truth. Bradley's voice seems to function like this authorial metalanguage, but in fact, his word is challenged and subverted by those of others. Although Bradley seems to be the only author of his novel as in other first-person novels, there are six other texts which go alongside Bradley's narration to build the book. These six texts are Bradley's own prologue and postscript; Loxias' two sections which open and close the novel and the four postscripts written by Christian, Rachel, Francis, and Julian. These six texts constitute the basis of formal experiment employed by Murdoch. Each postscript continues the same point of view its writer has adopted throughout the novel; the postscripts set free the voices Bradley's monologue has attempted to silence; each postscript is itself a self-contained literary document, a first-person retrospective narrative with a strong reality effect as Bradley's. The postscripts draw attention to the artificiality of the story; they make readers understand how their feelings have been manipulated by the narrator's voice. They underline the dialogical point that the deep truths Bradley tells are constructed subjectively and are true from one viewpoint only. Moreover, the postscripts question the veracity of the events from which Bradley derives these truths; the postscripts cast serious doubt on Bradley's status as a reliable truth teller. In a sense, Murdoch's novel recalls Keats' famous saying "beauty is truth, and truth is beauty."

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## Üç Romantik Başkahramanın Açmazı: Don Quixote, Emma Bovary and Bradley Pearson

### Öz

Bu makale batı edebiyatında ikonik figürler olarak kabul edilen üç kurgu kahramanının Don Quixote, Emma Bovary ve Bradley Pearson-ortak yönlerini incelemektedir. Makale özellikle üç başkarakterin dış gerçekliği algılayışları ve çevrelerinde yaşananları değerlendirme ve bunlara tepki göstermeleri konusunda hayal gücünün oynadığı role odaklanmaktadır. Görülüyor ki üç kurgu kahraman üç farklı çağda yaratılmış olsalar da aynı kırılğan dünyada varolmaya çalışarak, imkansız ideallerini gerçekleştirmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Başkahramanlar romanların sonunda bir çeşit aydınlanma yaşayıp, manevi anlamda gelişim gösterirler, ancak ne yazık ki onların bu gelişimine eşlik eden yıkım olur.

### Anahtar kelimeler

*Cervantes, Flaubert, Murdoch, Romantik Kahramanlar, Yanılsama-Gerçeklik, Yıkım*

# The Effect of Trade Liberalisation on Economic Growth: Does Size or Density Matter?

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### Abstract

Trade liberalisation policies have been one of the most widely-used economic policies among developing countries, especially after 1980s. There is a large literature on the effects of such policies on economic growth. In this study, the effect of openness to trade on economic growth was analysed by following a new approach highlighting the importance of size of a country. Moreover, the study was extended by adding some other population related issues into the analysis. The effects of total population, population density, and urban population on economic growth and their interaction with openness to trade were estimated through 47-year panel data (1960 - 2007) for 190 countries. Although the results vary for different estimation methods, we find a positive link between openness and growth. Moreover, we show that total population and population density matters in terms of economic growth.

### Keywords

*Firm productivity; Stochastic frontier analysis, Panel data; Foreign trade*

## Introduction

The relationship between openness and growth is a highly relevant policy issue, thus there is a vast amount of literature on this issue. Several studies have used different models, methods and approaches in order to analyse the trade liberalization/growth relations. Although a big majority of both theoretical and empirical studies suggest a positive link between trade liberalization and economic growth, there are some studies that provide converse or different results. These controversies cause inconsistencies in the literature. Some recent critical studies, notably Rodriguez and Rodrik (2000), suggest that the inconsistencies in the literature arise from some methodological issues, such as measurement problems of openness to trade and shortcomings of empirical methods used.

Recent studies in economic growth literature tend to give more credit to the importance of the effects of population related measures, such as total population, population density, and urban population, when it comes to a countries' growth performance. Alesina et al. (2005) analyse the size effects by considering the size of a country as its total population. On the other hand, some recent studies, such as Becker et. al. (1999) and Galor and Weil (2000), focused on the effects of population density on economic growth and suggested a positive link between them. These approaches chasing a link between economic growth and population related issues will be closely examined in this study.

The aim of this study is to estimate the effect of the size of a country on its economic growth. We utilize a panel data consisting of 190 countries for the 1960-2007 period. First, we use population as proxy for size, then the effects of population density and urban population on economic growth is estimated. Finally, we will discuss which of these measures of size matter in terms of economic growth.

## Related Literature

## Related Literature

As Alesina et al. (2000) state, recent growth literature shows an interest in the size-growth relationship. These theories focus on the positive scale effects on the accumulation of human capital and creation of knowledge or technology (Alesina et al., 2005). Rivera-Batiz and Romer (1991) provide an important paper on this issue, and claim that integration to trade increases the extent of the market thanks to increasing returns to scale.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Lucas (1988), and Grossman and Helpman (1991) provide models implying that larger production size increases productivity. On the other hand, Backus et. al. (1992) conduct a cross-country analysis examining the relationship between scale effect and growth, and provide an evidence for scale effects in the manufacturing sector, while there is no effect of scale at the country level.

Following the above studies, Alesina et. al. (2005) provides an extensive analysis on the effects of a country's size on its growth. They analyse the costs and benefits of the size of a country in terms of their population, by mainly focusing on the role of market size. They establish a theoretical model providing a positive link between size and economic growth and then they empirically test their model. They use a panel consisting of 113 countries covering the period of 1960-2000. Their results confirm a positive openness/growth relationship claimed by their theoretical model.

Many economists claim that openness in the international economy is the primary source of growth in many East Asian countries that have experienced fast economic development during the past 50 years (Andersen and Babula, 2008). The majority of studies asked the question of how strong the correlation between openness and economic growth is and which channel through trade effected growth. But

<sup>2</sup> As a condition of existence of the scale effect, Rivera-Batiz and Romer's (1991) state that increasing to returns should extend the sector that generates growth. .



the growth effect of international trade is still an open question in the empirical literature, although many empirical analyses found positive growth effects from trade liberalization.

Many studies of the new growth literature have focused on the importance of the size of an economy (Alesina et. al. 2000). By controlling for international trade, Frankel and Romer (1999) report significant and positive relationship between country size and growth. Similar to their approach, Alcalá and Ciccone (2004) analyse the size of countries' workforces in their empirical analysis and suggested that scale effect is economically and statistically significant.

Some other cross-country studies such as, Ades and Glaeser (1999), Spolaore and Wacziarg (2005), and Alesina et. al (2000, 2005) examined the existence of possible interaction between openness and country size. They find a significant and negative relationship that can be interpreted as evidence of substitutability between openness and country size. They also provide solid evidence showing the existence of growth effects of trade liberalization arising from the size of the market.

Although recent economic growth literature generally ignored the effects of population related issues on growth, nowadays the existence of these effects are largely agreed. According to the Malthusian approach, population grows geometrically if uncontrolled. Since resources are scarce and technical progress is limited, the growing population causes unsustainable growth. Neoclassical literature follows the Malthusian view with the assumption of diminishing marginal product of extra labour supply. Some studies following Malthus's view claim that countries with low-population density, such as the United States and Australia, tend to grow faster. On the other hand, by giving the examples of Singapore and Hong Kong, some others claim that a high-population density fosters economic

growth. The studies claiming a positive effect of higher population density state that higher density stimulates technical change and investment in human capital. It also reduces transport/communication costs and creates positive scale effects. As a result, it fosters economic growth (Bloom and Canning, 2001).

Kelley and Schmid (1994) focus on three dimensions of demographic issues: population growth, size and density. They analyse 89 countries for the period of 1960-90. They create their panel data by dividing these periods into three parts, which are 1960-69, 1970-79 and 1980-89. They report a positive effect of population density on economic growth for all three of these periods. On the other hand, Bloom and Sachs (1998) find that a high population density impedes economic growth in inland areas because of the high transportation costs. They add that the situation is different in coastal regions. According to them, since coastal regions are near seas or rivers, they can easily access trade routes. This advantage enables those countries to overcome resource constraints arising from dense population and enjoy scale economies, while inland areas suffer in terms of economic growth.

More recent studies, such as Becker et. al. (1999), Galor and Weil (2000) focus on the positive effect of increasing population and higher population density on specialisation, investment in knowledge, technological progress and investment in human capital. Although the majority of recent studies reach similar conclusion, a higher population density fosters economic growth, neither theory nor empirical evidence is strong enough to provide a certain result of the impacts of population density on growth.

#### **Data and the Model**

Our sample consists of an unbalanced panel dataset that comprises 190 countries for the 1960-2007 periods. Since balancing such a large panel data will cause a

representation problem, we prefer to use an unbalanced panel.<sup>3</sup> We estimated our models from 5-year and 10-year averages of the variables. For the 5-year averaged data, we have 10 observations for each country, consisting of overlapping 5-year averages covering the 1960–2007 periods. For the 10-year averaged data, we have 5 observations for each country for 1960-69, 1970-79, 1980-89, 1990-99 and 2000-07.<sup>4</sup> According to Ram (2009), using averaged data rather than annual data helps to deal with sensitivity problems arising from the data with different levels of aggregation. Moreover, using an averaged dataset prevents business cycle effects, which can be observed in annual data.

We will analyse openness to trade, economic growth and size relationship through Equation (1) by using population as a measurement of the size. In the second and third equations, instead of the total population, we include population density and urban population variables respectively. Alesina et al. (2005) analyse not only the effects of trade liberalization and size on growth, but also the interaction between size and openness. By following their view, we take into account a possible interaction between openness and density of population and urban population through Equation (2) and Equation (3). Our models can be written as:

<sup>3</sup> As Judson and Owen (1996) suggests, large panels include low-income countries which have more missing values than developed countries. Thus, balancing this kind of panel causes loss in the observations of countries having missing values. As a result, representation problems may occur.

<sup>4</sup> We were unable to estimate our model annually, since the human capital data is for the mid-points (every 5 years) of the 1960-2000 periods. This problem could have been solved by finding a proxy for human capital data, but we decided to carry on with it, since it has been widely used in the growth literature

$$\log y_{it} - \log y_{it-r} = a_0 + a_1 \log y_{it-r} + a_2 \log S_{it} + a_3 O_{it} + a_4 O_{it} \times \log S_{it} + a_5' CV_{it} + \varepsilon_{11t} \quad (1)$$

$$\log y_{it} - \log y_{it-r} = b_0 + b_1 \log y_{it-r} + b_2 \log Density_{it} + b_3 O_{it} + b_4 O_{it} \times \log Density_{it} + b_5' CV_{it} + \varepsilon_{i2t} \quad (2)$$

$$\log y_{it} - \log y_{it-r} = c_0 + c_1 \log y_{it-r} + c_2 \log Urban_{it} + c_3 O_{it} + c_4 O_{it} \times \log Urban_{it} + c_5' CV_{it} + \varepsilon_{i3t} \quad (3)$$

where  $y_{it}$  denotes per capita income in a country  $i$  at time  $t$  and  $\log y_{it-r}$  denotes logarithm of initial per capita income.<sup>5</sup> Thus,  $\log y_{it} - \log y_{it-r}$  stands for the growth rate of real GDP per capita.  $S_{it}$  is a measure of country size (total population),  $O_{it}$  is a measure of openness,  $Density_{it}$  is population density and  $Urban_{it}$  is urban population in country  $i$  at time  $t$ , and  $\varepsilon$  is the error term.<sup>6</sup> Finally,  $CV_{it}$  is a vector of control variables which are fertility rate, female human capital, male human capital, government and investment share.<sup>7</sup>

Real GDP per capita, government share of real GDP per capita, investment share of real GDP per capita, population and openness data were taken from 6.3 Penn World Tables (Heston, Summers and Aten, 2002) for the period between 1960 and 2007.<sup>8</sup> Fertility rate, growth rate of real GDP per capita, population density and urban population data were obtained from the World Bank Database. Human capital data comes from Barro and Lee (2000).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> We used the value at the mid-point of a decade for initial income.

<sup>6</sup> Urban population is the ratio of people living in urban areas to total population.

<sup>7</sup> Fertility rate represents the number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with current age-specific fertility rates (World Bank, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> The openness data is total trade as a percentage of real GDP.

<sup>9</sup> This dataset provides the number of years of schooling achieved by the average person at the various levels. We used average years of secondary and higher schooling in the male and female population as a proxy for male and female human capital. This data is available for the 1960-2000 periods for every 5 years.

Equations (1), (2) and (3) were estimated by two different methods. Firstly, we used an ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression method with 5-year and 10-year averaged data. Since the OLS method has a weakness in terms of capturing a possible unobserved heterogeneity bias, we repeated the same estimation procedure with a fixed-effects regression method.<sup>10</sup> We also tested our models with a random effects method, since it can be considered an alternative to fixed-effects (Wooldridge, 2005). The fixed-effects method is usually preferred to random-effects, since country-specific effects cannot be cancelled out by the random effects method (Judson and Owen, 1996). We show that the random-effects model was rejected by the Hausman Test for all our estimations.<sup>11</sup>

## Results

The summarized results for the estimations of the Equation (1), (2) and (3) are provided in Table 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix.<sup>12</sup> Table 1 reports OLS and fixed-effects estimation results for Equation (1). Table 2 illustrates the estimation results for Equation (2) focusing on the trade liberalization-growth-population density relationship. Finally, Table 3 shows the estimation results for Equation (3), modelling the openness-growth-urban population relations.

The OLS estimates for 10-year averaged data in Table 1 are consistent with the findings provided by Alesina et al. (2005), while the results for the 5-year averaged data are not. The estimated coefficient of the population-openness interaction term and population variable are insignificant for the 5-year averaged dataset, while the coefficients of population is weakly significant (at %10 level).

<sup>10</sup> The fixed-effects method enables us to avoid a possible cross-country heterogeneity (unobserved effect) and provides more reliable results (Wooldridge, 2005)

<sup>11</sup> The Hausman test compares the fixed versus random effects under the null hypothesis that the individual effects are uncorrelated with the other regressors in the model.

<sup>12</sup> These summarized tables consist of the results for the variables that we mainly focus on. Detailed results are available upon request.

<sup>13</sup> Detailed results are available upon request.

On the other hand, the coefficients of openness, population and their interaction term is statically significant for the 10-year dataset. The results, coming from OLS estimates for the 10-year averaged data confirm Alesina et al. (2005), suggesting positive openness/growth and population/growth relations, as well as the negative effect of the interaction between size and openness on growth.

When fixed-effects estimates are considered, the support for the results of Alesina et al. (2005) disappears. Although the positive openness/growth relationship survives with a weak statistical significance for both the 5-year and 10-year averaged datasets, the size/openness interaction term is not significant. More importantly, our results suggest a negative link between total population and economic growth and this contradicts the findings provided by Alesina et al. (2005).

Table 2 illustrates the estimation results for Equation (2) modelling the effects of population density and its interaction with the openness on economic growth. The OLS estimates from both the 5-year and 10-year averages provide no significant results other than the suggested positive openness/growth link coming from the estimation of 10-year averages.

When the estimation of the Equation (2) is done by a fixed-effects procedure, we show that there is not a significant association between population density and economic growth. Fixed effects estimates from both 5-year and 10-year averaged data show that there is a significant positive relationship between openness to trade and economic growth, and this result is consistent with the literature. Furthermore, our findings indicate that the interaction between population density and openness is just significant (at %10 level) for 10-year averages, while it is not significant for the estimation from 5-year averages.

Finally, the effect of urban population on growth was estimated through Equation (3). Table 3 summarises the results obtained from the OLS and fixed-effects models and shows that urban population does not have any effect on growth.

### Conclusion

The aim of this study is try to understand whether country size or population density matter in terms of economic growth. We took Alesina et al.'s (2005) model as a base, and estimated our models through a panel consisting of 190 countries, covering the period between 1960-2007. We then, estimated total population, population density and urban population effects on economic growth in turn. We used 5-year and 10-year averages of the dataset and applied ordinary least square (OLS) and fixed-effects procedures.

Estimation results for the regression models do not provide a straightforward conclusion, and they vary according to the estimation methods we used. Firstly, we estimated the effects of country size on economic growth. Although the results coming from the OLS for 10-year averages are consistent with those provided by Alesina et al. (2005), the results obtained from fixed-effect procedure are not.

We report a positive relationship between openness and economic growth and this result is in line with the current literature. However, we show that there is a statically significant negative relationship between size and growth, while Alesina et al. (2005) provide a positive link between them.

Following the approach of some recent studies considering the importance of population related issues in terms of economic growth, we analysed the effects of population density and urban population on economic growth as well. Our estimations show that OLS regression results do not provide a significant relationship between population density, openness, and growth. On the other hand, the fixed-effects procedure provides a negative significant relationship between

population density and growth. This shows that population density matters in terms of economic growth. Finally, we report that urban population does not have any effects on openness and economic growth.

### Appendix

**Table 1** Equation (1), 190-country panel data for 1960-2007, dependent variable is growth rate

	OLS		Fixed effects	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	5-year means	10-year means	5-year means	10-year means
Size*Openness	-0.003 (0.001)	-0.004** (0.001)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.003)
Size(Population)	0.253 <sup>†</sup> (0.139)	0.225 <sup>†</sup> (0.133)	-2.629** (0.797)	-2.916** (0.660)
Openness	0.044 (0.297)	0.071** (0.023)	0.135 <sup>†</sup> (0.083)	0.097 <sup>†</sup> (0.057)
Adjusted R-squared	0.13	0.17	0.18	0.34
N	785	600	785	600

Standard errors are in parentheses.<sup>14</sup> † indicates significant at 10% level; \* indicates significant at 5% level; \*\* significant at 1% level.

**Table 2** Equation (2), 190-country panel data for 1960-2007, dependent variable is growth rate

	OLS		Fixed effects	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	5-year means	10-year means	5-year means	10-year means
Log Density	0.000 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.005)
*Openness	-0.131 (0.198)	0.135 (0.192)	-2.078** (0.745)	-2.250** (0.654)
Openness	0.002 (0.010)	0.019** (0.009)	0.050* (0.026)	0.060** (0.019)
Adjusted R-squared	0.10	0.14	0.18	0.35
N	755	568	755	568

Standard errors in parentheses. † indicates significant at 10% level; \* indicates significant at 5% level; \*\* significant at 1% level.

<sup>14</sup> We estimated standard errors by following White's (1980) approach that provides correct estimates of the coefficient covariance in the presence of heteroscedasticity.

	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	5-year means	10-year means	5-year means	10-year means
Log Urban	-0.004	-0.007**	-0.019*	-0.012
*Openness	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Log Urban	0.341	0.460	0.172	-0.081
	(0.343)	(0.337)	(0.729)	(0.676)
Openness	0.019	0.039**	0.095**	0.073*
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.037)	(0.073)
Adjusted R-squared	0.13	0.17	0.17	0.31
N	785	600	785	600

Standard errors in parentheses. † indicates significant at 10% level; \* indicates significant at 5% level; \*\* significant at 1% level

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**Öz**

Özellikle 1980'ler sonrası, gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasında, ticari serbestleşme politikaları en yaygın kullanılan ekonomik politikalardan biri olmuştur. Bu politikaların ekonomik büyümeye etkileri konusunda geniş bir literatür bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, ülke hacminin önemini vurgulayan yeni bir yaklaşımı takip ederek, dışa açık ekonominin, ekonomik büyümeye olan etkisi analiz edilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, analizin kapsamı, diğer bazı nüfusa ilişkin konular dahil edilerek, genişletilmiştir. Toplam nüfusun, nüfus yoğunluğunun ve şehir nüfusunun ekonomik büyümeye olan etkileri ve bunların dışa açık ticaret ile olan ilişkisi, 190 ülke için 47 yıllık panel veri (1960-2007) kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Farklı tahmin yöntemlerine göre sonuçlar değişiklik göstermesine rağmen, analiz, dışa açık ekonomi ve büyüme arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca analiz, toplam nüfus ve nüfus yoğunluğunun ekonomik büyüme açısından önemli olduğunu göstermektedir.

**Anahtar kelimeler**

*Firma verimliliği; Stokastik sınır analizi; Panel veri; Dış ticaret*

# Küresel Dengesizlikler Döneminde Türkiye Ekonomisinin Sürdürülebilir Cari Açık Sorunu

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**Öz**

Küresel dengesizlikler cari açık ve fazlaların bazı ülke ve bölgelerde yoğunlaşması ve belirli bir süreklilik arz eden bir seyir izlemesi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Dünya ekonomisine bakıldığında, 1990'ların ikinci yarısından itibaren ortaya çıkan küresel dengesizlikler 2000'li yıllarda artış eğilimi göstermiştir. Tasarruf ve yatırım dengelerini bozan bu gelişmeler son yıllarda iktisadi politika tartışmalarında önemli yer tutmaktadır. Aynı dönemde, Türkiye ekonomisinin dışa açılma süreci devam etmiş ve uluslararası piyasalarla bütünleşme eğilimi giderek hız kazanmıştır. Bu gelişmelerin sonucunda, Türkiye ekonomisinin yapısal olarak cari işlemler açığı verdiği ve bunun 2002 sonrasında hızlı bir şekilde arttığı görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'de cari açığın sürdürülebilirliği temel önceliğe sahip bir sorun konumuna gelmiştir. Sürdürülebilir cari açık net dış borç stokunun gayri safi yurtiçi hasılaya oranını sabit tutan cari açık miktarı olarak tanımlanabilmektedir. Bu kapsamda yapılan analizlere göre Türkiye ekonomisi için sürdürülebilir cari açık miktarının (gayrisafi yurtiçi hasılaya oran olarak) yüzde 3 civarında olduğu görülmektedir.

**Keywords**

*Küresel Dengesizlikler, Türkiye Ekonomisi, Cari Denge, Sürdürülebilir Cari Denge.*

## Küresel Dengesizlikler

Bir ülke için iktisadi politika analizleri yapılırken iç denge çerçevesinde fiyat istikrarı kavramı ve üretimde tam istihdam seviyesinde bulunması hususları değerlendirilmektedir. İç denge kapsamında enflasyon oranları ve beklentileri, çıktı açığı<sup>12</sup> tahminleri gibi göstergeler detaylı olarak takip edilmektedir. Dış denge üzerine yapılacak analizler ise reel döviz kuru ve cari işlemler hesabının izlenmesini gerektirmektedir.

Yapılan dış denge değerlendirmelerinde 1990'ların ikinci yarısından başlayarak gözlenen ve küresel dengesizlikler olarak adlandırılan problem üzerinde en çok tartışılan temel ekonomik sorunlar arasında yer almaktadır. Küresel dengesizlikler cari açık ve fazlaların belli ülke ve bölgelerde yoğunlaşması ve süreklilik arz eden bir seyir izlemesi olarak tanımlanabilir. Cari işlemler dengesinde oluşan açık bir ekonomideki toplam tasarruf açığını, ödemeler dengesinde cari fazla verilmesi de tasarruf fazlasını yansıtmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, küresel dengesizlikler ülkelerdeki tasarruf ve yatırım dengelerinin giderek bozulması anlamına gelmektedir. Bazı ülkelerde yatırım, üretim, istihdam, büyüme ve sermaye birikimi artarken, diğerlerinde tüketim, sermaye açığı ve borçlar artmaktadır.

Küresel dengesizlikler her zaman ekonomi ile ilgili kötü bir duruma işaret etmeyebilir. Örneğin bir ülke ticaret yaptığı ülkelere göre daha hızlı yaşlanıyorsa, gelecekte iş gücünün daralması ve emekli sayısının artması nedeniyle tasarruflarda meydana gelebilecek azalmalara karşın yüksek miktarda tasarruf etmesi ve ödemeler dengesi fazlası vermesi iktisadi olarak anlamlı olabilir.

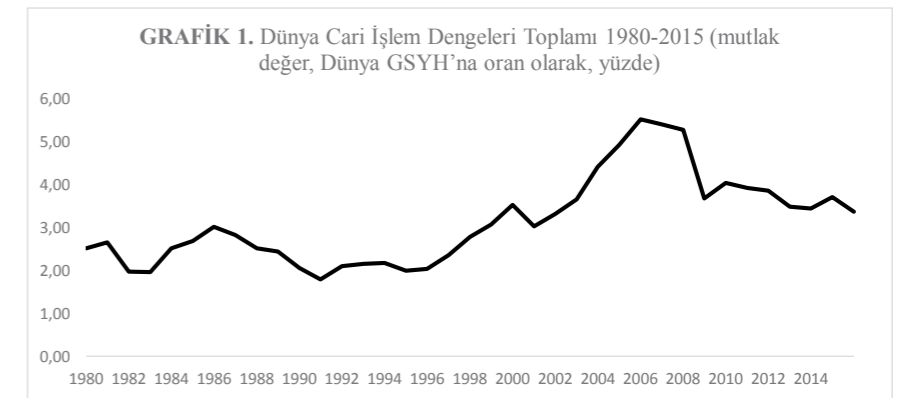
Ancak küresel dengesizlikler ekonomilerin büyüme hedeflerine zarar verebilecek çarpıklıkların bir belirtisi de olabilir. Bu anlamda makroekonomik ve finansal stres birikmesine işaret edebilir. Aşırı borçlu hane halkları kredi erişimlerini

<sup>12</sup> Bir ekonominin gerçekleşen çıktısı ile potansiyel çıktısı arasındaki fark çıktı açığıdır. Potansiyel çıktı, ekonomide kaynakların etkin olarak kullanılabilirdiği tam istihdam durumunda üretebileceği maksimum mal ve hizmet miktarıdır.

kaybedebileceği gibi, dış yükümlülükleri çok büyük bir ölçekte biriktiren ekonomiler, sermaye akımlarındaki ani duraklamalara karşı kırılgan hale gelebilir. Dengesizliklerin düzeltilmeleri ayrı ayrı ülkelerde görülebileceği gibi, dünya ekonomisini etkileyecek ölçekte de gerçekleşebilmektedir.

Tarihi perspektiften bakıldığında sermaye hareketlerinin yoğunlaştığı ve benzer dengesizliklerin gözlemlendiği farklı dönemler yaşanmıştır. Örneğin Birinci Dünya Savaşı öncesi altın standardı döneminde Birleşik Krallık ve Fransa gibi sanayileşmiş ülkeler dış fazla verirken buna karşılık gelişmekte olan ülkeler grubunda yer alan ABD, Kanada, Avustralya ve Hindistan ise dış açık vermişlerdir.<sup>13</sup>

Küresel dengesizlikler problemi olarak değerlendirilen dış dengesizlikler dönemi 1990'ların ikinci yarısından itibaren ortaya çıkan ve 2000'li yıllarda hızlanan süreci kapsamaktadır. Bu dönem hem dengesizliklerin boyutu hem de net tasarrufların akış yönü açısından daha önce yaşanan dönemlerden oldukça farklıdır.



Kaynak: IMF WEO veritabanı.

<sup>13</sup> Diğer dengesizlik dönemleri hakkında bilgi için Abukan (2017) ve ilgili yazına bakılabilir.

Küresel dengesizliklerin boyutlarındaki gelişmeleri incelemek üzere Grafik 1’de cari işlemler dengelerinin mutlak değerlerinin toplamının dünya gayri safi yurtiçi hasılasına (GSYH) oranı sunulmaktadır. Bretton Woods sabit döviz kuru rejiminin 1971 yılında sona ermesinin ardından dalgalı döviz kuru rejimine geçilirken, sermaye hareketleri üzerindeki kontroller gevşetilmiştir. Bu yeni yapı içerisinde sınırlar arasında rahatça hareket edebilen sermaye akımları özellikle gelişmekte olan ekonomilerde kırılmalara sebep olmuştur. Bu kapsamda, 1970’li yıllarda gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yapılan aşırı borçlanmalar 1980’li ve 1990’lı yıllarda ekonomik krizlere yol açmıştır. Bu dönemde cari işlem dengelerinin toplam mutlak değeri yüzde 2 civarında bir seyir izlemiştir.

1990’lı yılların ikinci yarısından itibaren hızlanarak büyümeye başlayan küresel dengesizlikler 2007-2008 krizleri öncesinde zirve seviyelerine ulaşmıştır. Hızlı bir şekilde büyüyen küresel dengesizlikler ve bununla bağlantılı olarak ABD ekonomisine yönelen sermaye akımları küresel krizin temel nedenleri arasında gösterilmiştir<sup>14</sup>. Küresel ekonomik kriz sonrasında bir miktar azalsa da küresel dengesizlikler 1980’li yıllarda gözlenen seviyelerin üzerinde bir seyir izlemeye devam etmektedir.

**TABLO 1.** Ortalama Cari İşlem Dengeleri 1997-2015 (Dünya GSYH’na oran olarak, yüzde)

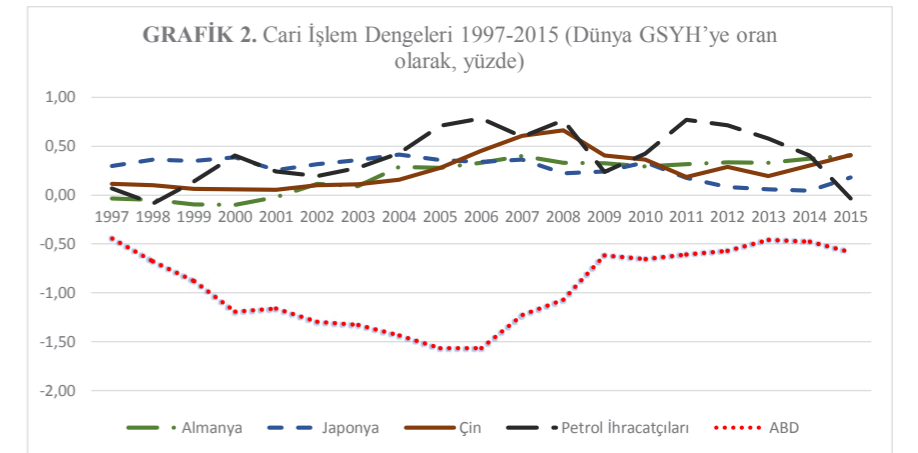
ABD	-0,90
Almanya	0,23
Japonya	0,27
Çin	0,25
Petrol İhracatçısı Ülkeler <sup>15</sup>	0,36

Kaynak: IMF WEO veritabanı.

<sup>14</sup> Konuyla ilgili tartışmalar için Cömert ve Düzçay (2015) ve ilgili yazına bakılabilir.

<sup>15</sup> Petrol İhracatçısı ülkeler grubu Azerbaycan, Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri, Cezayir, İran, Katar, Kazakistan, Kuveyt, Nijerya, Oman, Rusya, Suudi Arabistan ve Venezuela’dan oluşmaktadır.

Tablo 1’de 1997-2015 döneminde ön plana çıkan fazla ve açık veren ülke ve ülke gruplarının ortalama cari işlem dengeleri verilmektedir. Grafik 2’de dengesizliklerin hızlandığı söz konusu zaman diliminde cari işlem dengeleri gösterilmektedir. ABD cari açığı 2007/2008 finansal krizine kadar kesintisiz olarak bir artış göstermektedir. Kriz sonrasında hem ABD cari açıklarında hem de genel olarak dış dengesizliklerde bir miktar uyum gerçekleşmiştir. Fazla tarafına baktığımızda ise küresel dengesizliklerin artmaya başladığı dönemde Japonya, Almanya, Çin ve petrol ihracatçısı ülkelerin cari fazla vererek ABD cari açıklarını finanse ettikleri gözlemlenmektedir.



Kaynak: IMF WEO veritabanı.

Çin ve petrol ihracatçısı ülkelerin cari fazlaları ve ABD ekonomisinde gözlemlenen cari açıklar dikkate alındığında, bu dönemde sermaye akımlarının büyük ölçüde gelişmekte olan ülkelere gelişmiş ülkelere (bilhassa ABD’ye) doğru olduğu görülmektedir.

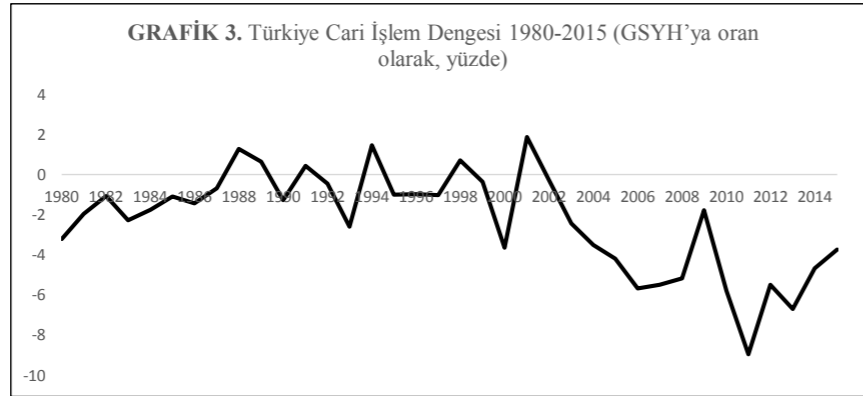
Genel olarak değerlendirdiğimizde, 2007-2008 küresel ekonomik kriz sonrasında miktar olarak azalsa da küresel dengesizlikler iktisadi politika tartışmalarında



### Küresel Dengesizlikler Döneminde Türkiye'deki Dış Denge Gelişmeleri

önemli bir yer almaya devam etmektedir. Türkiye ekonomisi ile ilgili olarak da son yıllarda sıkça gündeme gelen ve en çok tartışılan konuların başında cari açık sorunu gelmektedir.

Dünya genelinde ticaret ve sermaye hareketlerinin hızlanması sürecinde Türkiye ekonomisi, 1970'li yılların ikinci yarısından başlayarak bir dışa açılma dönemine girmiş ve uluslararası piyasalarla bütünleşme eğilimi giderek hız kazanmıştır. Uygulanan piyasa ekonomisi koşullarında dışa açık kalkınma stratejisi Türkiye'nin dış ticaret hacminin artmasına yardımcı olurken, diğer taraftan dünya ekonomisinde oluşan risklerin Türkiye'nin ekonomisine yansımaya neden olmuştur.



Kaynak: IMF WEO veritabanı.

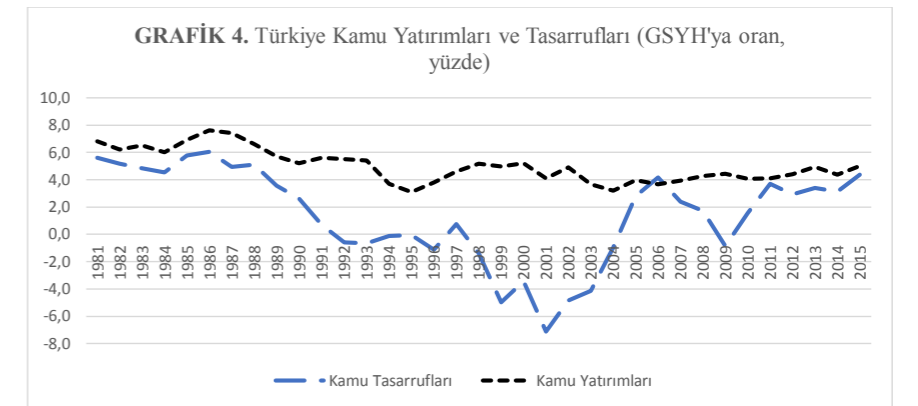
**TABLO 2.** Türkiye Ortalama Cari İşlem Dengeleri (GSYH'ya oran olarak, yüzde)

1980-2015	-2,28
1980-1989	-1,15
1990-1999	-0,50
2000-2009	-3,02
2010-2015	-5,88
1980-2001	-0,83
2002-2015	-4,55

Kaynak: IMF WEO veritabanı.

Grafik 3'de Türkiye cari işlemler dengesi GSYH'ya oran olarak gösterilmektedir. Tablo 2'de dönem ortalamaları verilmektedir. Genel olarak incelendiğinde, Türkiye ekonomisinin yapısal olarak cari işlemler açığı verdiği ve bunun 2002 sonrasında hızlı bir şekilde arttığı görülmektedir. Büyüme oranları ile birlikte bakıldığında büyümenin yavaşladığı veya yaşanan ekonomik krizlerin ardından bir düzeltme neticesinde cari fazla verildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Aynı şekilde, küresel kriz sırasında yaşanan iktisadi koşulların 2009 yılında cari açık verilerine de bir daralma olarak yansıdığı görülmektedir.

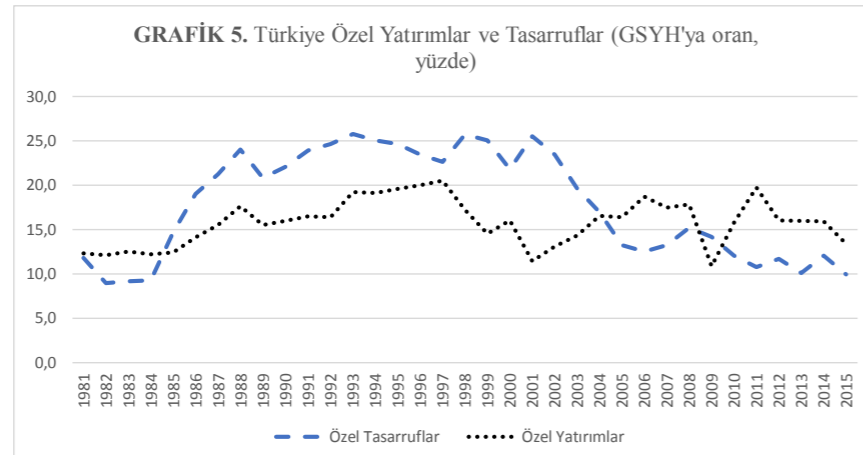
Cari işlemler açığının kaynakları 2001 finansal krizi sonrasında çok önemli yapısal değişim göstermiştir<sup>16</sup>. Konuyu tasarruf-yatırım dengesi perspektifinden incelemek üzere, Grafik 4'de kamu yatırımları ve tasarrufları sunulmaktadır. Kamu yatırımlarının görece olarak istikrarlı olduğu dönem boyunca, kamu açıkları temelde kamu tasarrufları tarafından belirlenmektedir. 2001 finansal krizine kadar sürekli azalmakta olan kamu tasarrufları, kriz sonrasında uygulanan sıkı maliye politikaları sonucunda artmaya başlamış ve kamu tasarruf açığı önemli ölçüde kapanmıştır.



Kaynak: Kalkınma Bakanlığı Temel Ekonomik Göstergeler.

<sup>16</sup> Bu konuda ayrıntılı analiz ve değerlendirmeler için Kalkınma Bakanlığı (2014)'e bakılabilir.

Grafik 5’de sunulan özel tasarruflara bakıldığında, hane halkı tüketimindeki hızlı artış nedeniyle özel kesim tasarruf oranında 2001 finansal krizi sonrasında bir düşüş gözlenmektedir. Kamu tasarruf açığındaki azalma dikkate alındığında Türkiye ekonomisinde özel kesim tasarruf açığının cari işlemler açığının belirleyicisi olduğu görülmektedir. Bu dinamikler, 2001 krizi öncesinde ikiz açıkların (kamu açığı ve cari açık) sürdürülebilirliği probleminin, 2001 sonrasında özel kesim tasarruf açığının sürdürülebilmesine dönüştüğünü göstermektedir.

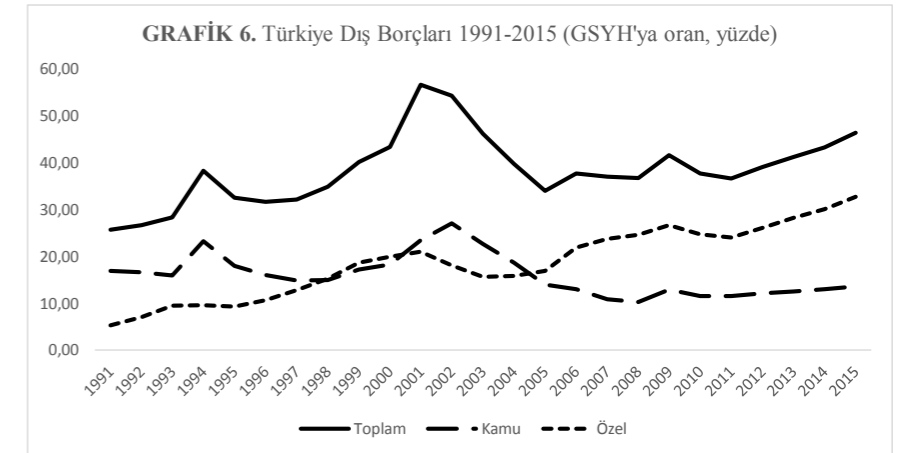


**Kaynak:** Kalkınma Bakanlığı Temel Ekonomik Göstergeler.

1980-2001 döneminde, yüksek kamu açıklarının bankacılık sistemi aracılığı ile finansmanı, finansal dışlama etkisiyle finansal sistemin özel sektöre ayırabileceği kredi miktarını etkin bir biçimde kısıtlamıştır. 2001 finansal krizi sonrasında uygulanan istikrar programı çerçevesinde, sıkı maliye politikaları sonucunda kamu açıklarının azaltılması ve para politikasında enflasyon hedeflemesine geçilmesi ile faiz oranları hızla düşmüştür. Bu çerçevede, bankacılık sistemi reel sektörün yatırım ve işletme giderleri ile hane halkı tüketimini finanse etmeye başlamıştır. Bu gelişmeler karşısında yurtiçi tasarrufların yetersiz kalması ve küresel likidite

koşullarının da desteklemesiyle, 2002-2015 döneminde Türkiye’de cari açık daha önceki dönemlerle karşılaştırılmayacak ölçüde yüksek düzeylere ulaşmıştır. Bu gelişmelerin sonucunda, Türkiye’de cari açık temel önceliğe sahip bir sorun konumuna gelmiştir.

Soruna finansal istikrar çerçevesinden bakıldığında, bankacılık sektörünün kredi genişlemesini mevduatların ötesinde yurtdışı borçlanmayla finanse ettiği gözlenmektedir. Bu durum, kredi koşullarının ve cari işlemler açıklarının dışsal şoklara karşı kırılganlığını artıran önemli bir unsurdur. Türkiye’de kredi genişlemesi, son dönemde cari işlemler açığının temel nedenlerinden biri olarak görülmektedir.<sup>17</sup>



**Kaynak:** Kalkınma Bakanlığı Temel Ekonomik Göstergeler.

Gözlenen yapısal cari açığın borç stoklarındaki yansımalarını incelemek üzere Grafik 6’da 1991-2015 dönemine ilişkin kamu, özel sektör ve toplam brüt dış

<sup>17</sup> Ekinci vd. (2015) finansal gelişmenin ilk dönemlerinde kredi genişlemesinin daha fazla cari açığa sebep olduğunu savunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, gelişmekte olan ülkelere sanayileşmiş ülkelere nispetle bu ilişkinin daha kuvvetli olduğu gözlenmektedir. TCMB (2014) gelişmekte olan ülkeler için ülkelere özel tahminler yapmaktadır. Yapılan tahminler çerçevesinde, Türkiye ekonomisi için diğer gelişmekte olan ülkelere göre kredi büyümesi ile cari denge arasındaki ilişkinin daha güçlü olduğu görülmektedir.

### Küresel Dengesizlikleri Değerlendirme Yöntemleri

borç stok verileri sunulmaktadır. Kamu kesimi dış borçlarının 1994 ve 2001 kriz yıllarında önemli ölçüde arttığı ve 2001 krizi sonrasında hızla düşmeye başladığı görülmektedir. 2000’li yıllarda gerçekleşen önemli bir gelişme de özel kesim tasarruf açıklarının artması neticesinde özel sektör borçlarının kamu sektörünün önüne geçmesidir. Özel sektör dış borçları 1990’lı yıllarda kamu dış borçlarının yaklaşık yarısı düzeyinde iken, 2000’li yıllarda hızla artarak kamu borçlarının yaklaşık iki katına ulaşmıştır.

Küresel dengesizlikler olarak isimlendirilen, süreklilik arz eden cari açık ve fazlaların bir kısmı iktisadi olarak anlamlı olabilir. Ülkelerin demografik özellikleri, sahip oldukları doğal kaynakların dünya piyasalarında işlem gördüğü fiyatlar, iş çevriminde hızlanma veya durgunluk safhasında bulunmaları gibi yapısal faktörler cari açık veya fazla miktarını açıklayabilir. Ancak 1990’lı yıllarda başlayan artış trendi dikkate alındığında, verilerde gözlenen durum yapısal faktörlerin açıklayamadığı dengesizliklere işaret etmektedir.

İç denge analizlerinde gerçekleşen çıktı ile potansiyel çıktı arasındaki fark çıktı açığı olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Aynı şekilde, dış denge analizlerinde yapısal faktörlerin açıklayabildiği cari işlemler dengesi norm cari denge, gerçekleşen cari denge ile norm cari denge arasındaki fark ise cari denge açığı olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Akademik yazında ve politika yapıcı çevrelerde norm cari denge tahminleri üzerinde yapılan tartışmalar küresel dengesizlikler döneminde yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu kapsamda, özellikle cari açık veren ülkeler için sürdürülebilirlik kavramı önem arz etmektedir. Tartışmaların ilk dönemlerinde, açıkların belli eşik değerlerin üzerinde olması ve kısa vadeli sermaye akımları ya da uluslararası rezervlerle finanse edilmesi halinde ciddi sorun yarattığı kabul edilmiştir. Daha sonra bu kriterlerin sorunu bütüncül olarak ele almakta yetersiz kaldığı görüşü hakim

olmuş ve panel metodolojisi ile yapılan tahminler ön plana çıkmıştır.

Akademik yazına baktığımızda, Chinn ve Ito (2002) ve Chinn vd. (2014) küresel dengesizliklerin nedenlerini panel ekonometri metodolojisi ile yapılan tahminler çerçevesinde tartışan çalışmalara örnek olarak verilebilir. IMF raporları ve G20 bildirgeleri gibi kaynaklar incelediğinde, politika yapıcı çevrelerde yapılan küresel dengesizlikler tartışmalarında Philips vd. (2013)’de belirtilen metotlar çerçevesinde oluşturulan tahminlerin yaygın olarak kullanıldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Söz konusu tahminlerde, norm cari denge panel ekonometri modelinde yapısal faktörlerin açıklayabildiği cari denge miktarı olarak görülmektedir. Model tarafından açıklanamayan artık kısım ise cari denge açığı olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Cari işlemler açıklarının sürdürülebilirliğinin belirlenmesinde kullanılan diğer bir kriter ise net dış borç stokunda yaşanan gelişmeleri dikkate almaktadır. Bu kritere göre; herhangi bir yılda ortaya çıkan cari işlemler açığı, ülkenin aynı yıl dış borç stokunda meydana gelen değişime eşit olduğundan, dış borç stoku/GSYH oranında değişim yaratmayan cari işlemler açığı, sürdürülebilir cari işlemler açığı olarak nitelendirilmektedir. İktisadi olarak anlamlı bir temele dayanması nedeniyle bu yöntemin de dış denge değerlendirmelerinde sıkça kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Lee vd. (2008), Ekinci ve Kılınç (2013) tarafından ayrıntıları verilen sürdürülebilir dış denge modeline göre, norm cari denge ile net dış varlıklar arasındaki ilişki şu şekilde ifade edilebilmektedir:

$$ca^s = \frac{n}{1+n} b^s \quad (1)$$

Bu ifadede net dış varlıkların GSYH’ya oranının sabit kalacağı referans seviyeyi, n nominal GSYH için büyüme oranını ve norm cari dengenin GYSH’ya oranını

göstermektedir. Modelin varsayımları açısından borçlu bir ülke için norm cari dengenin negatif olması, net dış varlıkların pozitif olduğu bir ülkenin de yapısal olarak cari fazla vermesi beklenmektedir. Nominal GSYH büyümesi oranını açtığımızda, norm cari denge seviyesi ekonominin reel büyüme hızı (g) ve dünya enflasyon oranı ( $\pi$ ) cinsinden ifade edilebilmektedir.

$$ca^s = \frac{n}{1+n} b^s = \frac{\pi+g(1+\pi)}{(1+g)(1+\pi)} b^s \quad (2)$$

Bu metot kapsamında değerlendirme yapılırken, dünya enflasyon oranı yaklaşık olarak ABD enflasyon oranına yakın bir değer olarak, referans net dış varlıklar seviyesi mevcut seviyeye yakın bir değer olarak, büyüme oranı ise potansiyel büyüme hedefleri ve tahminleri göz önüne alınarak belirlenmektedir.

Sürdürülebilir dış denge modeli çerçevesinde, Türkiye ekonomisi için uzun dönemli reel büyüme hızı yüzde 4, dünya enflasyon oranı yüzde 2,5 ve net dış varlıkların GSYH'ya oranı yüzde 50 olarak kabul edilmiştir. Dünya enflasyon oranı ve net dış varlıkların referans seviyesi mevcut verilere yakın düzeyde seçilmiştir. Büyüme oranı için açıklanan orta vadeli program hedefleri ile uluslararası kuruluş tahminlerinin arasında bir değer belirlenmiştir. Tablo 3'de verilen bu varsayımlar neticesinde Türkiye için sürdürülebilir cari açığın GSYH'ye oranı yüzde 3,1 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Sürdürülebilir dış denge modeli çerçevesinde bu oranın üzerinde gerçekleşecek cari açık seviyeleri net dış varlık seviyesinin düşmesine, yani net dış borç miktarının artmasına sebep olacaktır.

**TABLO 3.** Türkiye için Sürdürülebilir Cari İşlem Dengesi

Reel GSYH Büyüme Oranı	% 4
Dünya Enflasyon Oranı	% 2,5
Net Dış Varlıklar GSYH Oranı	% -50
Norm Cari Denge	% -3,1

Net dış varlıkların seviyesinde daha düşük değerler seçilmesi sürdürülebilir cari açık miktarının daha fazla olmasına yol açacaktır. Aynı şekilde, borçluluk düzeyinin azaltılması gibi bir hedef belirlenirse, daha düşük düzeyde bir cari açık miktarının sürdürülebilir olduğu sonucu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Dünya enflasyon oranı dışsal bir değişkendir ve norm cari denge üzerindeki etkisi sınırlı gözükmektedir. Bu kapsamda, uzun dönemli büyüme oranı üzerine odaklanmak ve norm cari denge ile büyüme oranı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek anlamlı olacaktır.

**TABLO 4.** Türkiye Ekonomisi için Sürdürülebilir Cari İşlem Dengesi ve Büyüme Oranı

Reel GSYH Büyüme Oranı	Norm Cari Denge
% 4	% -3.1
% 5	% -3,5
% 6	% -4,0

Tablo 4'de diğer model değişkenleri aynı seviyede tutulurken büyüme oranında artış olması durumunda hesaplanan sürdürülebilir cari açık oranları sunulmaktadır. Büyüme oranında gerçekleşen artışların daha yüksek oranda bir cari açık miktarını sürdürülebilir hale getirdiği gözlenmektedir. Ancak, Türkiye ekonomisi için yüzde 3 ile 4 seviyesinin üzerinde gerçekleşen cari açık (GSYH'ya oran) seviyelerinin net dış borç seviyesini artırıcı etkisi olduğu görülmektedir.

### Sonuç

Dünya ekonomisinde tasarruf ve yatırım dengelerini bozan küresel dengesizlikler son yıllarda iktisadi politika tartışmalarında önemli yer tutmaktadır. 1990'lı yılların ikinci yarısından itibaren hızlanarak büyümeye başlayan küresel dengesizlikler 2007-2008 krizleri öncesinde zirve seviyelerine ulaşmıştır. Küresel ekonomik kriz sonrasında bir miktar düzeltme gözlenmektedir. Ancak, küresel dengesizlikler 1980'li yıllarda gözlenen seviyelerin üzerinde bir seyir izlemeye

devam etmektedir.

Söz konusu dönemde, Türkiye ekonomisinin dışa açılma süreci devam etmiş ve uluslararası finansal piyasalarla bütünleşme eğilimi giderek hız kazanmıştır. Bu gelişmelerin sonucunda, Türkiye ekonomisinin yapısal olarak cari işlemler açığı verdiği ve bunun 2002 sonrasında hızlı bir şekilde arttığı görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye’de cari açık temel önceliğe sahip bir sorun haline gelmiştir. Cari açığın sürdürülebilirliği hakkında yapılan analizlere göre Türkiye ekonomisi için sürdürülebilir cari açık miktarının (GSYH’ya oran olarak) yüzde 3 civarında olduğu görülmektedir.

Türkiye ekonomisi için cari işlemler açığının kaynakları ayrıntılı olarak incelendiğinde, 2001 finansal krizi sonrasında çok önemli bir yapısal değişim yaşandığı görülmektedir. Kriz öncesinde ikiz açıkların (kamu açığı ve cari açık) sürdürülebilirliği probleminin, 2001 sonrasında özel kesim tasarruf açığının sürdürülebilmesi problemine dönüştüğü gözlemlenmektedir. Ayrıca büyüme oranları ile verilen açık miktarı arasındaki bağıntı dikkate alındığında, dış kaynak ihtiyacının boyutlarının yüksek seviyelerde olduğu gözükmektedir. Farklı büyüme oranı varsayımları altında yapılan analizler, cari açığın sürdürülebilirliği açısından uzun dönemli büyüme oranını artırabilecek yapısal reformların önemini ortaya koymaktadır.

### **Global Imbalances and Sustainable Current Account Deficit Problem of Turkish Economy**

#### **Abstract**

Global imbalances refer to the large amount of current account deficits and surpluses that

have emerged in the world economy. They started to become more significant in the second half of the 1990s and continually increased in the 2000s. These developments disrupted the saving and investment balances in major economies. Thus, global imbalances have been an important subject of economic policy debates in the recent years. During the same period, Turkish economy continued to integrate with the international financial markets. As a result, we observed current account deficits in Turkish economy which increased especially after 2001 economic crisis. Thus, sustainability of the current account deficit has become a key priority for Turkish economy. A sustainable current account deficit can be defined as an amount of current account deficit which keeps the ratio of net foreign assets to gross domestic product constant. According to this definition, a sustainable current account deficit value (as a ratio to gross domestic product) for Turkish economy is around 3 percent.

#### **Keywords**

*Global imbalances, Turkish Economy, current account balance, sustainable current account balance*

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### Makale Yazım Kuralları

#### Metin içinde referansların belirtilmesi

*Tek yazar:* (Buğra 2000)

*İki yazar:* (Tuncay ve Ekmekçi 2009)

*Üç veya daha fazla yazar:* (Köse, vd. 2003)

*Sayfa numaralarının belirtilmesi:* (Buğra 2000, 22-24)

*Birden fazla eserin beraber belirtilmesi:* (Buğra 2000, 15; Köse, vd. 2003).

*Yazarın aynı yıl içinde birden fazla eseri bulunuyorsa:* (Tansel 2002a; 2002b)

*Çeviri eser:* (Ollmann 2001 [1979])

*Gazete:* (Hürriyet 24 Ocak 1997, Pazar Eki)

*Dipnotlarda:* bk. Uygur (2001).

*Yazarın, gazetenin veya kurumun adı metinde geçiyorsa:* Tuncay ve Ekmekçi'ye göre (2009, 53)...

*Hürriyet gazetesinde yer alan habere göre* (24 Ocak 1997)...

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#### In-text referencing:

*Single author:* (Buğra 2000)

*Two authors:* (Tuncay and Ekmekçi 2009)

*Three or more authors:* (Köse, et al. 2003)

*Indicating page numbers:* (Buğra 2000, 22-24)

*Citing two works together:* (Buğra 2000, 15; Köse, et al. 2003).

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*Translated work:* (Ollmann 2001 [1979])

*Newspaper:* (*New York Times* 12 September 2004, 19-20)

*Citations in footnotes:* see (Uygur 2001)

*When author, newspaper or institution names are used in the text:* According to Tuncay and Ekmekçi (2009, 53)...

*New York Times* (12 Sept. 2004, 19) reported...

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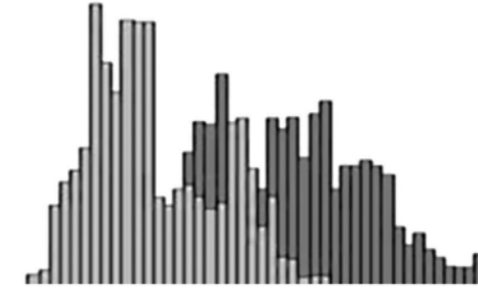
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