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ROLE OF TURGUT ÖZAL IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMIC MINDSET AFTER 1980 IN TURKEY

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Abstract: This study aims to describe the role of Turgut Özal in the transformation of economic mindset in 1980s in Turkey. In this extent, Özal's opinions and discourses and economic decisions he took as a statesman are analyzed in terms of their reflections on the transformation of economic mindset with an attempt to obtain general results. For this purpose, documents in the Republic Archives of Turkish Prime Ministry, minutes of Turkish Grand National Assembly, newspapers of the period, memoirs and academic studies on the subject are used. In consequence of this study, it is determined that Özal made significant structural transformations in Turkish economy and had a considerably important function particularly in the transformation of economic mindset dominating the society. Turkish society evolved into a profit-seeking mentality that is based on economic rationality. Entrepreneurship, working hard, enrichment, rational accounting and keeping account of money having become more apparent in economic life were the mental and behavioral patterns created by the transformation of economic mindset in this period. These mental and behavioral patterns that dominated economic activities were the core of the capitalist economic mindset.

Key Words: Özal, Economic Mindset, Turkish Economy, Transformation, Economic Rationality

INTRODUCTION

Economic mindset has been a prominent matter of capitalization in Turkey from the Ottoman period to the present. Intellectuals evaluated economic mindset as an important parameter in their comparisons between capitalist Western society and Ottoman society. Economic mindset addresses to all visions, ideals and morals that influence economic activity styles of individuals(Ülgüner, 2006: 26). Capitalist economic mindset is a complicated grid formed by the combination of profit seeking and level-headed and mentalist approach named rationalism, contrary to the simple frame of subsistence of the world of craft and related trade workers during the medieval ages, in the words of Sombart(Ülgener, 2006: 669). According to Weber:"Rational accounting is the constructive and constituent element of capitalism. Rationalization is the acquisition of incomes through planned and objective operations not based on political chance and irrational speculations. This rationalization separates the Eastern world from the Western civilization"(Yılmaz, 2005: 262). Manners of earning head towards market relationships and rational means and facilities by virtue of a long-lasting and historical evolution in the West(Ülgener, 1991: 169), while the Ottoman Empire is deprived of this mentality, in the words of Ülgener, experiences a medievalization.

Period of Özal after 1980 is one of the most important periods, during which the economic mindset inherited from the Ottoman to the Republic had a

transformation. The main reason was that, after Özal came into power, Turkey's official modernization policy/approach of 150 years underwent a radical change. In the words of Duman, this was because Özal accepted modernization not as a legal and political development, but as a technical and economic rationalization. According to his political philosophy, modernization was the capability to switch to liberal economy, industrialize like developed western societies and rival them and compete with global capital forces in production, employment and export(Duman, 2010: 194-195). This change of approach in modernization efforts brought about a transformation of mindset in the area of economics. In consideration to the argument that simple modernization is based on capitalist modernization, Bora(2005: 592) stated that Özal was both an active modernizator in this sense and made remarkable contributions to strengthening the instinctive ideology already having this tendency in the social consciousness of modernization in Turkey.

Özal thought that it was required to make a structural, corporate and mental change in a very short time for Turkey to take its place among first class countries(Duman, 2010: 222). Özal took economic development as the basis of modernization and was aware of the fact that a transformation in the economic mindset of the society was needed for this development. Özal endeavored to transform the economic mindset, addressing to a change in the background chain of thought that shapes the economic activities of individuals and society, rather than a change in ideology or policy in economy.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to describe the role of Turgut Özal in the transformation of economic mindset after 1980 in Turkey. In this extent, methods used by Özal in the transformation of the economic mindset in the society after 1980 and impacts of these methods on this transformation are researched. In scope of this research, it is attempted to reveal the new attitudes and behaviors created by the new economic understanding in the real economic life and the new economic notion that the society revolved into is analyzed by cmparison to the capitalist economic mindset. On the basis of the results obtained, it is aimed to bring a ground for the assertian that post-1980 period of Özal is one of the most important periods when the economic mindset inherited from the Ottoman to the Republic went under a transformation.

2. SCOPE

This research discusses the economic aspects of Özal's period after 1980. However, this study focuses on the transformation in the mental world that shapes economic activities of individuals and society, rather than Özal's economic policy and practices. Therefore, subject of the research is the transformation in the economic mindset that shapes econonic activities of individuals and the society in Özal's period and function of Özal in this transformation.

3. METHOD

This study is a qualitative research and based on primary and secondary sources. In this extent, documents in the Republic Archives of Turkish Prime Ministry(TRPMA), minutes of Turkish Grand National Assembly, newspapers of the

period, memoirs and academic studies on the subject are used. Information regarding research methods and techniques are given in the first sections of the study and economic opinion of Özal is exmplained in the sixth section. In the seventh section, thoughts and discourses of Özal and his economic decisions as a statesman are analyized, reflections of these discourses, thoughts and practices on the economic understanding in the society are examined and thus, it is attempted to obtain general results. Results obtained in this scope are given and supported with the economic data of the period in the discussion section of the study.

4. RESEARCH QUESTION

Economy of Turkey went through a significant structural change in Özal's period after 1980. Besides structural regulations, there are differences in the economic understanding of Turkish society. In this study, questions including what is the source of the changes in the economic understanding of Turkish society, into which understanding it revolved and to what extent and by which methos Özal made an impact in this transformation of economic mindset are researched.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

Özal, without doubt, had a great influence in the swift change of economic, political and social structure of Turkey after 1980. Özal was a foresighted leader, having the political skills to restructure the economy for Turkey to come to the forefront(Abramowitz, 2013). For this reason, policies adopted by Özal and results of these policies were discussed in many studies. Study of Duman(2010) is one of the most important studies on this subject in recent years. Duman suggests in his study that Turkey's official modernization policy/approach of 150 years had a radical change after Özal came into power and Özal evaluated modernization as a technical and economic rationalization rather than a legal and political development. A.K.Özal and Keleşoğlu(2010), Soysal(1998), Özdemir(2014), T.Özal(1993) studies are the primary works that include rich resources concerning Özal. These studies are in the form of book and give detailed information regarding Özal's practices. Articles of Bora(2005), Yayla(2005), Aral(2001) and Öniş(2004) are the main academic articles written for Özal. In that articles focus on Özal's liberal aspects and analyze his practices and ideas in terms of liberal economic approach. Articles concerning Özal written by businessmen like Hacıoğlu(1993), Hisarcıklıoğlu(2008) and Koç(1993) reveal the change and transformation in economic mindset from the viewpoint of the business world. Another kind of source used in this study is memoirs. Memoirs concerning Özal written by Barlas(2000), Birand and Yalçın(2001) and Cemal(2003) give detailed information about Özal's approach to and relationships in the business world.

Main sources used in this study are primary sources. The books Başbakanlık(1984), Başbakanlık(1985) and Başbakanlık(1990) includes all messages, declarations and speeches of Özal in those years. In Başbakanlık(1989), there are speeches that Özal made in caucus and Grand National Assembly of Turkey(TBMM). Minutes of TBMM are the primary sources that present Özal's opinions of economic decisions.

Özal's economic policies are discussed enough from the point of their practice and results;

however, his function in the transformation of the economic mindset of Turkish society is not adequately analyzed. This study focuses on the transformation in the mental world that shapes economic activities of individuals and society, rather than Özal's economic policy and practices. The study aims to contribute to the literature by proving the importance of economic mindset in terms of matters like economic growth, development and capitalization on the basis of this sample.

6. ECONOMIC OPINIONS OF TURGUT ÖZAL

Özal, with his opinions and discourses, had a liberal economic viewpoint standing up for free market economy.[1]Both the experiences he gained from international economic relationships[2]as a bureaucrat and the knowledge and experiences he gained as a senior manager in private sector undoubtedly made an impact on his economic viewpoint. As a requirement of this economic viewpoint, Özal persistently defended market economy in the debates of economic system between mixed economy and etatism in the period when decisions of January 24, 1980 were taken. Özal based this defense on the following historical evaluations:"Our economy maintained its introvert, intervening and import substituting characteristics until 1980. We discredited the market and the cooperation of market powers. With a vulnerable reflex, we protected ourselves against import and avoided from increasing export. For all these reasons, public sector gained an excessive power, central planning substituted the market to a great extent and price, foreign exchange and foreign trade controls and subventions strained resource allocation to the core. We have taken inheritance of these interventions having a role in the fall of Ottoman Empire and adapted them to the new conditions. Populist ideology made these remains look like contemporary nationalist"(Duman, 2010: 195). On the basis of these evaluations, Özal suggested a system grounded on an extrovert and competitive market economy rather than

1 According to A. Yayla:"Özal never introduced himself as a liberal. The reason was that he maybe did not have enough knowledge of liberalism or he maybe disapproved the label of liberal because for political reasons. However, he expressly and daringly defended many ideas of liberals." See (Yayla, 2005: 588).

2 Following are some of the important international meetings where Özal was assigned to represent the government when he was the undersecretary of the State Planning Organization: Assignment to present some big investment projects in the 2nd Five-Year Development Plan to foreign countries and incent them to make investments in our country (TRPMA, Document dated 05.08.1968 and numbered 030.0.018.001.002.223.59.2.). Assignment to hold meetings and negotiations with the representatives of the World Bank, European Investment Bank and countries member to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (TRPMA, Document dated 28.09.1968 and numbered 030.0.018.001.002.225.72.7.). Assignment to represent and negotiate in the annual meeting of governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (TRPMA, Document dated 03.10.1969 and numbered 030.0.018.001.002.240.68.17). Assignment to make negotiations on behalf of the government with the representatives of European Investment Bank and World Bank in relation to important investment projects included in the development plan and annual programs (TRPMA, Document dated 08.04.1970 and numbered 030.0.018.001.002.248.23.7). Assignment to represent the government in negotiations with the representatives of the World Bank, USA International Development Administration and America Export and Import Bank (TRPMA, Document dated 03.02.1971 and numbered 030.0.018.001.002.261.6.13).

a closed economic system. As a matter of fact Özal stated in the government program he read in TBMM on December 19, 1983 after he came to power that:"Our government takes a competition-based free market economy. We prefer an economic system in which interventions and restrictions are minimized for the benefit of the country and a free market economy dominated by competitive conditions is in practice in order to ensure the development of economy within its natural rules"(Başbakanlık, 1984: 25). He said in the Turkish Economy Congress II held in 1981:"There are natural rules of economy. We should avoid from getting beyond these rules and canalizing it to a reverse direction. Grounding the economy on price controls rather than a demand-supply system leads to black market and double price"(Turkish Economy Congress II, 1981: 4). In his opinion, price controls should be taken away from the government intervention and left to the market shaped by supply and demand[3].

Özal deemed it necessary to switch to free market economy for economic development and gave priority to individuals freedom of enterprise in the practice of this economy. He expressed these opinions to businessmen as follows:"In our main economic philosophy, we attach great importance to individuals and their economic actions. We also believe that, when economic actions of individuals are supported and not prevented and the government takes facilitating measures in this regard and applies simple systems that settle conflicts between individuals, everybody will find a way to work more profitably"(ISO, 1984: 14). In his view, more profitable results may be obtained in economy, if the government paves the way for free enterprise through facilitating measures. People's will to earn more should not be hindered in a civilized competitive environment. According to him, development will be impossible, if individuals' desire to start a business, undertake an enterprise, work, produce and earn more is hindered(Aköz Vakfı, 2010: 145). Özal expressed the importance of free enterprise power in terms of economy with these words in the government program of 1983:"A system that takes skills and enterprise powers of individuals as the key element of economic development will make it possible to produce goods and services in the most rapid and productive way in industry, agriculture and trade. Individual businesses, cooperatives and companies that constitute free enterprise are the primary means of practice for the system"(Başbakanlık, 1984: 26). Özal thought that, besides paving the way for free enterprise in economy, it was required to minimize the government's intervention in economy and bring government to a position that would only regulate and support development(Özal, 1993: 23).

Suggesting that understanding the period and being contemporary required synchronization with the rising values in the world and modernization required a rapid economic and social change, Özal believed that freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion and conscience and

3 Özal supported his opinions of leaving price controls to the market by giving reference to sources of Islam. In a speech, he told that tradesmen in Medina went to the Prophet for setting a fixed price for the market and the Prophet gave the following answer:"Control of prices are not at our discretion, it is at the sole discretion of God. I cannot give one's credit to anyone. Make it free." See (Başbakanlık, 1988: 137-138). Speech of the Prime Minister Turgut Özal in İzmir Provincial Congress, February 21, 1988.

freedom of enterprise were important as much as economic parameters for such a change(Duman, 2010: 218). He was aware of the fact that these three freedoms were enough to have a free, fair and prosperous society(Yayla, 2005: 585-586). He stated that Turkey would not achieve a freedom of thought, unless a free market economy was put in practice(ANAP, 1983: 10). Özal also emphasized that omissions in freedom of thought would have a negative impact on the market economy and freedom of free enterprise. Özal thought that new inventions, new ideas and technological progresses started with freedoms in these three areas(Zarakol and Özel 1992: 14). He expressed the relationship between free thought and new inventions and production with the following words in Business World Foundation:"The most important difference of America from other countries is its remarkable free thought environment. There is the research environment. There is the capability of free enterprise. Let me ask you all, if you go to Germany, which companies are there in the area of electronics? They will show you two places. They will say Siemens and a couple of other companies. There are specific names in France, Philips in Netherlands, Marcony in England and some other names. There was IBM and Motorola in the area of electronics in America and new companies increasingly emerged in California after 1960. And new ones are emerging constantly. There is a continuous renewal in America. The reason is that people incredibly think and have capability of production. This comes from free thought"(Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal'ın İş Vakfi Toplantısı'ndaki Konuşmaları, 1992: 37- 38).

Free competition, a key element of free market economy, was important for Özal. Özal thought that competitive economy would become a global system and those acting contrary to this system would collapse. Therefore, Özal, with both expressions and practices, tried to relieve the private sector of the habit of selling their products manufactured with high costs in the domestic market and make them open to foreign markets. Competitive power was required to expand Turkish industry, which took shelter behind guard walls, was supported with great incentives and got used to cheap negative interests and rate guarantee, to foreign countries (Aköz Vakfi, 2010: 107-108). Özal expressed his opinions on this matter with the following words in the Economy Congress II:"I would like to emphasize that I perceive export not only as the ability to sell products in foreign markets, but also as the competence of our country to open to the foreign world. Unless we test our products in an international competition platform with the productions of other nations, our success in production will be arbitrary and subjective"(Turkish Economy Congress II, 1981: 6). Özal said the following in another speech to the business man on the subject:"Industry does not necessarily mean manufacturing an industrial product. I think industry addresses to the capability of competing with same kind of products produced by others in other countries. It is your ability to freely sell your industrial products in an environment of free competition. If you can do this, it means you have established an industry"(Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Bülteni, 1993: 8). Özal thought that industry would be successful to the extent that it could compete with foreign markets and, with his speeches, tried to change the current economic understanding. Pakdemirli, Minister of the first government formed by Özal,

declared the new understanding of industrialization with the words:"the period of establishing industry with the sense of having an industry has ended"(Milliyet Newspaper, June 8, 1984: 5). In the following years, Özal said:"One of the economic opinions that I changed is that it is not required to produce everything domestically. This is wrong. In this way, we produce the end product with a high cost and have a poor quality"(Zarakol and Soli, 1992: 21).

Özal thought that Turkey had a unique economic potential with its wide and fertile agricultural lands, rich mines, dynamic population and tourism resources. In his opinion, an important economic growth might be achieved when this potential was stimulated by a powerful government. He expressed this opinion with the following words in the Economy Congress II:"We should make the most of our country's human potential, natural resources and geographical advantages. We should swiftly compensate our la ck of infrastructure and energy that hinder our development and progress and make use of all available facilities for this purpose"(2. Türkiye İktisat Kongresi: 1981: 5). Özal believed that Turkey missed the industrial revolution, but it was possible to catch up with the West without experiencing this period. In his view, this would be achieved by means of the newest, the most modern and the cutting edge plants(Barlas, 2000: 145). Özal evaluated industrialization as an important field at the point of creating new employment opportunities for the increasing population, enhancing its potential and bringing Turkey among powerful countries. He attached importance to the establishment of industries with competitive power by using natural sources and facilities in industrialization. In Özal's opinion, all small and large scale entrepreneurs, particularly the craft and related trades workers, should be supported through the agency of small and subsidiary industries, industrial areas and organized industrial zones(Turkish Economy Congress II, 1981: 8).

7. TURGUT ÖZAL IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMIC MINDSET

Özal thought to realize modernization efforts, which were tried by the Republican elite by means of ideology, through the medium of economy. He tried to achieve this with an understanding of development and progress leaded by individuals, rather than a state-centered modernization model(Duman, 2010: 196 - 197). His political philosophy was grounded on a sense of development based on economy and technology, rather than ideology and politics, and on an individual-centered understanding, rather than a state-centered understanding, in accordance with the main dynamics of the period. This new perspective of Özal required bringing a new economic understanding, besides knowledge and competence, to the individual, which was the center of development and modernization. In his opinion:"The following age is the age of individual. It is the age of information. We should certainly understand that the service sector that will shape the 21st century needs more competent and more intellectual people. Change will begin with the individual. Nations that have the competence of training their people in line with the requirements of the 21st century will take their place among advanced countries. From now on, Turkey's goal should be raising people who will not fall behind the age of information, instead of having huge facilities where thousands of people work"(Barlas, 2000: 271 - 272).

Özal evaluated private enterprise and free competition conditions as a driving force behind economic development and supported emergence of skillful, hardworking and successful entrepreneurs in this system. In a speech Özal made to business man in the first year of his power, he said:"Our people are competent and skillful. These people will work in a more profitable and productive manner for the development of this country and society, if they are provided with the necessary advantages and facilities without prevention"(ISO: 1984: 14). In another speech he made on the subject, he said:"We are a government believing in the competence and competitive power of Turkish people in our country and it is our biggest ambition to improve this natural characteristic of our people"(Başbakanlık, 1990: 14). Özal tried to reveal the enterprising spirit of Turkish people with his opinions and speeches.

Özal supported his promotion of entrepreneurship with government policies and contributed to the formation of an entrepreneur class having a new economic mindset. In his speech in TBMM in 1984, he said:"Our belief in the competence and diligence of our people is the basis of our economic policy. We adopt an economic policy based on free competition, through which our nation will use all its competence"(TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, 1987: 47). Again in the 46th Government Program he read in TBMM, he said:"Our government has a democratic, regulating and balancing approach of planning that enable individuals use and improve their capabilities and enterprising powers, totally beyond the stiff and dogmatic central planning"(Başbakanlık, 1988: 9). Özal stated that it would not be difficult to achieve the goal of development when enterprising power of the nation was wholly brought out and intelligence, competence and diligence were mobilized(Başbakanlık, 1989: 314). Thus, development efforts set the ground for a new human typology in the economic life.

Özal guided businessmen, industrialists and bureaucrats around various places for the private sector, which was used to domestic markets, to open to foreign markets and provided them with the opportunity to see what was going on in the world(Aköz Vakfi, 2010: 68). As a matter of fact, Özal showed businessmen and industrialists that there was a world outside and foreign relations were significant and profitable. People, who went abroad with foreign currencies they found in the black market to travel or purchase goods, began to sell their goods and establish business relationships(Yılmaz, 2001: 23). Many people from different occupational groups came together to found export companies and tried teo sell goods abroad(Milliyet Newspaper, June 6, 1984: 1). This new approach adopted thanks to Özal opened the doors of the external world for entrepreneurs. The business world gained a new mentality of producing goods, sending them to foreign countries, being an exporter and making more money.

According to Özal, his impact on the new understanding of foreign trade in the business world was a technical issue. In his view:"We just established the free market order in our country, encouraged our citizens and raised their desire to work. We had an export boom. Who achieved this? Our people achieved this. State and government are the only keys to unlock the doors for citizens"(Aköz Vakfi, 2010: 70). Özal said the following in another

speech on the same subject:"...But there is the working capacity of Turkish people behind this. We just revealed that power. What we did was to break their chains and set them free. We did and it was opened. These people now export to all over the world with bags in their hands"(Başbakanlık, 1988: 87). What he meant with breaking the chains was the change in the foreign trade policy. Özal changed the closed economic system that restricted foreign trade until 1980s. Özal's foreign expansion policies made export-based growth dominant in the economy, rather than an import substituting industrialization. New economic policy promoted export and created a new businessman profile. Özal said the following on this matter:"I believe that our people are highly competent and intelligent. This is the most important thing when we release import, loosen the exchange regime and eliminate a number of formalities. In consequence, people do miracles when they get rid of their chains. This is the ground of the development of Turkey"(Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal'ın İş Vakfı Toplantısı'ndaki Konuşmaları, 1992: 37- 28). Özal introduced the new vision of Turkish businessmen with the following words in his speech to German businessman in Hannover, Germany in 1885:"It will be the best decision for you to shift your investments to Turkey... Dynamic Turkish businessmen, who are used to cooperate with German partners, are waiting for you"(Başbakanlık, 1985: 258).Özal provided Turkish businessmen and contractors with business opportunities abroad thanks to the new economic policies supporting export in foreign trade and also encourage them by broadening their horizons.

Özal left out the complex of 'being the citizen of an underdeveloped country' in the society and tried to make everybody believe that Turkey is a big and powerful country with his actions, words and goals(Aköz Vakfı, 2010: 73). He said in many of his speeches that the most significant change was the elimination of 300-year frustration felt as from the Ottoman period. Özal said the following in a speech on this matter:"We have experienced these. Our generation dominantly felt this frustration. Maybe previous generations felt it even more. I have just read the poem of Mehmet Akif, in which he says 'Where is our industry'and asks 'Where is our counter?'. We can easily see frustration of the society. However, I think that our society is no more a loser when compared to Europe and developed countries. Many of them even said that they would achieve this with an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"(Barlas, 2000: 317). Özal stated in another speech related to the same matter:"I think this is the point that we have reached: We have gained self-confidence as people. Contractors come and expressly say that they have the capability to compete with the German, American and any contractor anywhere in the world. And we can defeat them. Our contractors actually proved this right in tenders held in Russia. They completed many constructions in a really short time. Maybe a 300-year frustration of our society has now ended in export, banking and many other areas. There has always been one question in our mind since the moment we made this attempt. Those at my age or those 10-15 years younger than me had the same approach: 'Only the western people can do this, we cannot do this, we are always behind them'. This was kind of a destiny for us. We always thought the ways for overcoming this approach. We always suffered. I think it is over now. Turkey has ra-

pidly approached to the position of a developed country"(Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal'ın İş Vakfı Toplantısı'ndaki Konuşmaları, 1992: 12-13). He expressed in many similar speeches that Turkish entrepreneurs were now thinking they could do better(Başbakanlık, 1988: 145). Özal summarized the situation as follows in a speech he made to businessmen:"Do not forget, always remember 'Builder do not come from Belgium for a ruined bridge' as Mehmet Akif says in his poem. We can now do certain works out. While we were a country that could not even produce a horseshoe nail, we not produce jet engines in Eskişehir and F16 planes in Mürted"(Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Bülteni, 1993: 14). He thought that Turkish people began to comprehend how they could enable growth of their country in the future(Özal, 2010: 344). Özal, with his speeches, summarized the sense of underdevelopment in Turkish society and especially in the business world in the past and both tried to explain the current situation and wholly eliminate the sense of underdevelopment in the society with the examples he gave. He made an effort to bring confidence to Turkish people, particularly the businessmen.

In many speeches, Özal suggested that the key of success is working hard. In a speech, he said:"Just like they called Ottoman Empire as the sick man of Europe, they said the same thing for us. What we should have done? We should have told them clearly that there was no remedy other than working. It was required to gain an economic victory, just like the way the War of Independence was won. They told me many times. 'Mr. Özal, would not it be easier if we find a rich oil field like Arabs?' And I told them 'May God not have us find oil'. We should learn how to work first. A hard working nation will never be overcome"(Başbakanlık, 1988: 386). He always showed Japans as an example and said that Japans adopted the principle 'a good life is not possible without working' and believed that having a good life would only be obtained by working(Başbakanlık, 1989: 85). Özal tried to create a human typology believing that success would be obtained by working hard, rather than a perception of keeping oneself out of daily economic concerns, putting production and value formation on others' shoulders and looking down on them, as described by Ülgener(1991: 15).

Özal had great experiences thanks to his senior management duties in private sector and representation duties he undertook in international economic activities at the times he worked in bureaucracy. Özal usually conveyed his knowledge and experiences on economic issues to the businessmen. He guided the businessmen and provided them with the opportunity to be engaged in new businesses. According to Aytaç, Özal's first boss:"He always invited entrepreneurs to think big and make big investments"(Sosyal, 1998: 75). Egeli, a businessman, said:"He had a great vision. He could see what to do better than anyone else and he always talked about it with the people around him and many people attempted to do these things thanks to the inspiration he gave. Those who could did it"(Birand and Yalçın, 2012: 240). Hisarcıklıoğlu (2008: 6), another businessman, said:"We learned from Özal how to compete and break frames". Businessman Memduh Hacıoğlu(1993: 3) told that Özal brought the concepts of change and innovation to the society since 1980. Şahinoğlu, who was the chairman of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce in that period, expressed that they

knew Özal as a statesman who was an open minded, had a broad vision and brought very different ideas to the country(Mahmud, 2001: 31). Koç(1993: 4), a well-known businessman, all changes were made through the foresight and courageous decisions of Özal.

Özal brought global concepts and ideas to Turkish society and have them discussed. This way, he wanted to change the root-bound wrong economic habits(Tuncer, 1987: 47). He said the following in a speech he made in a caucus after coming back from Japan:"When they are to carry out a work, for example manufacturing, they firstly plan how to do this work. Then, they put it in practice. They control their practices constantly. Like how would it be if they did it another way. They correct their mistakes in the second one and, of course, they become more productive. A friend of mine told me 'This process is infinite, constant and never stops'. However, I sometimes observe and also see in factories. The predecessor method is alright; going beyond this method, bringing and developing new methods are not important. But, development is grounded on continuous research or, more precisely technical researches"(Başbakanlık, 1989: 85). Özal evaluated the change and modernization as technology from a rationalist point of view and tried to act quickly for the transfer of this technology to the country. In this regard, he accepted the century as an age of communication, worked on the import of new technologies and thus leaded to sociological and economic changes in the society(Duman, 2010: 211).

Özal regarded cultural background and technology transfer as significant elements in the change of mindset. He thought that obstacles of the freedom of thought prevented innovations, new inventions and scientific researches. He believed that freedom of thought was not a constitutional, but a cultural matter and talked about a cultural revolution. He thought that this might be achieved in time and he just wanted to pave the way for it(Zarakol and Soli, 1992: 15-17). Özal considered that education was a key element in shaping the perceptions of future generations. He told that economic development power would be increased through a moral development and gave related Islamic principles as reference. In the report named New Vision that he prepared in 1979 and included economic development principles, he listed the moral qualifications individuals should have. He said in the report that there was nothing that might hinder the development of a nation consisting of individuals, who are faithful, have a ring of kindness around, have a sense of jealousy only to work to reach to the level of their neighbors, feel that they should make more effort to do favor, adopt the principle of friendship and fraternity, respect rights of others, fight against malice and only aim God's sake in all their actions. He thought Islamic ethics and Islamic decency forming its basis were a system of ethics and decency that glorified mankind and brought all these qualifications. Therefore, for a quick economic development, it is required to have an education system that give Islamic decency(Barlas, 2000: 212). Özal emphasized that attitudes and behaviors that individuals got from Islamic ethics would have an important role in economic development.

Özal thought that wealth of a nation was not a result of the wealth of state, but wealth of a state

was a result of the wealth of nation(TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, 1987: 45). According to Coşkun, Özal formulated this goal as a powerful state for a wealthy nation(Uğur, 2012: 109). Özal believed that individuals would enrich the state by working within the freedom of free market, gaining capital and richness and again making them into investments. Therefore, he attached importance to the wealth of individuals. He also stated that the system should provide equal opportunities for businessman in respect of getting rich and making money(ISO, 1984: 16). According to Duman(2010: 296), an environment where segments of the society away from the government could also get rich was created thanks to the vertical mobility brought with free market economy. With decisions of January 24 and government policies after 1983, Özal gave rise to a new entrepreneur class, known as the Anatolian capital, which was conservative but also took advantage of the liberal economy. New decisions made different social segments more active in the economic life. For example, legalization of interest-free bank-profit sharing system not only brought high amounts of mattress savings to the economic system, but also relieved individuals, who alienated from economic and, in time, political system with the desire and concern of not being involved in practices that were contrary to their belief(Seyitdanlıoğlu and Yayla, 1998: 59).

Özal always expressed his opinion that people might get rich by taking advantage of opportunities, working and earning and attached importance to richness. The expression 'I like the rich' provocatively used by the opposing parties and attributed to Özal was actually derived from his words stating that a rich Muslim was better than a poor Muslim on the grounds of his saying to the Prime Minister of Tunis during a foreign trip in 1986 'I do not like the lazy, I like those who work and achieve'(Bali, 2002: 33; cited by Bora, 2005: 601). In fact, Özal tried to emphasize that working hard and getting rich was more virtuous and valuable in religion. In the view of Yayla:"A large part of Özal's actions in economy was not in the economic structuring, but in the economic mindset. He inspired self-confidence for everybody from ordinary people to the bigger entrepreneur and told them that they would be successful if they worked. He said working hard, earning much and having a prosperous life was rightful."(2005:587). Hence, Özal tried to instill everybody from ordinary men to big entrepreneurs with the idea that one could be rich by working hard and richness and the desire to have a wealthy life was a rightful demand.

Before 1980, there is an entrepreneur group that tried to implement industrialization and earned from the state. However, there is a also world of thought, in which attitudes and behaviors that reveal richness are considered shameful, rich people hide their richness and efforts of getting rich are put down. This approach began to change with Özal. Richness and efforts of getting rich were attributed with positive meanings and considered as an important value.Ali Koçman, previous chairman of Turkish Industry and Businessmen Association(TUSIAD), declared this new approach to richness in the meeting where Sakıp Sabancı was elected as the chairman of TUSIAD in 1986, with the following words:"I believe that TUSIAD chaired by Sakıp Sabancı, who symbolizes that richness is not a shame, will be successful"(Milliyet Newspaper, January 29,

1986: 4). In the same news, it was said:"TUSIAD will from now on seek solutions for problems under the leadership of a chairman who has popularized richness in Turkey".

Some sections put emphasis on the negative impacts of certain regulations, which Özal made for the transformation of economy, on the economic mindset. The claims that the new economic order leaded to unjust gains and enrichments, injustice and inequality and settlement of the mentality of striking it rich became widespread in the society. H. Cemal(2013: 89) said the following words for Özal:"This viewpoint seeking to eliminate the idea that 'richness and splendor is shameful' even if they turn into a show-off, with the motto 'they will get used to it, they will' has left its mark on 1980s and highlighted the approach of economy first..". According to Cemal(2013: 283), the struggle of striking it rich and selfishness of the master saving his ship were the symbols of this economic period. However, Özal thought that, in the previous period, black market expanded to the utmost, unearned incomes were obtained, not ordinary industrialists but unknown people were in the gravy(ISO, 1984: 16). According to him, the period of making money without effort and trouble ended upon switching to the free market economy. The new system provided those who worked hard and did a good job with the opportunity of being successful and getting rich(Başbakanlık, 1984: 83). In his view, by the decisions of January 24, it was decided to establish the system on free market economy. This is the core of the adopted policy. Thus, importance was attached to those with skills and competences, not to the crafty. The path to easy money was crossed(Milliyet Newspaper, January 28, 1986: 7). Özal stated his opinions on this matter and complained that the expressions 'doing business' and 'closing the deal' turned into an expression of striking it rich"(Bora, 2005: 597). However, despite all these, the new understanding of wealth that he suggested was imprinted in the mind of the society.

8. DISCUSSION

With his thoughts and speeches, Özal encouraged hard working and successful entrepreneurs and tried to reveal the enterprising spirit of Turkish people. He supported this with the economic policies promoting entrepreneurship. Thus, development efforts set the ground for a new human typology in the economic life. Cores of the capitalist economic mindset like entrepreneurship, incorporation, working hard, capital accumulation, investment, export and enrichment became more prevalent in the economic life. This change revealed intself in the economic data.

Table 1. Export Data of Turkey by Years, 1980 -1988

Year	Value (Thousand $)	Change Rate (%)	Exchange Rate of Dollar (TL/$)
1980	2 910 122	28.7	76.11
1981	4 702 934	61.6	11.85
1982	5 745 973	22.2	163.12
1983	5 727 833	-0.3	226.78
1984	7 133 602	24.5	365.64
1985	7 958 008	11.6	521.85
1986	7 456 724	-6.3	672.19
1987	10 190 047	36.7	867.94
1988	11 662 021	14.4	1 441.37

Source: (TÜİK, 2013: 425)

As seen in the table, export of Turkey increased constantly and at high rates, except for 1983 and 1986. This increased was influenced by the attempts and efforts of the private sector having a new economic mindset, besides the influence of the export-based industrialiation policy adopted in that period. While the share of export in GNP was 4.2% in 1980, this rate increased to 11.8% in 1984 and 13% in 1988 (TÜİK: 2013: 427). Share of the agriculture sector in export was 56% in 1980 and share of the industry sector was 36.6%; however, share of the agriculture sector decreased to 15.8% and share of the industry sector increased to 79.9% in 1989 (TÜİK, 2013: 432). Özal's suggestions to businessmen and industrialists that foreign relationships were significant and profitable for enhancing export opened the doors of the external world for entrepreneurs. Producing goods, sending them to foreign countries, being an exporter and making more money became the new approach.

While the inrease in the number of workplaces in the manufacuting sector was 5.5% in 1981, it reached to 21.3% in 1985 (TÜİK, 2013: 245). A large part of this increase was in the manufacturing industry of the private sector. Entrepreneurship had a rise and number of the newly started business increased. Growth based on the private sector leaded to a constant increase in the Gross National Product (GNP) between the years 1983 – 1990. As a matter of fact, according to the flat rates of 1987, there were considerable increases in GNP: 4.2% in 1983, 6.8% in 1986 and 9.8% in 1987 (TÜİK, 2013: 625).

Özal made significant structural transformations in Turkish economy and had a considerably important function particularly in the transformation of economic mindset dominating the society. Özal tried to create a human typology believing that success would be obtained by working hard, rather than a perception of keeping oneself out of daily economic concerns, putting production and value formation on others' shoulders and looking down on them, as described by Ülgener. He became sucessful and Turkish society evolved into a profit-seeking mentality that is based on economic rationality in the economic life.

CONCLUSION

In his structural transformation in economy, Özal put individuals in the center of development efforts and tried to transform the mental world of individuals that guides their economic activities. With his thoughts and speeches, he encouraged hard working and successful entrepreneurs and tried to reveal the enterprising spirit of Turkish people. He supported this with the economic policies promoting entrepreneurship. Thus, development efforts set the ground for a new human typology in the economic life. The most typical example was Özal's suggestions to businessmen and industrialists that foreign relationships were significant and profitable. Özal's new approach opened the doors of the external world for entrepreneurs. The business world gained a new mentality of producing goods, sending them to foreign countries, being an exporter and making more money.

Özal tried to eliminate the complex of 'being the citizen of an underdeveloped country' in the mind of the society. In his speeches, he summarized the reasons of economic underdevelopment of Turkish society from the Ottoman period to the present and, with the examples he gave and targets he pointed, he disseminated the opinion that Turkey was a big and powerful country with an effort to totally remove the sense of underdevelopment. Thus, He made an effort to bring confidence to Turkish people, particularly the businessmen. Özal conveyed his knowledge and experiences in the area of economy to the businessmen and guided them into new businesses. He brought global concepts and opinions to Turkish nation and had them discussed and thus, he wanted to change the wrong root-bound economic habits.

In his speeches, Özal suggested that the key of success is working hard. He gave examples from other countries of the world and endeavored to infuse to the society the opinion that competitive power and earning would be possible by working hard in the economic life. Özal tried to create a human typology believing that success would be obtained by working hard, rather than a perception of keeping oneself out of daily economic concerns, putting production and value formation on others' shoulders and looking down on them, as described by Ülgener.

Özal always expressed his opinion that people might get rich by taking advantage of opportunities, working and earning and attached importance to richness. Özal tried to instill everybody from ordinary men to big entrepreneurs with the idea that one could be rich by working hard and richness and the desire to have a wealthy life was a rightful demand. Özal pointed out that Islam gave priority to working hard and achieving and thus changed the society's approach in this matter. Thanks to Özal, the world of thought, in which attitudes and behaviors that revealed richness were considered shameful, rich people hided their richness and efforts of getting rich were put down was switched to an understanding, in which positive meanings began to be attributed to richness and efforts of getting rich.

Özal regarded education, cultural background and technology transfer as significant elements in the change of mindset. He grounded mental development on cultural revolution and he expressed that this might be achieved in time and he only wanted

to pave the way for it. He knew the impact of new technologies on social and economic transformation and he acted quickly for the transfer of this technology to the country. Özal thought that attitudes and behaviors that individuals got from Islamic ethics would have an important role in economic development and put emphasis on the Islamic principles on this matter. Therefore, for a quick economic development, he suggested an education system that gave Islamic decency.

Özal made significant structural transformations in Turkish economy and had a considerably important function particularly in the transformation of economic mindset dominating the society. Turkish society evolved into a profit-seeking mentality that is based on economic rationality. Entrepreneurship, working hard, enrichment, rational accounting and keeping account of money having become more apparent in economic life were the mental and behavioral patterns created by the transformation of economic mindset in this period. These mental and behavioral patterns that dominated economic activities were the core of the capitalist economic mindset.

SUGGESTIONS

Rationalist and prudent approach of the capitalist economic mindset acting with the purpose of profit in market relationships was a key element that maved the way for capital accumulation and industrial revolution in the historical economic evolution. Economic mindset was a significant element in discussions among intellectuals on the differences of industrialization and development between West and East. Therefore, besides the economic structural regulations, the background world of ideas that shapes the economic activities of individuals and the society should be taken into consideration in the development programs. Human factor, which is reflected as the human capital, should have the quality and understanding with the competence to compete with the world as required by the times. In this regard, Özal firstly made such an effort for economic development.

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TÜRKİYE'DE 1980 SONRASI EKONOMİK ZİHNİYET DÖNÜŞÜMÜNDE TURGUT ÖZAL'IN ROLÜ

Özet: Özal, Türkiye'nin modernleşmesi ve birinci sınıf ülkeler arasına girebilmesi için çok kısa bir sürede yapısal ve zihinsel bir değişimin gerçekleştirilmesini gerekli görmekteydi. Onun politik felsefesinde modernleşme, liberal ekonomiye geçmek, gelişmiş batılı toplumlar gibi sanayileşmek, onlarla rekabet edebilmek, küresel sermaye güçleriyle üretim istihdam ve ihracatta yarışabilmekti(Duman, 2010). İktisadi gelişmeyi modernleşmenin temeli olarak gören Özal, bunun için toplumun iktisadi zihniyetinde bir dönüşüme ihtiyaç olduğunun farkındaydı. Nitekim Özal, ekonomide yapısal dönüşümü gerçekleştirirken kalkınma çabalarının merkezine koyduğu bireyin, iktisadi faaliyetlerini düzenleyen arka plandaki zihniyet dünyasını dönüştürme çabası içine girdi. Özal, düşünce ve konuşmalarıyla kabiliyetli, çalışkan ve başarılı girişimcileri teşvik ederek Türk insanının teşebbüs ruhunu ortaya çıkarmaya çalıştı. Bunu girişimciliği teşvik eden iktisat politikalarıyla destekledi. Böylelikle kalkınma hedefine yönelik bu çabalar, iktisadi hayatta yeni bir insan tipolojisinin ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırladı. Özal, toplumun zihninde yer eden 'az gelişmiş ülke insanı olma' kompleksini silip atmaya çalışıyordu. Yaptığı konuşmalarda, Osmanlıdan günümüze Türk toplumunun iktisadi alanda geri kalmışlık nedenlerini özetleyerek, gelinen noktada verdiği örnekler ve gösterdiği hedeflerle Türkiye'nin büyük ve güçlü bir ülke olduğu inancını yaymaya ve zihinlerde yer eden geri kalmışlık anlayışını tamamen ortadan kaldırmaya çalışıyordu. Böylelikle başta işadamları olmak üzere Türk insanına özgüven kazandırmaya çaba gösteriyordu. Özal, yaptığı konuşmalarda başarılı olmanın temel düsturunun çok çalışmak olduğunu ifade ediyordu. Diğer dünya ülkelerinden örnekler vererek iktisadi hayatta, rekabet edebilmenin ve kazanmanın yolunun çok çalışmak olduğu düşüncesini topluma benimsetmeye çaba gösteriyordu. Özal, Ülgener'in resmettiği, kendini gündelik iktisadi kaygıların dışında tutup, üretim ve değer oluşturmayı başkalarına yükleyen aynı zamanda bunu küçük gören anlayış, yerine çok çalışarak başarılı olacağına inanan bir insan tipolojisi oluşturmaya çalışıyordu. Özal yaptığı konuşmalarda, insanların fırsatları değerlendirip çalışıp kazanarak zenginleşebilecekleri düşüncesini sürekli ifade ediyor ve zenginliği önemsiyordu. Özal, sıradan insanlardan büyük müteşebbislere kadar herkese, çalışarak zengin olunabileceği ve zenginliğin ve zengin bir hayat yaşama isteğinin meşru bir talep olduğu fikrini aktarmaya çalışıyordu. Özal, İslam dininin, çok çalışıp başarılı olmayı üstün kıldığını işaret ederek toplumun bu konudaki yaklaşımını değiştirdi. Özal sayesinde, zenginliği belli eden tutum ve davranışların ayıp sayıldığı ve zengin olanların zenginliklerini gizledikleri, zenginleşmeye yönelik çabaların küçümsendiği bir düşünce dünyasından, zenginlik ve zenginleşme çabalarına olumlu anlamlar yüklenildiği bir anlayışa geçildi. Özal, eğitim, kültürel birikim ve teknoloji transferini zihniyet değişiminin gerçekleşmesi yolunda önemli unsurlar olarak görüyordu. Zihni gelişmeyi kültürel devrime bağlıyor, ama bunu bir zaman meselesi olarak gördüğünden sadece yolunu açmak istediğini belirtiyordu. Özal, Türkiye ekonomisinde çok önemli yapısal dönüşümleri gerçekleştirmekle beraber esas olarak topluma hâkim olan ekonomik zihniyetin dönüşümünde önemli bir fonksiyon gördü. Türk toplumu, kâr gayesiyle hareket eden ve iktisadi rasyonaliteyi esas alan bir düşünce yapısına evirildi. Ekonomik hayatta daha belirgin hale gelen girişimcilik, çok çalışma, zenginleşme, rasyonel muhasebe, paranın hesabını tutma, bu dönem yaşanan iktisadi zihniyet değişikliğinin ortaya çıkardığı düşünce ve davranış kalıplarıydı. İktisadi faaliyetlere yön veren bu düşünce ve davranış kalıpları kapitalist iktisadi zihniyete ait nüvelerdi. 1980 sonrası Özal dönemi, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete devir olan iktisadi zihniyetin dönüşüme uğradığı en önemli dönemlerden biri oldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özal, Ekonomik Zihniyet, Türkiye Ekonomisi, Dönüşüm, İktisadi Rasyonalite