

In The Philosophy Of Michel Foucault: "State And State Mind, The Political Analysis Of Economy In Specific To Power And Biopower

Dr. Aynur SARAN¹

To cite this article, Dr. Aynur SARAN, Current Science, Volume 5, No. 5-4, 2023, p. 01 – 48. - 0099-0001-2304-0301.

Our studies are in a format accredited, approved, and supported by EAALS - European Academic Studies and Laboratory Services. ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia")

"EAALS offers all our works, services, and publications to the world scientists at the stage of carrying our control, accreditation, and support processes to the international platform."

("CURRENT SCIENCE") ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia")

ISSN: 2667-9515

Barcode: 977266795001

Editors Group:

Concessionaire: Tsisana Kharabadze

Niyaz Bokvadze

Prof. Sabrina Corbi

Prof. Samantha Lewes

¹ ORCID:0000-0002-6343-503X

1



Assoc. Prof. Osman Doruk

""• Current Science Multidisciplinary Academic Journal with Review Panel is a monthly multidisciplinary academic"" ("CURRENT SCIENCE A Different Look at Traffic Sociology and Driver ...") ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia") ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia")

journal with a multi-science peer-review." ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia")

("Scientific Studies -

Current Science Georgia")

""The magazine will be at the subscriber's address in the first week of the month."" ("Scientific Studies - Current Science Georgia")

- The journal continues to be included in all international rankings and registrations. Quality articles and publications accelerate this ("Scientific Studies Current Science Georgia")
- ""• Response or rejection time for applications varies between 30 and 90 days."" ("Scientific Studies Current Science Georgia")

SUMMARY

With his ideas and perspectives on the links between the political realm, power, and economic ties, Foucault "deconstructed," destroyed, and reconstructed the ones that were already in existence. He is an influential figure in the field of social sciences. In particular, the ideas of governmentality and biopower have a significant impact on this phenomenon. Consequently, Foucault, with the historical paradigm he constructed, from the Middle Ages to the XX, is responsible for this. Before the 19th century, humans were both the result of power and participants in it. He regarded power as "a power that creates, reconstructs, and regulates," and this was how he saw its function. He believes that power encompasses the whole of the microphysics that is present everywhere as well as the policies that influence life. Foucault, XVI. While he was explaining the "state mind," which he believed originated in the XVII-XVIII century, he referred to the divine, moral,



and natural rules that were prevalent during that time (the XVII-XVIII century). Throughout the ages, the royal power was restricted by "law", which culminated in XX. He argues that in the 19th century, it was constructed on the processes of "law and reality," and that the quest for the truth of the authority achieved an institutionalization at this time. This is a new kind of power practice known as "liberalism, liberal governmentality." It is also a new type of "management art. "Foucault, XVIII. He said that ever since the 19th century, "political economy", also known as liberal governmentality, has supplied self-limiting to the rationality of government, and as a result, neoliberalism has arisen as a management technique. In this research, the nature of the ideas of state, power, biopower, and political economy as a governmentality is first investigated in terms of its place in Foucault's philosophy. This position is studied in terms of the governmentality.

Keywords: Power, Biopower, State Reason, Liberalism, Political Economy

INTRODUCTION

XX. Considered one of the most important thinkers and social scientists of the 20th century, Foucault is also known as a historian social theorist, literary critic, anthropologist and sociologist due to his multidisciplinary studies. In the matrix stretching from philosophy to literature and art, justice, medicine and psychiatry, one might call "intellectual insight" to describe Foucault. Due to this feature, our age has caused radical changes in the world of thought. He was counted among the founders of postmodernism, refused to be labeled as a poststructuralist, and wanted to be remembered as someone who made a critical history of modernity (Odabaş, 2018). Living between 1926 / 1984, Foucault's areas of interest were the history of ideas, epistemology, ethics and political philosophy, and he was influenced by Nietzsche, Freud, Deleuze and Kant. (https://tarihibilgi.org). He gave new meaning or produced new concepts to concepts such as "governance, discourse, archeology, genealogy", which are frequently used in social sciences, and presented a challenge with the style he used, which almost reversed some of the situations accepted by phenomenologists. However, when



Foucault's theories are evaluated, certain arguments have different concepts and concepts . It is seen that it is expressed with concrete examples, thus forming a whole. In order to find answers to the questions "What are the relations of concepts such as subject, power, insanity, sexuality, knowledge, discourse with power?", which form the basis of his philosophy, how power, power and control are revealed by institutions, He examined how discourses were produced, for what purposes and by whom these discourses were used. By examining the situations that people do not want to question, think about, and do not criticize, he aimed to change their view of the world and naturally shook the established truths of the modern age. He rejected the monist reality claims of the humanist concepts he focused on and resolved the contradictions within them with a postmodern understanding (Bayır, 2020).

He stated that he puts forward the main problems in his works instead of revealing the direct result, therefore he attaches importance to "problemization" (Güneş, 2013). In his own words, "problematization does not mean the representation of a pre-existing object, nor the creation of a non-existent object through discourse. Problematization is a set of discursive and non-discursive practices that put anything into a game of right and wrong and establish it as an object of thought (whether in the form of moral thought, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.) 2011a). Discourse, which is put forward as the most basic form of analysis of his own philosophy in Foucault; It is a concept problematized in a methodological sense and in both archaeological and genealogical periods (Güneş, 2013). "Discourse: It is the expression of a way of thinking based on logical consistency, in written or verbal form, a system, scientific speeches and writings" (Urhan, 2000).

Foucault XX. He is an important philosopher of the 20th century, an intellectual dealing with philosophy. So, what is philosophy? Who is the philosopher? What does a philosopher do?

Philosopher: A person who sees the problems of all humanity as a problem, puts forth his original ideas about these problems in a logical consistency and in a systematic integrity, has a universal consciousness, constantly seeks the truth, loves knowledge, and pursues it even though he knows that he will never reach it completely (www.Philosophy.gen.tr), hence the philosopher; is an intellectual who contributes to the science of philosophy in the modern sense

4



of epistemology, philosophy of science, logic, social theory, philosophy of religion and politics, or metaphysics and ethics.

Foucault XX. What then is philosophy when we define him as an important thinker of the 20th century? What is the purpose of philosophy? What subjects does philosophy deal with? Where and how did it originate? I believe that it is necessary to put forth the answers to such questions and to begin the issue that forms the title of our article, as per my own philosophy.

is derived from the Greek word's "philia" meaning love and "Sophia" meaning wisdom mixed with knowledge. In this sense, philosophy simply means "love of wisdom"... philosophia is the work of searching for knowledge and truth without stopping to listen ... the destination is the truth, the truth... it strives for this, sorts out, and passes it through a critical filter. "In short, philosophia is the love of knowledge, the longing for it, the effort to obtain it" (Gökberk,2019). The aim of philosophy is not to acquire theoretical knowledge, but to strive to live happily and morally, that is, to question life beyond finding the meaning of life. Socrates stated the event by saying, "An unexamined life is not worth living".

Philosophy's VI. It is assumed to have emerged in Ancient Greece in the century and is started with Thales. The peak names of ancient Greek philosophy are Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. In this period, the religious world design turned to scientific thoughts. The descriptive dimension of philosophy includes the scope and source of knowledge; namely, metaphysics, god, space, time (epistemology), and its normative dimension deals with subjects such as ethics, moral philosophy, aesthetics and political philosophy. In this sense, philosophy forms the basis of both science and social science (https://tarihbilg.org). Two basic theoretical perspectives are seen in Foucault's criticisms of power, discipline and normalization, which are prominent concepts in his works; The first of these is Marxism and the other is the liberal or social democratic way of thinking. Foucault thought that liberals and Marxists were different among themselves, but they did not show any interest in the power practices that occur in daily life and their practice. Therefore, Foucault focused on local and micro power relations and strategies. While examining the development and change of the concept of power in the historical process, he used archeology and genealogy techniques, thus



he examined the discursive practices in the past, and wanted to go down to the origins of today's political, social, cultural practices and discourses, considering the effects of the past on the present. However, by using the concept of genealogy, which belongs especially to Nietzsche, it is possible to understand the fields of knowledge, discourse, object, etc., which were previously expressed as a whole. Referring to a form of history that explains its foundation without having to resort to a subject, Foucault refers to this as a "revision of the document." With this expression, Foucault says that the epistemological change of history has not been completed yet and puts Marx and Nietzsche among the influencers of this change. However, the thought between the two There is a difference because Marx uses economics when explaining history, while Nietzsche criticizes the understanding of the continuity of discourse, whereas Foucault thinks about the assumption of the non-distribution of discourse and says: "For me, the production of discourse is to prevent its power and dangers, to restrain its uncertain events, to be heavy, fearful. It is both controlled, selected, organized and redistributed in a number of ways that dematerialize" (Foucault, 1987).

the ritual of "confession" and the cosmic environments created by this action. XVIII., when industrial capitalism and the bourgeois class emerged. and XIX. In the centuries, power has taken a different form, and people have begun to be normalized by controlling and disciplining, not through law and legal institutions or only with the state and its legal codes or oppressive mechanisms, but by applying different strategies (Odabaş, 2018). In this context, Foucault, with the concept of "biopower", referred to the subject that emerged with its biological characteristics, used this concept as a tool for the solution of every problematic, and this powerful and useful tool deconstructed many phenomena (Bayır, 2020).

In this study, the nature of the phenomenon of "state mind" and "power" in the context of Foucault's understanding of the state and its positioning in Foucault's thought will be examined. In this study, the concept of "political economy", which is the understanding of the market in the production process in the social structure and the internal limitation of management, will be put forward from the Foucaultian point of view, and its theoretical framework will be tried to be drawn.



2. STATE AND STATE MIND

2.1 Overview of the State Problem in the Historical Process

The problem of the "formation of the state," which is one of the most momentous events in the history of humanity, has been thought about ever since the earliest societies in human history. Depending on the society, the "formation of the state" is either viewed as an element of oppression, defended as a necessity to prevent the powerless from being oppressed, or seen as the assurance of a power or a common will against the dangers coming from both within and without. Even though it has been acknowledged as a human entity and has been assigned distinct roles and meanings at various eras of human history, the fundamental idea that "the state is a historical and dialectical reality" underpins all these numerous schools of thought and definitions. Plato, a philosopher from ancient Greece, conceived of the perfect state as a social state. He said things like, "We are establishing our state to bring happiness to the whole society." Otherwise, it is not for a class to be happier than the others, and Aristotle created the foundations of the notion of organic state by describing the state as "the highest unity, the highest of the communities." This expression of the state as "the highest of the communities" is what Aristotle is credited with being the first person to describe the state in this way. The aristocratic way of thinking was directly opposed to this position, which was referred to as the "instrumentalist state view." According to Ebenstein (1996), the sophists of the fourth and fifth century were the first to propose this line of thinking. Protagras, the famous sophist of Sophism, which deals with the human in its social and political environment; with the phrase "human is the measure of everything", he argued that social and political rules and institutions are not immutable, that they are ultimately created by people, and that people can learn politics and being virtuous (Goze, 2017). Protagras is credited with coining the phrase "human is the measure of everything."

It is believed that the beginning of the state in the history of humans happened during the past 10–12 thousand years and that the event took place as a direct consequence of the end of the last ice age. To be more specific, after the last ice age ended, the climate began to shift, and the earth's surface gradually became more arid and warmer. During this time, human societies



began to congregate in moist places such as Mesopotamia and along the banks of the Nile, where they engaged in agricultural practices. Since the difficulty of sharing water with agriculture has arisen, a conflict has arisen between communities, and this conflict has resulted in the development of states (Barreau and Bigot, 2008). The uneven distribution of land and goods produced by agriculture gave rise to different social strata, which played a significant role in the establishment of the state that resulted from this circumstance. The foundations of subsequent nations in history are constructed from the crises of earlier governments. To be more specific, the crisis that befell the slave-owning society of the Ancient Age resulted in the establishment of the feudal state, the crisis that befell the feudal state resulted in the establishment of the capitalist state, and the crises that befell the capitalist state system resulted in the establishment of the socialist and liberal state. The occurrence is the result of a buildup of advancements in the means of production coupled with the incapacity of the traditional production relations to adjust to the newly implemented procedure. Accordingly, the construction of empires as opposed to city-states, followed by the establishment of feudal states, followed by the formation of central absolute governments because of the failure of the feudal states to regulate the market, followed by the emergence of nation states, ultimately resulted in the resolution of the crises (Eroglu, 1990).

2.2 Transition to the Absolute State in Europe (XVII. century)

XI. The Crusades, which have been fought repeatedly since the fourteenth century. The outbreak of the plague in the fourteenth century. - XV. The climate shifts that occurred over the course of the centuries, as well as the peasant uprisings that followed in their wake, threw feudalism into a state of crisis (Wallerstein, 2004). Subsequently, the old state structure fell apart because of the degradation of production relations. XV and XVI are the numbers. During the 19th century, England became into a mercantilist nation. A kind of economic organization that came into being not long after the fall of feudalism is known as mercantilism. This economic system is a system that wants to expand exports while limiting imports, with the rationale that increasing national wealth and the power that would grow appropriately will



enhance exports and supply precious metals in return (Goze, 2017). This economic system is a system that strives to increase exports while limiting imports. This economic system that was experienced in Western European nations was formed as a response to the economic systems of the Middle Ages, and it collapsed particularism on the one hand and the universalism of the Catholic Church on the other. It was born as a reaction to the economic systems of the Middle Ages. With the advent of mercantilism, the economy was liberated from being connected to morality and religious restrictions. As a result, economic activities moved to the forefront, were more secularized, and the pursuit of wealth became an important priority for both people and governments. (Goze, 2017) Mercantilism was the driving force behind the development of robust national economies; it also put an end to economic disarray and did away with the economic institutions that feudalism had left behind. Despite this, Smith was critical of the international trade that occurred under this system. He stated that the kings' taxation of the merchants at each pass prevented trade, which in turn prevented competition and led to the formation of a monopolistic structure. Additionally, Smith believed that it was incorrect to evaluate the level of wealth based on gold and silver (Smith, 2006). The emergence of these factors, particularly the relocation of trade routes from the coastlines of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic, made it necessary to maintain mercantilist policies and led to the development of absolutism (Goze, 2007). In England, the home of Hobbes, civil conflicts broke out, the king divided his powers with the bourgeoisie, and, after the declaration of a republic in 1649, the nation reverted to being ruled by a monarchy 16 years later.

2.3 Foucault's Analysis of the State

When Foucault was discussing the evolution of government, he said that throughout the Middle Ages, the ruler was largely responsible for assisting his subjects in finding salvation in the hereafter. He characterizes the fundamental characteristic of managerial rationality that arose in the 19th century as "management that is both specific and autonomous, or at least partially autonomous." This was the defining characteristic of managerial rationality at the time. In continuation of what he had been saying, he said, "But now, it is not necessary for a state



administrator to take responsibility for the life of the hereafter and behave in such a manner." The state has no aspirations of becoming an empire before the end of the world. The state is not a household, a religious institution, or an empire anymore. The state has developed into a distinct and fragmented kind of reality at this point. Regardless of the obedience ties that may exist between nature and other systems like God, the state exists exclusively for itself and exists only by reference to itself. In addition, the state only exists in the plural. According to Foucault (2019), "the state exists in the plural form, as states." Because the economic structure of that period was generally a closed agricultural economy, political and administrative powers were determined as rights included in the property, and so each seigneur was a ruler in his own seigneur, it is necessary to see the importance of medieval sovereignty and medieval economic structure in Foucault's analysis of the state. There was no state authority and no state sovereignty, and the rulers, who held political power over the people, were the ones who were responsible for providing justice in their own courts. As a kind of authority that is exerted over the land, sovereignty strives to unite in subjugation, yet subjects have no rights—including the right to life and death—to the sovereign. This is because the sovereign exercises power over the land. The following is what Foucault had to say on this matter: "Sovereignty is the theory that moves from subject to subject, establishing the political relationship between subjects." They can only generate power from them in a political sense if they construct a constitutive and basic network of unity that is the foundation of their existence" (Foucault, 2001). Secondly, according to me, the concept of sovereignty provides itself with an infinite number of capabilities right from the start.

Foucault acknowledges the place, function, and importance of the state, which is a form of organization that directs people to rely on a certain rationality. In reference to Leviathan, Foucault says, "I tried to show you that; The state is not a kind of natural/historical data whose seeds have been planted at some point in history and which has grown with its own dynamism and started to gnaw at history like a cold beast." No, the state is not a cold monster; rather, it is the whole of interactions that are exposed by a certain form of governance. If there is no such form of government, then the state is only the performance of a narrative using puppets on a stage. (Foucault, 2001) says "not to reduce its various characters to a gendarme who came to



beat it." It is clear from this comment that Foucault does not disregard the state, but he also does not consider it to be a "superior place." In point of fact, in response to a question that was posed to him, he stated as follows: "I am not suggesting that the state apparatus is unimportant, but I think the first thing to grasp among all of the conditions that must be met in order to not start the Soviet experience again, to prevent the revolutionary process from getting bogged down, is that the place of power is not the state apparatus, and that there is no place for power outside, above, or outside the state apparatuses." According to Foucault (2007), "otherwise, nothing will change in society unless changes are made in the power mechanisms that function at a much smaller level."

The type of "pastoral power" serves as the template for Michel Foucault's theory of sovereignty, which seeks to achieve a certain level of cohabitation with subject ionization. The influence that a shepherd has over his flock might be conceptualized as the power that he exercises as a guardian. This authority exists inside a system that is the opposite of the governmental organization that we refer to as the "State" in modern times. According to Foucault, the state was part of the feudal system since it was structured according to the Athenian power categorization. During this time, the state was responsible for bringing the peasants under control and acknowledging the landowners' right to rule. Because of this, Foucault based this authority on the interaction between the herd and the shepherd. Additionally, it establishes a connection between the obligation of the sovereign and the afterlife of his citizens. In this passage, he also applies the concept of "shepherd" to God or gods, saying that "God is the shepherd of people." Finally, the image of the shepherd and the connection to pastoralism both help to point to a particular kind of relationship that exists between the sovereign and God. "If God is the shepherd of men, then the king is in a sense the subordinate shepherd to whom God has entrusted the flock of men, and at the end of the day, at the end of his reign, he must return to God the flock that was entrusted to him" (Foucault, 2016). This idea comes from the author Foucault. According to this interpretation, God is the one who the monarch must answer to. The shepherd's responsibility is in ensuring the well-being of his flock, which is the focus of his pleasure.



2.4 Foucault's View of Governmentality in the Context of the Doctrine of "Reason of the State"

The term "state mind," which is one of the significant conceptions that explains the most defining characteristics of the contemporary state, first appeared in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, it first appeared in Europe. The 20th century saw a surge in interest in this notion as it became more prevalent. " reason" in French d'étad, " reason of state " in English, and "ragione" di in Italian all refer to the same concept. The phrase is also sometimes referred to by its Japanese name, "stato." Francesco Guicciordini, an Italian writer, is credited with introducing the phrase into political discourse for the first time in the year 1526. In the year 1589, Italian Giovanni Botero's "Della" is credited for coining the term. ragion di Stato" was used as the title of his study, and the phrase itself was stated as a general theory about this idea (Sancar, 2008). The expression "state mind doctrine" refers to a management strategy and therefore a political attitude connected to administering the state as a whole. It reflects both a state-centered perspective and a statist mentality. In its most common usage, the term "state mind doctrine" refers to a management style. It may be stated in its simplest form as "the conception that the interests of the supreme authority precede all other individual, social, or economic interests and basic ethical principles" (Sancar, 2008). This is the simplest form that it can be stated in. According to this philosophy, which is classified as a statist political philosophy, the state is seen as both a purpose and "being itself," which means that the state is a superior value that is placed above all other values (Erdoan, 2000). The state of Botero, which has a strong domination over the people, defines the cause for the existence of the state as the knowledge of the methods that may be used to build, preserve, and expand this dominion, with the primary focus being on using all available means to safeguard the state. Meinecke explains that the phrase "teaches the political leaders what to do to protect the health and power of the state," even though the state mind is defined by him as "the basic principle of the administration and administration of the nation, the first law of action of the state." Specifically, the solution to a conflict that may arise between the concrete methods required for the protection of the power of the state and the law and ethical principles will be to use the state mind. This is because



state reason expresses what needs to be done for the state to reach its highest point as a bridge between the government's ambition and moral responsibility. Using the state mind is the solution to a conflict that may arise between the concrete methods required for the protection of the power of the state and the law and ethical principles. Meinecke, 1962). As a universal philosophy, the concept of state reason, which dates to the time when the state was first established historically, has penetrated the evolving form and dimensions of the state throughout its existence. The "state mind doctrine," which views the state as both a goal and a supreme value, dictates the actions and techniques to safeguard the health and strength of the state (Orhan, 2018). With this mindset and attitude, the "state mind doctrine" determines the actions and methods.

the Collège de France on the 10th of January in 1979 According to Foucault, one of the most significant moments in the history of administration was the time when the idea of a "state mind" first appeared and began to take its position in a manner that was more robust, stringent, severe, and widespread. Additionally, during this time, a certain form of rationality arose in the administrative practice of the time. ...and that the practice of administration is a logic that is adapted to something that is termed the state. It articulates the requirement of the state in terms of the provision of data, and as a result, the state can only be governed within the confines of the framework of a specific state. Then, "What exactly does it mean to govern?" According to Foucault (2005), "Ruling according to the principle of state reason means making the state strong and permanent, enriching it, and strengthening it against anything that can destroy it." Because with the state mind, the perception that the state has certain interests and that it must absolutely protect them... Every state must limit itself in accordance with its aims, maintain its independence... The administration that aims the state mind sets relatively limited targets for itself in its foreign relations, that is, in its relations with other states. " It is specifically this external phenomena of self-limitation that will decide the mental health of the century. In addition to this, he said, "He stated that one of the efforts to limit the state mind is theology, and the other is the law, because the law stays outside the state mind and thus limits it, but when the law goes beyond the boundaries that are tried to be drawn against the state mind, it is brought out" (Foucault, 2005).) states.



According to Foucault, the purpose of the concept of "governance" is not to restrict freedom by deciding how human conduct fits into the social framework; rather, the goal of the concept is to enable freedom within a variety of different processes (Foucault, 2005). In this setting, Foucault is quoted as saying that state reason is not an art of administration according to divine, natural, or human rules. It is not necessary for it to respect the established order of the world. To govern in this manner is to do so in line with the authority that the state has. According to Foucault (2005), "the purpose of management is to increase this power within a comprehensive and competitive framework."

3. A New Rationality in the Art of Management and "Liberalism" as a New Kind of Accounting

3.1 The Art of Management and Governmentality

Foucault coined the term "art of government" as an unfamiliar word, which he derived from the French adjective "gouvernemental." He also used the term "gouernementality" to refer to management mentality and management rationality (Lemke, 2016). By using these terms, one can create an ideal framework for the expression of the state mind in accordance with a specific reality. Within the context of the investigation of power and power, he intended to call attention to the presence of the natural interaction that exists between management and information systems. O'farrell, what Foucault tried to explain with the "managerialism" and the "management mentality" It is something that arose in Europe in the 19th century and was adapted to the pastoral style of government. The purpose of this type of government was to save the soul of man rather than to dominate a region. According to O'farrell (2006), "what is desired in the governmentality mentality that already exists against the forms of domination of power is that political sovereignty and the state are rational."

According to Foucault, the art of government is defined as the coming together of many internal and complex mechanisms, and the function of these mechanisms is to increase the power and wealth of the state. The purpose of these mechanisms is not to limit the unlimited



growth of the state, but rather to restrict the execution of the administrative authority from within. He also stated that the mechanisms, effects, and principles that were revealed by this art of administration constitute a novelty; however, it did not create an aufhebung regarding the state mind. On the contrary, it developed and strengthened the state mind, but formed a turning point in the development line of the state mind. As a result, he stated that for the art of administration to function properly, "it is necessary to regulate the state mind." referred to the "less management principle" in their discussion. Oksala on the difficulty of governmentality in Foucault's work; According to what he claimed, "Foucault wanted to define and map the fundamental change in the reasoning of political power with his understanding of governmentality," which ties it to the new meaning it got in conjunction with the enlightenment in the 19th century (idem, 2009).

In his analysis of this new meaning, Foucault focuses on how a new administrative understanding emerges. He says that "governance indicates a transformation not only in the procedural functioning of sovereignty, but also in the way of thinking and perceiving," and that "population, basic form of knowledge, economy-political economy" is the goal of governmentality. Governmentality is a whole that consists of institutions, procedures, analyses and thoughts, calculations and tactics that ensure the execution of an action. In conclusion, Foucault's administration is characterized as "managerialism" or the "art of governing" (Newman, 2006), and it does not relate to an institution but rather a collection of practices and rationalities. In his analysis of governmentality, Foucault also focused on the development of the logic of government. He began this development with the ancient Greek political philosophy, in which politics and ethics were considered together, and political activities were seen as a field of virtue. He then carried this development through the medieval political thought to the tradition of value-based normative politics that linked management and Christian teachings. As a result, the line that Foucault drew for evolution begins in "Greek-Roman Antiquity and extends all the way through the Middle Ages." From this point forward, capitalism will begin to develop throughout the subsequent time periods. After the fall of feudalism, the issue will shift from why a fair and moral administration is important to a method



problem molded by the worry of owning land; in this setting, liberalism will emerge as a philosophy because of these developments.

3.2 Liberalism

This rationality in the art of management, which Foucault refers to as "a new type of calculation" in his lectures, is actually again put forward by Foucault as the self-restriction of government, and this new rationality tells management that "I accept that all these things should not be touched, I want this, I foresee and He emphasizes the importance of saying "I calculate" and says that this is the fundamental principle that all administrations should follow and adhere to in order to be successful "Liberalism" is the term that Foucault uses to describe this kind of selflimiting managerial mentality (Foucault, 2019). "After emphasizing the need to understand the liberalism system well, to deal with it in a broad sense and to understand its principles, this system of administrative reason, this general regime that we can call the problem of truth, especially the economic truth in the administrative mind..." is how Foucault defines liberalism in his ongoing lectures, century, as well as the eighteenth century. The issue of "frugal management," which plagued political thought throughout the XIX century, did not get resolved until the beginning of this century. According to what he says, this attitude, which was the issue with the foundation of the states at that time, is now a "problem of the frugality of the administration," which thus indicates the problem with liberalism (Foucault, 2019). Therefore, what exactly is liberalism? Where does it come from, both historically and economically? How did the concept of liberalism originate in the first place?

The term "liberal" originates from the Latin word "liber," which means "free," "free," and "not a slave." The notion of "freedom" is included in the definition of this term, which is articulated in English with the word "liberty." In French, which is Foucault's native language (he is a French philosopher), the term "liberal" represents the meaning of free and free, libertarian, and in favor of freedom in politics and commerce (Aktan, 1994a). In English, the word "liberal" expresses



the meaning of in favor of freedom in politics and trade. In the context of this discussion, liberalism refers to a philosophy that advocates for constitutional protections of freedom of religion and press, private property rights, an unrestricted market economy, the rule of law, and international tranquility. Especially throughout the XVIII and XIX centuries in England, the United States of America, and continental Europe. Although it had a considerable influence on the development of economic and political thinking over the course of the ages, it was responsible for shaping the fundamental philosophical positions held by thinkers during the "Age of Enlightenment" (1688–1789). According to Oztekin (2001), liberalism arose within the battles of the bourgeoisie during the time of transition from feudal society to modern society. This occurred during the transition period between feudal society and modern society.

The person is the most vital component of liberalism, followed by freedom, then the free market economy, and finally the restricted role of the state. That "the state cannot violate these rights and freedoms" refers not to the techniques that it has created for this goal, such as constitutionalism, separation of powers, and the rule of law, but to the fact that "the state cannot violate these rights and freedoms." When it comes to matters of epistemology, liberalism promotes the information gained through scientific inquiry. According to his theory, the human mind is the only way to go, and because it is always progressing in some direction, there must be logical order (Agaoullar and Koker, 1991). The ideology of liberalism as applied to politics XVII. John Locke, an English philosopher, is credited for delivering a severe blow to absolutist viewpoints in the 19th century (Goze, 2017). Locke was the one who proposed this idea. The battle of the bourgeoisie for "civil citizenship rights" resulted in the conceptions of "public sphere," "private sphere," and "civil society," which are vital for liberalism, and liberalism flourished in these areas. In addition, the term "civil society" was coined because of this conflict. Locke believed that as individuals transitioned from a state of nature to a political society, they maintained their inherent rights and desired for the state to defend these rights. According to Yayla (2008), Locke summed up these rights by referring to a trilogy that included the rights to life, property, and freedom. Locke, the forces in political power; He stated that "the legislative power is sovereign and superior, but the executive and confederative powers are subordinate to the legislative power, separating the legislative, executive, and confederative powers" (Locke,



2012). Locke is the founder of liberalism. He said: "Man, who is a social creature, is also naturally equal and free;", the origins of Locke's idea of liberalism as a school of thought may be traced all the way back to Ancient Greece, and then further to the Magna Carta in the year 1215. According to Yayla (2008), it all began with John Locke in the nineteenth century and gained momentum with the works of David Hume and Adam Smith in the nineteenth century. The idea of "laissez-faire" is synonymous with liberalism, which may be understood as "a doctrine that guarantees the rights and freedoms of individuals in the economic, civil, and political fields, and defends the market economy and minimizes the intervention of the state in the economy" (Aktan, 1994b). Liberalism is described as "a doctrine that guarantees the rights and freedoms of individuals in the economic, civil, and political fields" (Aktan, 1994b). faire " and "laissez As a result of its substitution for the term "passer," it has developed into a statement of freedom and has been variously categorized as classical liberalism, social liberalism, neoliberalism, ordo liberalism, British liberalism, French, US, and German liberalism (Sallan Gul, 2006). According to Foucault, "No matter how contradictory it may seem, XX. In the second half of the century, freedom (Liberté), or rather liberalism, passed to us from Germany," he began to describe liberalism. He explained liberalism as "regulation of barter methods, which defines the restriction of management practices, and in a narrower sense, the solution of the restriction of the scope and form of administration" (Foucault, 2019). Foucault, who established liberalism as a management art and attracted attention to the market, said the following: "XVIII. The new art of management, which I think began to manifest, think, and express itself in the middle of the 20th century, is mainly defined by the combination of many internal and complex mechanisms" (Foucault, 2019) and goes on to say, "The principle of the cohesion between the exercise of government and the regime of truth is not the theory of economy that will become the mechanism and space that will establish the regime of truth." It is essential to make sure that the truth regime can operate with a minimum of intervention so that it does not have to be constrained by a prescriptive administration, which would only serve to make its formation more difficult. This will allow it to offer its truth to management practice in the form of a rule, a standard that must be established. The market is, without a doubt, the most honest place in the world. The market is a sphere of justice in this sense, also in terms of choosing a fair price that would satisfy both the work that was spent on production and the customer. These rules are



defined in terms of taxes, sales processes, sources of goods, and price determination. distributive justice. Because market regulations permitted the poorer parts of fundamental items such as food products to have access to what the wealthiest could buy, the market served as an authority in terms of both the administration of justice and the protection of consumers' rights. The free operation of the market, which was based on its inherent truth, resulted in the development of a "fair price," and as a result, the relationships between price and value reflected the fact that the market was also a field of truth. In this view, there are principles of truth that enable the authority to put internal processes into effect, which is at the core of liberal governmentality. (Foucault, 2019) asserts that liberalism is built on the ideas of the "free market" as an economic model, and in this respect, economic progress relies on freedoms, hence, entrepreneurship, commerce, migration, and other forms of economic activity. According to what he said, economic freedoms include things like competitiveness, preferences in production and consumption, alliances, and cooperative efforts (Ar and Tan, 2018). According to Aktan (1995), the foundation of liberalism is the acceptance of rights and freedoms that are founded on the concepts of private property, competition, free business, and the pricing system. The person stands before to both society and the state; in other words, the individual is where it all begins for the state. The idea that "the individual does not exist for the state, but rather the state exists for the individual" is central to the liberal political theory known as liberalism.

Foucault liberalism Adam Smith in the XVIII century style. According to him, market interactions are an ontological reality of a natural law and a project of expressing the fundamental character of persons in governmentality, which he views as a new form of 20th century liberalism and which he labels "neo-liberalism." Neo-liberalism is a term he uses to refer to the political ideology that he has developed. Neoliberalism is defined sociologically as "the establishment of relations within society purely on commerce," and politically as "consisting of covering up the administrative and widespread interventionism of the state" (Foucault,2019). In economic terms, neoliberalism consists of "re-enacting some economic theories that are already in use." Sociologically, it is the establishment of relations within society purely on commerce. According to Foucault, neoliberalism emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was not the same as the liberalism that had been prevalent in the 19th



century. Ordo liberalism, which was a kind of Neoliberalism used in Germany, was an economic paradigm that inverted the traditional state-market-society hierarchies. Because competition was seen as a more important aspect of the market than trade, even though neoliberals believed that competition was the fundamental aspect of the market. The notion of "laissez-faire" was abandoned by ordoliberals, which was the primary point of differentiation between them and liberals. According to them, the presence of the state was necessary for the maintenance of market equilibrium. (Foucault, 2019) . was to provide the necessary circumstances for creation" (Foucault, 2019) "monopoly," "appropriate actions," and "social policy" are the three fundamental concepts that Foucault uses to define the neoliberal approach to governance.

The problem of monopolies; "According to the classical economics concept, monopoly is seen as a semi-natural, semi-necessary result of the capitalist regime... "; "The problem of monopolies"; "The problem of monopolies"; "The problem of monopolies"; "The problem of monopolies" It is not feasible to stop the development of monopolistic circumstances, which, on the one hand, make it possible for competition to take place but, on the other hand, limit competition... Briefly, the tax system, which evolved throughout the Middle Ages as a necessary prerequisite for the emergence of centralized authority, was a major contributor to the establishment of it. The phenomena of monopoly may be categorized as both natural and manufactured at the same time. The troubling nature of monopoly may be attributed to the fact that it influences pricing, or more specifically, that it disrupts the order mechanism of the economy. According to Foucault (2019), "monopoly prices" are defined as "prices that can be increased without a corresponding decrease in either sales or profits." Regarding "appropriate actions," which is the second essential part of the neoliberal program, Foucault, referring to Eucken, says that it is necessary to intervene in the functioning of the administration with regulatory actions; however, this is only the case if the conditions of the economy make it necessary to intervene in the conditions of the market. This is the second of the four essential parts of the neoliberal program. The following three tendencies may be seen because of these interventions: The propensity to minimize costs may be characterized as the inclination for businesses to either lower their profits, drop the prices wholesale, or enhance their profits by raising the quality of their output. It sheds light on the primary objective of the regulatory action,



which is to maintain price stability while also bringing inflation under control. Tools for regulatory actions include: 1-First, the implementation of credit policies, that is, the creation of the discount rate; 2-Using foreign trade by reducing the creditor balance to stop the rise in foreign prices; and 3-Intervening in savings and investments by reducing the degree of taxation (Faucault, 2019). These tools can be found in the following paragraphs.

According to Foucault (2019), "the situation that neoliberal policy needs to be protected is the stability of prices," and he explains why this is the case: "Stability in prices will both protect purchasing power and prevent the employment level from falling into crisis." In addition to this, "commandatory actions, on the other hand, reflect Foucault's views as activities that interfere with the more fundamental, more structural, and more general conditions of the market"

Referring to Pigou's axiomatic theory, which believes that welfare would rise in line with the increase in global wealth and production, and that as a result, the rising national income will shift towards the poor, Foucault, in welfare economies; Regarding "social policy," it is important to note that "social policy" generally strives to ensure that everyone has equal access to various consumer goods. It is a policy that was developed as a tool to combat disparities and harsh economic processes that are believed to have catastrophic effects on society. A social policy is one that acknowledges that the more robust the economic development, the more initiative-taking, focused, and generous the social policy ought to be. The most important thing is not to insure people against risks; rather, it is to provide a financial environment in which individuals can take care of themselves in the face of dangers. According to Foucault (2019), "in conclusion, there is only one fundamental social policy, and that policy is economic growth." Neoliberalism, according to Foucault, was more concerned with the control of the person than it was with the administration of the political system. The person contributes to the market by developing his or her own subjectivity to compete. Because the person requires freedom to realize himself, Foucault defines neoliberal governmentality as the administration of freedom. Since the individual can only exist in the sense of freedom inside market relations, this is the only place where the individual can really exist. Nevertheless, even though this binary opposition results in a contradiction, Foucault asserts that "the motto of liberalism is not to be free." The basic tenet of liberalism is "I will produce what you need" (Foucault, 2019). The



desire to subordinate the administration of freedom from the individual to market relations, on the other hand, is what draws people into the socio-political order in this scenario. According to Foucault, the concept of freedom under neoliberalism may be characterized as controlled and planned when seen in this light. Neoliberals have a dream; it is not the trading of goods, but rather the processes of competition; more specifically, they want to build a society that is dependent on the competitive energy that exists in the market. Since this is a corporate society and not a supermarket culture, the "homo economicus," or "economic man," does not engage in retail shopping or elevated levels of consumption. Rather, he is an entrepreneur who engages in elevated levels of output for businesses. Homo economicus is a "truth acceptor," which refers to a behavior that reacts in a methodical way to changes in the parameters of its surrounding environment. Economics may also be seen as the study of the organization and classification of responses; in this sense, economics is both a body of knowledge and a mode of thought. According to this model, Homo economicus has an economic rationality, is a subject that seeks their own interests, and is a person who is controllable (Foucault, 2019). In neoliberalism, the idea of "security" is where the notion of freedom first manifests itself. Neoliberalism is characterized by control and calculation. Protection has been constructed against a variety of variables that have the potential to jeopardize market interactions. As a result of its preeminent position in the culture, it has contributed to the legitimization of the security policy. According to Foucault, the term "freedom" should not be construed as anything that endangers persons, production, or businesses.

- 4. Political Economy in the Specific of Power and Biopower
- 4.1 Concepts of Power and Biopower
- 4.1.1 The Concept of Power

The idea of power is a significant one, and it is one that piques the curiosity of legal professionals, political scientists, and social scientists. Even though "power" is most often



understood to be reinforced as a political notion, the phenomenon of power is a phenomenon that totally embraces social life. This is since power interactions are an essential component of the social structure and, as a result, the requirement of the society. Power is "the possibility of executing a will within the framework of social relations even if it is opposed to it," as defined by Max Weber. Duverger (1982) and Weber (1998) both refer to "the norms of the society in which they are used, defined as a form of influence or power in accordance with their beliefs and values." Weber also refers to "the chance of one or more people to realize their will in a social action against the resistance of others participating in that action" (Weber, 1998), while Duverger refers to "the norms of the society in which they are used." The power that is being referred to here is not physical strength; rather, it is the willingness to acknowledge the superiority of principles, authorities, and laws. In this view, power is defined as "force plus law, an institutionalized force based on law" (am, 1966). As a result, power relations are defined as the power relations that form between those who enforce compliance with the rules and those who are obligated to comply with these laws (Akal, 1999). In this context, power might be seen as the innate urge of individuals to exert their will and authority over other people. According to Foucault, "power is everywhere; it is everywhere, not because it covers everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 2007). ("The Discourse of Homosexuality as an Identity According to Michel Foucault") Foucault makes this argument in his book. One may talk of having power whenever one has the authority to wield such power via the acts of other people. In this sense, we can see that Foucault is not interested in power in its static, defined, or absolute form; rather, he is concerned with power relations. The philosopher Michel Foucault once said, "There is no such thing as power. To clarify, what I mean is this: "I think the idea that there is a thing called power and that it can be located, or spreads is based on a mis founded analysis, on an analysis that cannot be explained in any case for many phenomena." Nevertheless, in practice, it refers to power relations; it denotes a web of connections that are structured and coordinated like a pyramid. The fact that power may be found everywhere and nowhere is evidence that it is decentralized. As the saying goes, "power never rests in one person's hands;" rather, power is a mechanism that is always being passed about. Power is exercised, power is exercised in the shape of a network, and within this network, people not only circulate but also are required to submit to and apply the power that is exercised. People



are always the most important tools of power. Individuals serve as steppingstones on the path to power. The person is not something that exists apart from or in opposition to the authority. The person is both the source of influence and a means for exercising power at the same time. According to Foucault (2005b), "power operates through the individual that it establishes. "Foucault regards the human person as the "subject" in the social system that is transitioning from traditional society to modern society. He defines the subject as an entity that is formed with his body and identity, and he sees it as the object of power relations. According to him, the subject is something that emerges out of the power dynamics that exist within social connections. As a result of the fact that power exerts its influence on people even when they are not consciously aware of it, Foucault argues that "we all have power in our bodies" (Foucault, 2011). He explains that "the principal place of power relations is body and soul, because power relations run through our skin, body, and nervous system" (Foucault, 2014). With this discourse, Foucault says that power originates from the subject and manages the macro fields from the micro field by connecting institutions, norms, and symbols. He also says that power manages the macro fields from the micro field by connecting institutions, norms, and symbols. Nietzsche and Foucault have some similar perspectives on power. Foucault carried this concept further in his relationship with human beings and stated that power is more than the psychic and psychological states of people, and "power that emerges in their relations." While Nietzsche fictionalized the concept of power as a desire for power that depends on the psychic and psychological states of the human being and expressed it as "will to power," Foucault carried this concept further in his relationship with human beings and stated that power is more than just the psychic and psychological states of people. Because Foucault does not consider power to be connected to the realm of politics or the idea of sovereignty, he has stated that he considers the current circumstance to be a component of power, and that our physical bodies and psychic beings are also included in this. As a result, a kind of war, conflict, or resistance between living things is carried to every place where there is life. not debating over. In this sense, he examines "power" as a power that develops, produces, and regulates; more specifically, he examines "power" as a power that limits, restricts, and suppresses. In this sense, Foucault considers the idea of power to be an art of administration. He says, "But when I think of the power mechanism, I think of the capillary form of existence in which power reaches the seeds of individuals,



reaches their bodies, permeates their states and attitudes, discourses, learning, and daily lives" (Foucault, 2015).) says. In this sense, Foucault considers the idea of power to be an art of administration. According to Foucault, one of the fundamental aspects of power is the ability to manufacture the truth for oneself. Truth may be defined as anything that exemplifies the normative foundations upon which attitudes and behaviors are founded. According to Başturk (2012), "in this sense, the power that governs the truth and emerges as a truth producer begins to exercise control over discourse." Even while the idea of discourse, which is inextricably linked to power, is use as an instrument of power, the primary objective is to provide new possibilities for people to live in their environments. The most fundamental property of these regions is that they are built discursively, not structurally (Baştürk, 2012). The significance of discourse, which Foucault identifies as an essential component of the archaeological technique he developed, becomes clearer when seen in the light of power. "Power is not outside the scope of the discussion. Power is neither the source of speech, nor is it where discourse originates. Power is something that permeates all of discourse; since speech itself is an aspect of the strategic dispositif of power relations... Power is something that permeates all of conversation. The meaning of speech has nothing to do with power. The overarching mechanism of power is comprised of several subsystems, one of which is discourse. Because of this, it is essential to acknowledge speech as a sequence of events, as political occurrences, which serve as a medium for the transmission and control of power. (Foucault, 2011). Additionally, "discourse is the place where the network of separate locations spreads" (Keskin, 1999). Foucault also reaches the subject of power from knowledge in the thought system. He states that power and knowledge are mutually inclusive, and that the continuity of power is ensured by the continuity of the knowledge that is produced and structured. He also says that "the functioning of power constantly creates knowledge and, on the contrary, knowledge leads to power relations" (Foucault, 2015). Both statements are from Foucault. When seen in this light, it is power that gives rise to knowledge. Knowledge is a political term due to the facts that it is embedded in power and power relations and that its application necessitates the possession of knowledge (West, 1998). The absolute relationality that exists between power, knowledge, and power is articulated by Foucault as follows: "There is no power relation which is not connected with the formation of the knowledge field, nor knowledge which does not constitute a power relation"



According to Slattery (2017), when the power of authority grows, it generates new sorts of knowledge and discourses in order to govern social groupings, define their membership, and plan for their numbers. Because of this, although Foucault represents the subject on the plane of knowledge and power, he says that "Because the political body was made an object of knowledge with the power-knowledge relationship, it was subordinated and it was possible to process" (Foucault, 2000).

4.1.2 The Concept of Biopower

In one of his lectures, Foucault draws attention to the concept of "biopolitics." This concept connects the precondition of being able to explain biopolitics to a good understanding of the "administrative mental system, the general regime that he can call the problem of economic truth and truth," that is, to a good understanding of the principles of liberalism, and that "only then you will be able to comprehend the biopolitics that I will show you have what we call population a," which means that focuses on technological topics. "Biopolitics," which is put forth as a reflection of what Foucault calls as "administrative consciousness," reflects on the one hand, the administrative power of the power, and, on the other hand, the transformational ability of the power created via speech. "Biopolitics" is put forward as a mirror of what Foucault characterizes as "administrative consciousness." In this setting, with this characteristic, it transforms into a political relationality and becomes one of the power methods that is rooted in social engineering. The idea of biopolitics as presented in the second volume of Foucault's "History of Sexuality" book. "This was nothing but the entry of life into history, that is, the entry of phenomena peculiar to the life of the human species into the order of knowledge and power, into the field of political techniques," he declared in his book. "This was nothing but the entry of life into history," he stated. In this sense, power transforms into a network of interactions that both sustain life and augment the forces created by life. Power also intervenes in life and creates this relationship by making use of the instruments provided by the anomopolitics of the body and the biopolitics of the people. Although Foucault's early works focused on exclusion and the victims it affected, he later realized that the primary issue with the



subjects he dealt with in the continuation of his research was "power relations." He came to this conclusion after realizing that power and power are everywhere, they are constantly produced, and most importantly, they surround the individual from his body to his discourses. In this setting, he had the epiphany that power is "a game of strategy and tactics," and he concluded that power may permeate every aspect of everyday life that is not related to the human body. According to what he said, "the first of these discoveries, which is called power technologies, is discipline that targets the individual, and the other is regulatory technologies that deal with the population" (Foucault, 2011). Foucault, the evolution of technology into the XVIIth century. On a philosophical foundation and with a historical perspective, he proposed the movement from the monarchy of the 19th century to the disciplinary power, that is, to the surveillance society, and then to the "biopower," which is regarded as a regulatory power. He did this by tracing the progression from the monarchy to the surveillance society to the "biopower." Namely, XVII. In the 19th century, the monarch, king, or sovereign who had all the authority was the one who murdered the criminal by torturing him in front of the populace. This was done so that he could increase his hold on power. This act of violence served as an example for the entire population, which ultimately served to prevent a repeat of the crime. This demonstrated that the monarch had the authority to decide who would "live and die" for those who were subject to his dominion. He asserted that "nationality is neutral in terms of life and death and has the right to live or die only at the arbitrary decision of the monarch" (Foucault, 2011). While doing so, Foucault analyzes this phenomena. He stated that "nationality is neutral in terms of life and death." XVIII. Beginning with the disciplinary authority that was used up to the 19th century. This privilege, which was exercised in favor of the death of the subject throughout the 19th century, developed into the form of "keep alive and let it die" during that same time. Nevertheless, as the modern era progressed, it morphed into a new power technology that operated inside a more expansive framework. (Bayr, 2020) The subject was reassembled using a more advanced technology, and the subject was then changed into willing slaves by creating the sense of individuality and freedom for them. This technology, which is also known as regulatory power, gives people the capacity to either maintain a population alive or transform it into a new form. According to Foucault (2011), "regulatory power is not concerned with the body-man, but rather with the living man, the being with the human, and even with the human



species in a sense." Foucault said that with the help of this technology, the shift from the anatomy-politics of the body to the bio-politics of the human species would take place, and that the power in issue would be "bio-power" (Foucault, 2010). The notion of "biopolitics" is the conception of a type of governance that arose during the transition from an agrarian society to an industrial society. This form of government is known as "biopolitics." According to Foucault (quoted in Başturk, 2017), the idea of biopower has a wider scope than that of biopolitics. Although it is generally considered that Foucault was the first philosopher to deal with these two notions in the history of philosophy, it is known that Rudolf Kjellen, a Swedish political scientist, is the owner of the term from an etymological point of view. On the other hand, Foucault and Kjellen have a fundamentally different vision of the world. Although Foucault expressly addressed the notion of "biopolitics" on a philosophical foundation, the concept of Kjellen was utilized to describe the concept of an "organicist state" (Lemke, 2013). In a lecture given in 1974, Foucault provided an explanation of this term. He said, "For capitalist society, the biopolitics of a biological body was more important than anything else." The human body is a biopolitical fact, and the practice of medicine is a biopolitical strategy. It has used these concepts, which have developed since the 19th century, primarily in the improvement of the productive power in the labor force of capitalism. As a result, it has drawn attention to the strategic importance of the body in socializing the productive force in capitalist society. This discourse was written by Foucault in the XVIII century. Because the emergence of Foucault's understanding of biopower coincides with a period during which modernization, the change of social structure, and the infiltration of social life began to infiltrate squarely, the economic balances changed, and the liberation of people both physically and mentally was prevented. Because of this, Foucault considers biopower to be a wonderful creation that the bourgeoisie has created to display its power by fighting against the exploitation of labor. Because the disciplinary authority of the period, by first educating, and then making it effective and docile, so enhancing the economic efficiency of the body (Foucault, 2014), controls the body of the individual with its anatomical mechanism. As soon as the capitalist theory of production discovered that the human body is a very essential tool of production, the human body ceased to be the target of punishment, and instead, the human spirit began to be educated through a variety of psychological techniques. According to Foucault, the imposing biopower strategy is



the cause of the power that controls the mind and bodies of people (Bayr, 2020). Therefore, Foucault XVII. He argued that around the turn of the century, a new type of power known as "biopower" had evolved, and that this new form of power influenced human existence in two ways:

- 1- The influence of a disciplinary power that views the human body as a machine and seeks to integrate human beings with more effective, more obedient, and economic control systems by increasing their capacities via the discipline of the body. This power views the human body as a machine.
- 2- The influence of a regulatory authority that considers the body to be a natural species and is represented as the "biopolitics of the population" As a result of this consequence, human existence moves toward becoming a control mechanism for information and an intervention zone for power (Foucault, 2014).

4.1.3 Political Economy

Political economy is an interdisciplinary area of study that analyzes the interplay of markets and the state, individual and public preferences, and other topics that fall into the junction of economics and political science. This field of study is also referred to as political economy. XIX. Due to the connected analysis of economics and politics, it was classified and researched as "political economy" in the 19th century, but in the 20th century, the term "political economy" has fallen out of favor. It evolved into what is now known as "international political economy" in the 1970s and centered on the interplay of the economy and politics at both the national and international levels (Sen, 1998). international political economy: the academic area of international politics, which deals with international economics as well as home politics and national economy. In the same way that Gilpin defines it as "a set of questions whose answers are given through an eclectic mix of analytical methods and theoretical perspectives" (Gilpin, 1987), Susan Stronge defines it as "the social, political, and political systems that affect global



systems of production, exchange and distribution and economic arrangements and the mixture of values reflected in them" in her book "States and Markets". The field of study known as political economics investigates the production process within the context of the existing social structure, the distribution of the product that is created at the conclusion of this process, and what is left over after this distribution. According to Doan (2011), the primary focus of political economics is to identify the position of labor within the context of production and distribution relations in accordance with the theory of value. According to Savran (2008), the term "political economy" originally referred to the academic discipline that investigated the economic state of a nation. It is necessary to look at the years that preceded the capitalist production procedure to understand the relations of political economy. This means including the pre-capitalist period and, as a result, the periods that started with the acceptance of man as a social being and the making of work tools in this examination. Additionally, it is necessary to look at the years that preceded the capitalist production procedure.

During the time of ancient societies, the productive activities of man were not quite as complex as they are now. Simple behaviors like beating, breaking, and cutting were the kinds of things the barbaric man engaged in during his free time. Later, they contributed to their own physical and mental growth by mastering the art of fire and its manufacture, enhancing the durability of their tools with the use of fire, producing new tools, and altering their diet. Nevertheless, despite all these efforts, the work of ancient peoples did not result in the creation of any excess value. Towards the end of the primitive society, the emergence of agriculture and animal husbandry resulted in an abundance of some items while simultaneously increasing the need for certain products. The development of the slave society was a direct outcome of the existence of surroundings that necessitated trade between various tribes. Slaves were responsible for the creation of the surplus value that was generated in a society based on the use of mental and physical labor. As a direct consequence of the production activities that were conducted by the slaves, the era of political economy started with the formation of surplus value and categorization because of their being more output than was required because of these activities. Consumption and distribution were also dependent on production currently.



After the conclusion of the "slave society" era that existed between the centuries, the period known as the "feudal society" period started to be experienced. The relationships that existed between lords and their serfs were the primary force behind the feudal system of production. They did not want a price that exceeded profit for the "fair price," which meant that it was enough for the craftsman to produce an income sufficient to cover the production costs and to lead a life that was in accordance with the traditional way of life. Medieval thinkers in feudal society were discussing the economy over morality and religion. It was the fact that the more powerful monarchs exploited the authority of the lords, and the serfs chose devotion to the king that prompted the growth of commerce and the establishment of minor businesses, which in turn resulted in the emergence of the "bourgeois" class (USSR-EEBA, 1996), which ultimately led to the destruction of feudalism.

On the other hand, this time was crucial since it was when the foundations of capitalism were established. The term "capitalism" refers to one of the present economic systems that has started to become institutionalized because of being inspired by mercantilism and physiocratic principles. Although mercantilism is not a distinct economic system, there is a school of thought that maintains it is the first phase of capitalism (Neumark, 1943). This school of thought has gained followers. The theoretical roots of the original phase of the capitalist system, which was known as "commercial capitalism," were developed by notions associated with mercantilism. According to the mercantilist point of view, wealth is now "money" symbolized by gold and silver, and the means to get money is via trade. According to Üşur (2003), trade is the same thing as a profession, employment, the accumulation of wealth, and consequently commercial capitalism. As a direct consequence of this shift of feudalism, the theories that were put out by mercantilist philosophers about balancing trade and changing the exchange rate set the framework for what is now known as "political economy."

XVIII. In response to the mercantilist views prevalent in France throughout the middle of the century, the concept of "Physiocracy "was put up as an alternative political system. The Physiocrats believed that free competition should be allowed, but they were opposed to the intrusion of the state in economic life. To maintain the natural order, the Physiocrats advocated the phrase "let it go, let it pass, the world will go by itself." Agriculture, according to the



physiocrats, is the sole productive sector, and economic progress can only be attained via agricultural output. Furthermore, they believe that agriculture should be the primary focus of government policy. According to Akış (2011), physiocrats are considered the intellectual progenitors of economic liberalism because of the viewpoints that they held. The Physiocrats' adherence to the net product doctrine had a significant impact on the development of the labor theory of value. The labor-value theory, which became objectified with Smith, who was concerned with the net product phenomena, and Ricardo, who took over from him, is also the theoretical emergence of political economics. Smith worried about the net product phenomenon, and Ricardo took over from him. The question of "how the mind of the state can be transformed into the mind of government and the role of political economy in this matter" was the focus of Foucault's lecture given on January 10, 1979. While Foucault introduces the topic, attempts are being made to limit the state to the mind XVI. - XVII. Expressing that it is a significant problem that has persisted over the ages and that he deems these attempts to follow the law, while noting that the transition from the "mind of the state" to the "mind of administration" did not occur until the XVIII century. thought it would be possible to do it in the middle of the seventeenth century. In contrast to the exterior restrictions imposed by the legislation in the eighteenth century. Around the middle of the century, the principles of "internal limitation" of the rationality of management began to emerge, along with the idea that the internal regulation; He explained that "it follows a relatively uniform route based on principles that are universal, valid in all situations and under all circumstances" (Foucault, 2019). Following his explanation that "the rationality of the administration covers the actions and means that the administration can and cannot do with their free will," during which he emphasized that people will decide these things themselves, he emphasized that "governance is the management of people, rather than a practice forced by the rulers to the ruled, rather than the interaction between the rulers and the ruled." This was said in response to the question, "What can the administration do with their free will?" According to Foucault (2019), "it is a practice that determines the definition of their relations and positions with others" (2019). XVII. Since we are now in the "age of critical administrative reason" and the law of the 19th century externally balanced the state mind, the intellectual instrument that makes it possible for the administrative mind to constrain itself, calculation and rationality, is not legislation from the XVIII century. According to what he said,



political economics was what had changed since the 19th century to make it conceivable to impose this limitation (Foucault, 2019). According to him, political economics, which Foucault defined as "a kind of general reflection on the regulation, distribution, and limitation of powers that will ensure the welfare of the nation," is "any method of government that can ensure the welfare of the nation." Foucault described political economy as "a kind of general reflection on the regulation, distribution, and limitation of powers that will ensure the welfare of the nation." According to this interpretation of political economy, "The enrichment of the state, born within the goals of the state mind for the art of administration, aims at the parallel, interconnected and properly adjusted conduct of the people on the one hand and the necessary resources for life on the other, that is, the political economy, international competition, appropriate, regulated, and always It aims to be carried out in a way that will be successful" (Foucault, 2019). As a result, political economy is a way to ensure The primary premise upon which this line of reasoning is based is that the state must exert its authority not only via discursive arrangements but also through principles of principle. In this sense, political economics is essentially the repeating of the goals of the state mentality, which are the goals that have been attempted to be accomplished from Ancient Greece through Mercantilism and European balance. These goals have been there for an exceptionally long time. When the Physiocrats introduced the first political economy, they believed that free competition was appropriate, but they were opposed to the intervention of the state in the economy and called it "despotism." They called it "despotism" because despotism is an economic management that knows no borders other than the economy that it determines and controls. It is not concerned with the legal legality of a right, but rather how its repercussions will be and if it would have bad consequences. This is because political economics does not evaluate the roots of the techniques that this administration employs, but rather the results. Political economics, which is always put out as a problem within the scope of administrative practice and questioned about its consequences, also calls into question the genuine impacts that arise because of the execution of governmentality. This is because political economy is always put forward as a problem within the scope of administrative practice. During this line of inquiry, political economics will unavoidably expose several occurrences, processes, and regularities; these are mechanisms that are both understandable and essential, and they cannot be eliminated. The study of political economics investigates the nature of governmental



activity since nature is fundamentally connected to governmentality and serves as a foundation for the study of political economy. Because of this, political economics investigates nature through the lens of its own need, seeing it instead as an infinite coherence. For instance, he observes and analyzes the general population's propensity for high incomes, as well as how high customs charges might lead to the shortage of essential goods; he considers these phenomena to be "laws of nature." In and of itself, governmentality have a distinctive quality that is connected to the way it operates and the people it governs. In this view, the criteria of management action, combined with political economics, is not "legitimacy or illegitimacy," but rather success or failure (Foucault, 2019). Failure happens when the government chooses to disregard natural rules and this is not a reflection on the morality or ethics of the ruler; rather, it is a function of the "ignorance" of the ruler. Briefly, the "possibility of self-restriction" and the "problem of truth" are both brought into the realm of the art of administration as a direct result of political economics. This principle has replaced the concept of "impartial justice" in the old administrations and with the principle of truth, it has made a great deal against the claim of the police state within the problem of self-restriction. Therefore, a new era has been entered with political economy, and the principle of this new age is the principle of "maximumminimum." According to Foucault (2019), it is a contribution. As a result, his analysis was rendered obsolete (Foucault, 2019).

According to modern researchers, political economics is an approach that discloses the difficulties that arise from the interplay of political and economic acts (Gilpin, 1987). Modern researchers have described political economy as an approach that reveals the problems. As a result, political economy lies at the confluence of the fields of politics and economics. More specifically, it seeks to explain the impacts of political power on the economy by analyzing the ways in which political activities are influenced by economic conditions.

Aristotle's ideas on the need of imposing taxes to support the expenditures of the state was where the idea that later became known as "political economy" first appeared in published form under the phrase "political economy." According to Flyyn (1967), the administration of property in ancient Greece was accomplished via the application of political economics. The intellectuals of the First Age, who were political economists, lived in the feudal social order, while the



thinkers of the Modern Ages lived in the capitalist and socialist society culture and circumstances (Akş,2011). This is what we find when we look at the philosophical sources. Plato and Aristotle used the term "political economy" to refer to the management of the police people and the state in the ancient slave society (Seyidolu, 2002). Based on this information, we may understand what they meant by the term "political economy." In the 19th century, mercantilists applied the notion as a method of governmental management, and they called it mercantilism. In the canon of classical political economists, Adam Smith's "invisible hand" and David Ricardo's "labor-value" ideas stand out as particularly influential. Smith's foray into the realm of economic history was facilitated by the publication of his book "The Wealth of Nations," which was largely shaped by two key events: XVIII. his ideas on the transformation of production from manufactory to factory at the turn of the century as well as the connections between capitalist impulses and the market economy (Kazgan, 2009). According to Smith, a nation's wealth can be assessed in monetary terms. In mercantilism, this refers to the value of gold and silver; in physiocracy, it refers to output; and in capitalism, it refers to the growth of product via increased profits, also known as the accumulation of capital. The allocation of resources among capitalists, workers, and property owners is the driving force behind this accumulation. The profit that is discussed in this distribution is the portion that belongs to the capitalists, and it is the primary driver of accumulation. The concept that Smith presented with the metaphor of the "invisible hand" was directed at the economic system known as capitalism. The "invisible hand," which is presented as market relations, is really regarded as the short term of the law of supply and demand, which explains that these two ideas will benefit society because of the attraction of supply and demand. In other words, the "invisible hand" is a shortened version of the law of supply and demand. This metaphor is meant to convey the following essential idea: the aggregate actions of individuals acting in their own self-interest within a free-market benefit everyone in society, and therefore, society becomes more prosperous. In addition, he disclosed that the "division of labor" would result in an increase in productivity in the argument that he presented in his book about the "division of labor." Because of the "Absolute Supremacy" thesis, the whole globe will be transformed into a giant factory, and the economies of all countries will flourish as a result. This is because every nation will devote its resources to the production of whatever good can be made at the lowest cost.



According to Smith, money is a medium of exchange; the value of money is determined by the value of work; the value of products and money is determined by the value spent on them; and the value of labor determines the value of money. This position was adopted by Ricardo and Karl Marx, who enlarged upon it a little bit. The labor theory of value is based on the idea that "the only factor that creates value at all times is labor," and it was developed in response to Smith's viewpoint. However, in developing the labor theory of value, Marx removed the ideas of Smith and Ricardo on "productive and unproductive consumption" from political economics and applied dialectical materialism to the study of political economy. This was done so that Marx could focus on developing the labor theory of value. As a result, he proposed a "proletarian political economy rather than a bourgeois political economy," and therefore, Marx's theory of "labor-value" eventually morphed into the idea of "surplus-value."

When one thinks about classical, Marxist, or post-Marxist political economies, the "total demand - underemployment" theory of Keynes comes to mind. This theory comes to mind once one thinks of post-Marxist political economies. As a result of his viewpoints, Keynes was able to topple the preeminence of neoclassical economic theory by "opposing the idea of selfregulating markets." This allowed him to become the pioneer of the field of "macroeconomics." He maintained that the deteriorating balances in the economy may be resolved again with the help of government involvement, which is contrary to the notion of the free market held by the classical school of economics. In his lecture on American neoliberalism, Foucault shared his opinions regarding this topic. He mentioned that American neoliberals believe that classical political economy is founded on the factors of "land, capital, and labor," even though labor is never fully addressed, and that they continue because Adam Smith's economic analysis is based on "business." In addition, Foucault argued that classical political economy is based on the factors of "land, capital, and labor." He stated that the "department of labor" notion is what it is, and that Smith was the one who made work irrelevant by reducing it to the time component. According to what he stated, Ricardo also characterizes the growth of labor in a strictly quantitative manner via the time variable, however Keynes views labor as a factor of production and describes it as "a productive factor that is self-paced and becomes active only through a high level of investment." (Foucault, 2019). In addition, Foucault explains Marx's perspective



on labor by quoting him as saying, "The worker sells his labor power, not his labor, for a certain period of time, and receives a wage determined by the market conditions in return." It turns out that the "abstract" of labor is revealed because of this logic of Marx, and therefore, the capital logic of capitalism only focuses on value, considering labor to be a product of trade, in which labor and time units are considered only. Neoliberals believe that the intangibility of labor, which can only be quantified by the element of time, is the outcome of economic theory that has been formed from capitalist production. Since classical economics did not consider the specific characteristics and qualities of work, Marx's political, anthropological, and philosophical ideas were able to emerge, therefore. Because of this, according to Foucault, what must be done is to conduct a theoretical criticism of the way the work that Marx directed against capitalism is automatically abstracted from inside the economic discourse. Neoliberals believe that the reason labor is disregarded is because classical economics see the topic of economy as capital, investment, equipment, and product exchanges (Foucault, 2019). Neoliberals believe that this is the reason labor is ignored. However, according to Foucault, "the subject of economics is human behavior and the inner rationality of this behavior. As a result of these calculations, individuals transfer their limited resources to one goal and not to another. This is because economics no longer studies transactions but rather activities, that is, the strategic program of individuals' activities, as well as their inner rationality." (Foucault, 2019) says that "is an analysis."

CONCLUSION

The term "state," which refers to a phenomena that extends back to ancient times and the transition period of individuals to collective existence and which comprises the primary subject matter of political science, fundamentally means a "social organization." This phenomenon dates to the time when people were making the shift from living individually to collectively. Because it is a structure that was constructed by humans and was generated by an organization that was established by people, the social response that created it. The traditional state of Toku, which is attempted to be defined by assigning different meanings and responsibilities during



each period of history; " As a result of the formation of private property and private interests, which are distinct from the communal union of goods, the class holding the means of production is organized under the name of protecting the manipulative collectivity and general interests, which consists of a deception, in order to keep other classes under its dominance, and this is done in order to keep other classes under its dominance and control. described international sovereignty as a legally binding entity that is established by international treaties. The Treaty of Westphalia, which took place in 1648, is considered by some historians to mark the beginning of the modern era as well as the revelation of the fundamental political framework of the modern state. Under the impact of globalization, the phenomenon of the contemporary state is no more an object that is influenced but rather a subject that regulates the process.

Analysis of the state in Foucault's XVII. It has been going on since from the rule of Ages. XVII. When we consider the century, we observe the rise of absolutism, the implementation of the mercantilist system in the economy, and the presence of scientists like Galileo, Kepler, Toricelli, and Newton, who produced significant discoveries in science during this time. Because of these advances, man's capacity for reason and self-assurance grew, and the "divine law doctrine" of the time gave way to the "natural law doctrine." This philosophy, which has been around since ancient times and is the product of the human mind, is a collection of ideas and regulations that are decided by the mind in line with the nature of the human person and that people are able to get at via the application of reasoning. John Locke XVII was the notable thinker of the time who is credited with launching the empiricist movement and dealing a blow to this type of government with his criticism to absolutist beliefs. As a result, he is recognized as the pioneer of the "liberal" state system. John Locke XVII was also referred to as John Locke XVII. He is a philosopher who contributed to the concept of "freedom of thought" and the management of human conduct according to "reason" throughout the 19th century. It is generally accepted that he was the one who initiated the "Age of Reason" or the "Age of Enlightenment" in Europe. While referring to the natural period of life by saying "Man, as a social creature, is naturally equal and free," and by saying "the birth of political society is based on the will and will of free people," he also refers to the political contract and the rules of living in the political social order, the separation of powers, inter-power relations, and administration described its shapes. While



referring to the natural period of life, he says that "Man, as a social creature, is naturally equal and free."

Another century that Foucault discusses is the XVIIIth century. If we consider the political ideas and administrations of the century, we can see that the most significant event of this century was the emergence of the bourgeoisie, the new distribution of wealth, and the shift in political power. This can be seen when we examine the century in terms of its political concepts and administrations. That is to say, the developments that were achieved in the realms of technology and economics served as the impetus for the beginning of the industrial revolution and the beginning of the era of mechanization. The railroads, which were constructed with the use of iron, coal, and steam power, made it easier to carry goods and laid the foundation for the expansion of commerce and riches. The advancements that have been made in the field of agriculture have made it feasible to provide food for a much larger population. In this setting, the European bourgeoisie became wealthier, and the state became more prosperous because of the freedom of wealth, freedom of trade, and commerce. In Western Europe, the bourgeoisie, which is comprised of a variety of distinct groups, began to construct a universal doctrine and, as a result, to claim rights within the political power structure. This came about because of the bourgeoisie coming together under the umbrella of a shared worldview and a shared philosophy. XVIII. The political philosophy of the century grew in line with the economic and social changes, and as a direct consequence of these developments, the American and French revolutions came to fruition. Because of the changing political and economic climate, the language and notions have been influenced, and as a result, the concepts and phrases "modern," "capitalist," "public," "virtue," "reason," "progress," and "benefit" have been widespread (Goze, 2017).

In this view, XVII. The "state," which formed amid disputes and resistances as early as the 19th century, was predominantly positioned to consider solely the interests of the entire while neglecting the interests of the individuals. XVIII. The "modern state," which first appeared as a new organization in the XVII century, showed people as a developed structure that was immanent to itself like a specialized individualization matrix. A political authority has formed in the 21st century that, in contrast to the governments of the 20th century, seeks to punish the



person and has made the decision for them to perish, rather than keep them alive. According to Foucault, state power is "an institution in which both individualizing and totalizing techniques are skillfully combined" (Foucault, 2014). He also states that "Because, within the scope of these power relations, the state ensures its continuity by including legal practices" (Foucault, 2014). The "management mentality" that the state reveals, according to Foucault, is the administration that means to manage the state according to its power and that increases this power within a comprehensive and competitive framework. Administration, according to Foucault, is not an institution but rather a set of practices and rationalities. This is what Foucault refers to as "managerialism," which can also be translated as "the art of governing."

Foucault's XX. The primary reason he is recognized as the greatest philosopher who shook the thought of the 21st century is since he exposes the topics, themes, and places that standard conceptualizations leave invisible and unknown to the philosophy literature in a manner that is both apparent and critical. This is the reason he is regarded as the best philosopher who shook the thinking of the 21st century. In this context, the idea of "power" was also presented for the first time. In this sense, Foucault does not consider power to be an institution that exists above other structures. He adds that "it is not macro power, but rather micro power that has infiltrated bodies and every part of day-to-day life, there is a pluralist power that regulates everything but is not absolute," and he elaborates on this point in the following way. By stating that "the power devices of the modern era have moved their authority from the physical to the mental and psychological realm," he elucidates what it is that he is attempting to convey to the reader. In this view, the idea of "biopower" is included into life as a "change tool" or "power of knowing" in support of this; nevertheless, the human body is incorporated into this interpretation as both a "machine body" and a "body as a species". XIX. The consideration of human life by the government in the 19th century demonstrates a propensity to nationalize the biological in this sense, and the person becomes the fundamental unit of the state. During this time, nationalization of the biological was prevalent. This type of power, which Foucault refers to as "biopower," is truly a positive and life-supporting, generative form of power. It is nourished with knowledge, and its reproduction is accomplished via discourse. Freedom and resistance, which Foucault considers as the "ontological condition of ethics" in his analyses of power, also



have a prominent position in this kind of power and are both given significant consideration. freedom as described by Foucault; he said that "it is not the absence of factors that hinder our behavior and actions, but the use of our powers to overcome these barriers" (Foucault, 2014). Where there is no freedom, thus freedom is the requirement for power, and resistance is to restrict power, since he claims that where there is no resistance, there will be dominance. He forecasts the tactic of "centralized resistance against a decentralized power". The foundation of liberalism, which promotes "complete freedom in the market" and which Foucault characterizes as a new art of management, developed because of the market society and the capitalist society that developed because of the decline of feudalism. In this new art of government, Foucault criticized the fact that citizens have been transformed into objects that feed the power, that the freedom of the market is deceptive due to the introduction of limits and pressures to protect the free market, the enactment of anti-monopoly laws to prevent monopoly, and stated that the freedoms offered by liberalism are limited and controlled. Foucault also criticized the fact that citizens have been transformed into objects that feed the power. As well as neoliberalism, which he describes as "a new regime of truth and a new way of transforming people into homo economicus, the figure of financialized human capital" (Foucault, 2019). This managerial mindset from the XVIII century. From the 19th century onwards, what Foucault pointed out as "the intellectual tool, calculation, and rationality that makes self-restriction possible" is not law but political economics; it implies principle. Foucault used his own words to describe what he was referring to when he made this observation. According to him, the act of administration has a distinct character, political economy can adapt to this nature, the practice of administration is able to do what it needs to accomplish, and political economy operates based on economic principles, not on law or natural rights (Foucault, 2019).

In conclusion, I believe that the interactions between the state, administration, and economics have grown greater relevance over the last several decades, and as a result, it is beneficial to evaluate Foucault from the perspective of a variety of paradigms in terms of "biopower." In this context, as "one of the efforts of people to understand the world," from Ancient Greece to the present day, the economy is discussed in terms of "sustainability;" I argue that it is necessary to



examine economic events and phenomena from this point of view, considering the labor-value theory, in the elimination of poverty, in production



SOURCE

- Ağaoğulları, M. and Köker, L. (1991), From the State of God to the State of the King, Imge Publications, Ankara
- Akal, CB (1999), State, Law, Sovereignty, 75th Anniversary of the Republic, Istanbul University . Publications, Istanbul
- Flow, D. (2011), Political Economy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Discussion, Unpublished Master Thesis
- Aktan, C. (1994a.), Political Economy in Contemporary Liberal Thought, Takav Printing, Ankara
- Aktan, C. (1994b.) What is Real Liberalism? Mart Printing Trade. and San. Ltd. Sti., Istanbul
- Aktan, CC (1995), "Classical Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Libertarianism", *Journal of Public Administration*, 28 (1) 4-33
- Bee, T. and Tan, R. (2018), The relationship between political freedom and economic freedom in liberalism, Access address: https://www.academia.edu
- Barreau, JC and Bigot, G. (2008), History of the Whole World from Prehistory to the Present, (Trans. A. Özışık), Dharma Pub. Istanbul
- Baştürk, E. (2012), Critique of Liberalism in Michel Foucault: Power, Governance and Security, *Journal of Philosophy and Social Sciences*, (14): 65-78
- Bayır, M. (2020), Biopower and self-techniques in Michel Foucault, The Notion: International Journal of Society and Culture Studies, (6): 1-13
- Botero, G. (1956), The Reason of State, Trans, PJ. Waley & DP Waley, Yale University Press, New Haven
- Cam, E. (1966), Political Power and Economic Power, Istanbul University . Publications, Istanbul



- Çiğdem, A. (2009), Enlightenment Thought, İletişim Publications, Istanbul
- Doğan, MD (2011), Great Turkish Dictionary, Author Publishing House, Ankara
- Duverger, M. (1982), Political Sociology, (Trans. Ş. Tekeli), Varlık Publications, Istanbul
- Ebenstein, W. (1996), The Great Thinkers of Political Philosophy, (Trans. İ. Özel), Şule Publishing, Istanbul
- Erdoğan, M. (2000), "Is There a Way From Wisdom to the Rule of Law?", *Doğu Batı Thought Journal*, *Issue: 13*
- Eroglu, C. (1990), What is the State?, Imge Publications, Istanbul
- Flyyn, JJ (1967), Contemporary Economists, (Trans. E. Tuncalı), Milliyet Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (1987), The Order of Discourse, (Trans. T. Ilgaz) Hil Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2001), Words and Things, (Trans. MA Kılıçbay), Imge Publishing House, Ankara
- Foucault, M. (2001), We Need to Defend Society, (Trans. Ş. Aktaş), Yapı Kredi Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2005), "Towards a Critique of Political Reason", "Subject and Power, Selected Articles 2, (Trans. I. Ergüden and O Akınhay), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2007), The Eye of Power, (Trans. I. Ergüden) Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2011), Selected Articles on the Great Confinement, (Trans. I. Ergüden, F. Keskin), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2011a), Subject and Power, Selected Articles 2, (Trans. I. Ergüden), Ayrıntı Publishing House, Istanbul



- Foucault, M. (2016), Security, Land and Population, (Trans. F. Taylan), Istanbul Bilgi University . Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2019), The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collége de France, (Trans. A. Yayla), Istanbul Bilgi University . Arrow. Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2019), Collége de France Lectures 1978-1979, Istanbul Bilgi University . Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2000), The Birth of Prison, (Trans. I. Ergüden, O. Akınhay, F. Keskin), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2005), "Towards a Critique of Political Reason", Subject and Power, Selected Articles 2, (Trans. I.Ergüden, O. Akınhay), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2005), Governmentality, (Trans. O. Akınhay and F. Keskin, The Political Function of the Intellectual: Selected Articles 1, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul
- Foucault, M. (2010), History of Sexuality, (Trans. HU Tanriöver), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2011), The Political Function of the Intellectual, (Trans. I. Ergüden, O. Akınhay, F. Keskin), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2011), It is Necessary to Defend Society, (Trans. Ş. Akbaş), Yapı Kredi Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2014), Subject and Power, (Trans. O. Akınhay), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- Foucault, M. (2015), The Eye of Power Selection Articles, (Trans. I. Ergüden), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul.
- Gilpin , R. (1987), The political Economy of International Relations , New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Gökberk, M. (2019), History of Philosophy, Remzi Publishing House, İst.



- Göze, A. (2007), Political Thoughts and Administrations, Beta Publications, İst.
- Göze, A. (2017), Political Thoughts and Administrations, Beta Publications, Istanbul
- Güneş, CD (2013), discourse and power in Michel Foucault, *Anxiety: Uludağ University Science Edb*. fac. Journal of Philosophy, (21): 55-69

https://tarihibilgi.org>michel-fouca ... Accessed 16.12.2022

https://www.felsefe.gen.tr

- Kazgan, G. (2009), Economic Thought or Evolution of Political Economy, 14.b, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul
- Keskin, F. (1999), Discourse, Archeology and Power, East West Journal, (9): 15-22
- Lemke, T. (2013), Biopolitics (Trans. U. Özmakas), İletişim Publications, Istanbul
- Lemke, T. (2016), Critique of Political Reason: Foucault's Analysis of Modern Governmentality, (Trans: Ö. Karlık), Phonix Publications, Ankara
- Locke, J. (2012), Second Study on Management, (Trans: F. Bakırcı), Ebabil Publishing House, Ankara
- Meinecke, F. (1962), Machiavellis: The Doctrine of Raison d'etat and Its Place in Modern History, Trans Douglas Scott, Yale University Press, New Haven
- Neumark, F. (1943), History of Economic Thought, (trans. AA Özeken), Istanbul University. Publications, Istanbul
- Newman, S. (2006), From Bakunin to Lacan, (Translated by K. Kızıltuğ), Ayrıntı Publications, Istanbul
- O'farrell, C. (2006), Michel Foucault, Sage Publications. London
- Odabaş, ZY (2018), Political Sociology, Atatürk University . Open Education Fac. Publications, Erzurum



- Oksala , J. (2022), How Should We Read Foucault ? (Trans. B. Şannan), Runic Book, Istanbul
- Orhan, S. (2018), The Doctrine of State Reason and its Manifestation in the Transition Process to Modern Turkey, Teşkilat-1 Mahsusa, *Journal of Dicle University Faculty of Law*, 23 (39): 375-409
- Ozkaya, O. (2020), An Evaluation of the State Phenomenon, *Journal of the Court of Appeals* 8(16):317-352
- Öztekin, A. (2001), Introduction to Political Science, Siyasal Publishing House, Ankara
- Sallan Gül, S. (2006), Social State is Over, Long Live the Market! Welfare State in the Clamp of New Liberalism and Conservatism, Ebabil Publishing, Ankara
- Sancar, M. (2008), The State of Law in the Clamp of "State Mind", İletişim Publications, Istanbul
- Savran, S. (2008), "Economic Politics and Criticism", Dictionary of Economic Institutions and Concepts, Özgür University . Library, Istanbul
- Seyidoğlu, H. (2002), Encyclopedic Dictionary of Economic Terms, Güzem Can Publications, Istanbul
- Slattery, M. (2017), Basic Ideas in Sociology, (Trans. Ü. Tatlıcan, G. Demiriz), Sentez Publications, Ankara
- Smith, A. (2006), The Wealth of Nations, (Trans. H. Derin), T. İşbank Cultural Publications, Istanbul
- USSR-EEBA, (1996), Institute of Economics Academy of Sciences, Political Economy Textbook, (Trans. İ. Yarkın), Inter Publishing, Istanbul
- Şen, A. (1998), What is International Political Economy (UPE)? *Ataturk Unv. FEAS. Magazine*, 12 (1-2): 393-408
- Toku, N. (2005), Introduction to Political Philosophy, Kaknüs Publications, Istanbul



- Türk, BH (2017), "Michel Foucault's Machiavelli": A Look at Foucault's Machiavelli Reading in the Context of Governmentality, Journal of *Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 2017 Spring, (23): 37-56
- Urhan , V. (2000), Michel Faucault and Archaeological Analysis, Paradigma Publishing House, Istanbul
- Üsür, İ. (2003), Political Economy: Elegant Tombstones, Praxis, (Issue 10: 211-238)
- Wallerstein, I. (2004), The Modern World System, Capitalist Agriculture and Europe in the 16th Century, The Origins of the World Economy, (Trans.I.Boyacı), Bak Publishing House, Istanbul
- West, D. (1998), Introduction to Continental Philosophy, (Trans. A. Cevizci), Paradigma Publications, Istanbul
- Weber, M. (1998), Sociology Writings, (Trans. T. Parla), İletişim Publications, Istanbul Yayla, A. (2008), Liberalism, Liberte Publications, Istanbul