FORMATION OF A WORKING CLASS?

A STUDY OF FACTORY WORKERS IN BOLU, TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of the process of becoming a wage worker in five medium-sized factories and workplaces in Bolu, Turkey, and thus examines some aspects of class formation among first generation wage workers in a small town. The study is based on my own observations of work organizations and workers, and on systematic, open ended interviews with workers which covered their own interpretations, evaluations, and perceptions of their own everyday experiences, in and out of the work; their backgrounds, social networks, relations with the trade union leaders, and relations with other several groups around them; and recruitment and future prospects. The main aim is to understand the factory workers' model of their society and of themselves, as individuals and as a class. This data establishes three general sets of conclusions.

In Turkey there is a rapid move from rural areas and agriculture to towns and urban industrial jobs. A large group enter self-employment in the service or 'informal' sector; I deal with those who take factory jobs. A large majority of wage earners maintain their economic and social ties with the rural areas partly because the urban incomes are low. Despite these brief and eclectic experiences in industry and urban life, wage workers in Turkey showed a high rate of unionization, at least until the 1980 political changes. The workers in Bolu had retained their relations with rural areas and land on the one hand but at the same time established themselves in the town as a stratum of the urban classes. The fact that they became 'collective' workers in industrial production, and share common social identities with other workers has made the question "Is there a working class?" redundant.

The effects of this structural transformation was evident from the workers' responses about labour organization, and indicated an incipient awareness of their class position in the system of social classes of their society. My research indicated that they supported their unions mainly both for economic gains, and for maintaining solidarity and unity among themselves. Thus an understanding of the traditional roles of the unions has developed among them spontaneously. They all saw themselves as underpriviledged, and less successful than people "with power and money". An inflationary economy and the lack of social security for many groups in the society dominated their world view. Thus their conceptions of their society was a reflection of the concrete realities of the existing labour market, and of their prospects of future security. They compared themselves with other urban groups above them and below them in the social hierarchy. They were living through, and contributing to a newly emerging urban, proletarian culture.

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CHAPTER ONE

CLASS FORMATION: BACKGROUND STUDIES

Introduction

The objective of this study is to give some accounts from the work, life and perceptions of wage workers in Bolu, a small town in Turkey. Alongside many other field studies investigating the same subject in different places, this kind of a study could help our understanding of the complex process of class formation among wage-earners in the less industrialized countries (or 'less developed'; 'developing'; 'peripheral'; 'poor'; 'backward'; 'underdeveloped'; or those countries usually referred to as the Third World, rather as a convenient term, though its application to particular social formations might involve great variations).

As Turkey's integration into the world economy quickened after the 1960s, the transformation of what was essentially a peasant society into semi-industrialized capitalism also gained speed. (1) The cities and towns expanded spatially and demographically as migrants searched for wage employment in increasingly flourishing manufacturing or service industries or most likely became seasonal workers in the booming construction and building industries. Small and big

entrepreneurs alike started a struggle to gain access to state credits or contracts, using all conceivable networks and contacts. Increasing speculation in land, food and housing shattered the self-sufficient subsistence economy of households in the urban and later in the rural areas. In Turkey this transformation took place very fast in a matter of thirty years, during the course of which a very unstable political structure also appeared. The process of development of an urban working class should be considered under these circumstances which affected its composition, organization, consciousness and action.

An urban working class in Turkey will include many sections which are different from each other in terms of the regional backgrounds they come from, ethnic differences and variations in their experiences of peasant life. In this context we would not expect them to come with homogenous experiences into their urban-industrial lives. (2) Also the paths for pursuing a permanent job in cities are not simple but multilineal and complex. The migrants, in an effort not to miss any chances for survival in a new environment, have to enter many different labour markets and look for every opportunity to obtain training for the skills required within the existing technical division of labour. The urban social setting they come into contact with also varies

depending on their access to neighbourhoods and urban milieux which later play a significant influence in their urban identities.

My aim in carrying out this research was to find these differences and understand how they are linked and what effect they have on the formation of a working class in Bolu, Turkey. The fast development of semi-industrialization created a high concentration of big industrial estates employing large numbers of wage earners in a limited number of cities which had considerable advantages in easy transport, proximity to resources and to the administrative centres. Bolu was not a major industrial town. As a small town in the West Black Sea Region, located very close to major industrial centres, it adequately reflected the industrial structure of many small towns in Western Anatolia. Also Bolu had a considerably homogenous population with no recorded event of ethnic or religious conflict which could complicate the identities of workers.

My task involved tackling three connected problems which I will elaborate in the further sections of this chapter.

1. In Western Sociology, the debate on classes has been going on for a long time. Although this is not a thesis on 'class' theory, because of the relevance of the subject matter

and the prevailing usage of the term 'class' in Third World conditions in many case studies I have considered, I will try to clarify the conceptual constructs I have used to some extent, being aware of the dangers of simplifications, and then give an account of some relevant arguments on class, as for as the limited space allows me. A comprehensive analysis of class debate is beyond the limits of this thesis.

2. Next, I want to discuss the condition of the 'working class' in the case of Bolu, and where relevant in Turkey generally. In doing this I have taken many insights from the studies on workers in other Third World countries, which I will mention below. In Turkey at the time of the study the semi-proletarian strata of wage workers outnumbered the fully proletarianized workers in large plants. The rural links of the majority of workers continued; most of them retained land or partial ownership of land and access to other means of production. Most of the workers' aspirations were dominated by images of self-employment. Wage workers were not quantitatively the largest group in Turkey. Workers were experiencing totally different work opportunities and work rights in the formal and informal sectors. Until the late 1970s, researchers considered these features of wage earners to be 'limitations', 'constraints' or 'negative factors' delaying or confusing the formation of a 'working class' in most Third World countries (Worsley,

1964). So there were attempts to look for other groups in these societies (i.e. peasants, petit-bourgeoisie, intellectuals and so on) as the leaders of expected social and political changes. Only recently class terms have started to be used with a new understanding of Third World conditions and class formation. So I would like to ask what kind of common class experiences were shared by the factory workers in Bolu, in the light of similar experiences from studies in other Third World countries.

3. In theory, working class formation is only said to be completed when the wage workers reach a political consciousness of the need to defend their common interests by forming their own political organizations and trade unions. In Turkey, as supported with evidence from other Third World countries, the 'working class' was too new to establish such practices and especially to develop a so-called level of consciousness. Therefore in my research I wanted to find out what the perceptions of the workers were of the social life around them? How did they evaluate their existence as a worker? How did they evaluate the existence of other rural-urban classes in society? What were their aspirations for themselves, for their children? How would they express their opinions about being organized in trade unions and undertaking industrial action? How would they perceive the major economic problems of the country and

what solutions could they think off? In brief, my concern was to give an account of workers' perceptions of their various experiences as they were the ones who lived through them. Through their views I wanted to understand the underlying influences on their identities and attitudes and their construction of reality as reflected in their own words.

Moreover, the present study is an attempt to examine the objective existence of the factory workers in Bolu, in terms of their social and economic conditions in and outside the work situation; their place in the technical division of labour; the process of becoming a 'collective labourer'; their organizational experiences in trade unions. Workers' own perceptions of their unions, of industrial action, of other classes in society, in general of the social realities surrounding them, would be the main substance of my comments at the level of their subjective existence. Depending on my field work I will concentrate on giving an account of the workers from five major factories and workplaces in Bolu. Nevertheless, I argue that they should not be taken as separate from the global developments in Turkey's integration into the world capitalist economy, which affected their work and everyday conditions.

In Turkey there is a shortage of systematic studies. Analytical work, especially on the Turkish labour movement was neglected or at best shifted towards organizational (trade unions) research, for many fundamental reasons. Therefore in this research, which is the only one of its kind, by taking a view from below, from the side of the workers, very little help was obtained from other works on workers in Turkey, though a voluminous literature existed on migrant Turkish workers in Germany.

The use of the concept of 'social class' as I understand it, is very complex and cannot be used either simply to categorise people into certain groups or to make limited definitions of a specific group with a certain number of assumed properties and with a class-consciousness it 'ought' to have. In this research, my understanding of 'social class' is similar to E.P. Thompson (1963: 9). According to Thompson, class is to be understood as a relationship and not as a thing; specifically, as an historical relationship and event, not a structure or object, "but as something which in fact happens in human relationships". As he comments "the relationship must always be embodied in real people and in a real context". Moreover, "class consciousness is the way in which the class experiences are handled in culture, in traditions, value-systems, institutional forms". However, this

did not mean that we, the researchers, could declare class-consciousness as 'false' or 'non-existing' if it did not appear within the expected 'law'. Thompson argues, "Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in 'just' the same way."

Following from this conception of class, the 'working class' in Turkey was taken to refer to all wage earners, regardless of the kind of occupations they were in and their differences of income. So this broad definition included all workers in both the informal or formal sector, in agriculture or in non-agriculture. The factory workers in Bolu or elsewhere in Turkey, however, were only a section or 'stratum' of this broad class. It was the stratum which in Marxist theory was regarded as 'the core' of the working class which had a political significance over the other sections depending on its direct experiences of factory production and collective work, and organized in trade unions. Hobsbawm (1964) had argued that the skilled and semi-skilled factory workers in different trades in Britain, especially after the 1860s, were 'labour aristocrats' comparing their wages and work conditions with other sections of the working class and with the poor. Nevertheless, they were also the leaders of the labour movement in Britain. Therefore to make the point clear, in my research, I was

interested in the experiences of factory workers in large industries. One important condition which all of the factory workers in the sample shared was that they had lost their self-sufficiency and depended on selling their labour power for a wage, at least for a major part of their subsistence. Secondly, they had become the 'collective labourer', which meant that, "The product ceased to be the direct production of the individual, and becomes a social product, produced in common by a collective labourer, i.e. by a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or less, in the manipulation of the subject of their labour" (Marx, 1974: 508-9). Thirdly, besides other possible identities (ethnic, regional, religious, and so on) they could articulate an identity of 'wage-earners' with common interests, as opposed to such groups as 'speculators', 'big merchants', 'wholesalers', as well as different from 'state salaried employees','small peasants'or'self-employed (Chapter 7).

In the rest of the chapter I will go on to elaborate some studies relevant to my three problems.

I. RELATED ISSUES IN THE CLASS DEBATE

The debate on class in social sciences has a long history mainly because it is concerned with social inequality in

societies. Social scientists needed some theoretical constructs to make sense of the world around them and social class appeared to be the most important among them. The discussion went on between those who put the theory first and the ones who were more interested in factual information about the human agents (individuals) and operational models of the society. In actual fact both approaches reflected the major issues and problems encountered in the industrialized capitalist countries of the West, and the consequences of their historical developments. The former, mostly concentrated on the issues at the societal or world level, such as the changing nature of political systems or parties, emergence of new groups together with highly advanced technologies, the functioning of the economy and politics of Western societies, and so on. They tried to explain these by further analysis of the grand theory (Kerr, et al., 1960; Dahrendorf, 1959; Parkin, 1974; Poulantzas, 1974; Giddens, 1973; Carchedi, 1977, among many others). So, except for some individual studies, this theorizing employed high level abstractions and some of it was disconnected from the voluminous social data existing in the relevant countries.(3) Instead, the new theoretical models were constructed by re-reading the texts of Marx or Weber and offered for application anywhere in the world, not only in the West. Other problems related to unemployment, poverty,

welfare, political apathy, individualism, were treated as less significant and attributed to the ills existing in the operation of the capitalist economy without being concerned about how those problems affect individuals or what the actual mechanisms were that led into such social problems. The common feature of these social theorists was that they greatly overlooked historical and time factors and the significance of individuals as agents in the making of their own history. On the other hand their work helped to open up our understanding of contemporary issues or processes on a global scale.

The latter, as opposed to high theorizing were more involved with what I would call 'abstract empiricism'. They were only concerned to gather facts at a certain time, at a certain place and use some set of assumptions derived from an interpretation of a certain theory. Then the results were hastily classified into some sorts of categories of people on the basis of occupation, income, mobility, value systems, status models, and the like, without any historical linking. This kind of an approach to categorisation was common both among Marxists and non-Marxists. It was developed in an attempt to overcome the complexity of the concepts and put them into use to help us understand the world around us. The famous study by Golthorpe et al. (1969) is one

example where the workers were classified into traditional or middle-class, and Lockwood's (1966) typology , with three different models of workers, namely traditional, deferential and privatised, is yet another. On the other hand it was inevitable that they should have fallen into oversimplification and missed the dynamism of social life. However the inevitable shortcomings in the methods of investigation of sociological analysis is partly responsible for this. As emphasised by some authors, the typology's use is heuristic rather than explanatory, and the types represent reference points or extremes around which or between which variation may be expected to occur (Bulmer, 1975: 171).

The difficulties in the class debate mainly arose from the inherent ambiguities and uncertainties of the classical theories. Any work which seeks to use Marxist theoretical constructs starts by reporting that Marx himself, in his texts, never did set out the details of his theory of class though 'class' was the essence of all his works.

Criticisms like 'his use of the term varied among different texts', 'it was not clear what constituted a 'class' in different societies', 'he used the term interchangeably with 'stratum' and 'estate'', were not uncommon in the literature. Even if there was not much explaination of his concept of 'class' in

full, he said what it was not, when he mentioned that, 'classes are not income groupings or should not be identified with source of income in the division of labour.' (Marx, 1959) It may be that, for Marx, 'class' was not a 'thing' nor a 'category' to be defined easily in expected simple terms and characteristics, but rather a historical process which was not possible to define. Similarly, Max Weber also gave us a vague and complicated class scheme in his work ***Economy and Society*** (1968) where he implied the recognition of an indefinitely extensive number of 'classes'. A 'class' for Weber, referred to 'any aggregate of individuals who shared a common market situation, in terms of goods or capabilities which they posses.' However, as there could be many possibilities of variability between the possessions of individuals' skills or goods which everybody could bring to the market, then the number of classes would be numerous, leaving one confused as to which of these classes were worthy of mentioning and which ones were not. Besides, Weber had mentioned two totally different and to some extent independent concepts like 'status' and 'power' in addition to the term 'class' but did not explain clearly how he saw the relationship between these theoretical constructs. All these vaguenesses in the two grand theories helped to bring about misinterpretations, ambiguous meanings and inconsistencies in the class debate.

Among the theoreticians of the class debate, Poulantzas is of particular importance because in his work he started a systematic and highly sophisticated analysis of Marxist social and political thought. His theory has considerable significance because of its broad scope and comprehensive analysis of capitalist social formation. He summarizes his interpretation of the Marxist theory of social class as follows (1975: 14):

a. Social classes cannot be defined only by their place in the production process. Economic place has a principal role in the determination of social classes but is not complete without reference to political and ideological criteria.

b. Social classes exist within the class practices, i.e. the class struggle.

c. The class determination, while it coincides with class practices and includes political and ideological relations, also specifies certain objective places occupied by the social agents in the social division of labour. These places are independent of the will of these agents.

d. This class determination must however be distinguished from class position in a specific conjuncture the focal point of the always unique individuality of a social formation, or in other words the concrete situation of the class struggle.

e. The principal aspect of social classes is that of their places in the class struggle; it is not that of the agents that compose them. Thus social classes are not empirical groups of individuals.

f. In stressing the differentiation between the mode of production and the social formation, Poulantzas argued that, "Each mode of production (capitalist, feudal, slave) involves two classes presented in their full economic, political and ideological determination - the exploiting class and the exploited class. But a concrete society (a social formation) involves more than two classes, in so far as it is composed of various modes and forms of production. No social formation involves only two classes, but the two fundamental classes of any social formation are those of the dominant mode of production in that formation" (1975: 22).

g. From this he goes on to distinguish between the fractions and strata of a class. He emphasises a plurality of classes in the sense that a fraction or stratum of a class, might take up a class position which does not correspond to its interests. For example, the labour aristocracy, which can take up a bourgeois class position does not become a part of bourgeoisie but continues to constitute a stratum of the working class. Thus their structural class determination is not reducible to their class position. Also, the ideological and

political relations are themselves part of the structural determination of class.

Poulantzas disagrees and criticizes what he calls 'the historicist' interpretation of Marx's analysis of class. He agrees that Marx put emphasis on differentiating between Class-in-itself and Class-for-itself. The first one refers to the economic or trade union struggle of the working class who are already a class by the fact that they share a common situation and interests as against capital. The latter refers to the political struggle when the class learns to defend its common interests against capital. According to Poulantzas, the historicist conception, which argues that a class cannot be ripe to organize the whole of society in accordance with its interests unless it reaches a class-for-itself level of class consciousness, reduces the totality of the theoretical problem of social formations to the level of development of the subjects. In other words class consciousness is given more emphasis then Marx really intended. Similarly Poulantzas is also opposed to the 'economist' interpretations of Marx's class analysis. He claims that, "the social class is located only at the level of ***relations of production*** (if) conceived in an economist fashion, i.e., reduced to the positions of agents in the labour process and to their relation to the means of production" (1973: 62). For Poulantzas, relations of production

as a structure are not social classes and the class is not the 'empirical concrete' (the group).

Poulantzas argues that the ambiguity in Marx's texts results from their double theoretical status. "They do concern social formations; but it seems clear that they also constitute a parallel effort to pose the problematic of social classes with respect to the 'pure' mode of production" (1973: 73).

Poulantzas's method of theory construction and the content of his concepts later received criticisms. Laclau (1977:79) argued that Poulantzas's contribution to Marxist political thought by bringing a systematic analysis of social class and state was considerable. However this did not reduce its inability to explain the process of historical change within which classes exist in class struggles.

Any study on social class has to benefit from the contributions of Weberian sociology with such concepts as status-honour groups, prestige, style of life, types of authority, and bureaucratic rationalization. Many studies on working classes in the Third World prove that a crude application of the concept of class, without considering the social and subjective factors affecting or cross cutting the possible class identities of the workers, does not produce

comprehensive results. The everyday life and relationships of individuals take place both in the sphere of production relations and to a large extent in the consumption sphere. In their out of work activities, networks, attitudes, belief systems, traditions, and value models the workers, just like any other stratum of society, are influenced by the relations they enter into in the consumption sphere.

In the literature on class, Weberian theory was best analysed by Parkin (1974), especially on the elaboration of the concept of 'Social Closure'. Parkin points out certain difficulties in the use of the concept of class. One of them is that to define class by reference to dual, logically exhaustive categories means that antagonisms occuring 'within' any given category cannot be properly understood as manifestations of class conflict. Secondly, this dual definition cannot give us a clear understanding of the middle levels of the stratification system. And finally, Parkin very correctly points out that the current usages of the vocabulary of class cannot be easily used for the analyses of stratification and cleavage which are associated with membership of racial, ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities. Thus this universal conceptualization of class inhibits our understanding of intermediate levels of stratification systems and intra-class relations or antagonisms. So Parkin argues, Weber can

provide us with an alternative approach with his concept of social closure.

Parkin (1974: 3) tells us that "by social closure Weber meant the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles. The basis of justification for such exclusion can be any group attribute - race, language, social origin, descent- to monopolize specific, usually economic opportunities." This social closure refers to two types of reciprocal action or strategies, one of 'exclusion' and the other 'solidarism'. ***Exclusion*** strategies are an attempt by a given group to enhance its privileges by the process of creating a group of subordinates below and for that they exert a political pressure downwards. This subordination process continues creating sub-strata thus it is a contrast to the Marxist model of class polarization. Solidarism is the collective response of excluded groups who cannot use exclusion themselves, so they exert pressure upwards. So while ***Exclusion*** is a form to stabilize existing stratification ***Solidarism*** is a challenge to the prevailing system. However Parkin insists that all these should not be translated into the terms of either power or the existence of dichotomous classes. Thus it is possible to define the bourgeoisie and proletariat not according to their places in the process of

production but due to their places in the modes of closure, or in another saying, the contrary principles of social action. Parkin argues that we need a dichotomy approach in analysis because otherwise it would be only status differentiation which cannot replace the class concept; but the closure concept considers conflict without going into the rigidity of dichotomy because it is always possible that the social collectivities may adopt dual strategies.

With the use of such a flexible concept Parkin might be able to explain the class positions of middle-classes, such as the white-collar workers, or the position of a labour aristocracy, or the positions of blacks or Catholics. They could all be excluded from resources so could resort to solidaristic tactics but at the same time they themselves could rely on exclusion to other collectivities. On the other hand Parkin's analysis is unable to explain how these people could adopt solidaristic tactics. What would be the actual conditions and means of organizing solidarism? If we are not to translate these tactics into the terms of power, then what are the means of exclusion? And most important of all, though he mentions the differentiation of three kinds of ideologies in an earlier work, ***Class Inequality and Political Order*** (1972), the mechanisms of these ideologies, how they affect each other and why some members of the working

class can be deferential to the dominant value-system, are not explained. In the recent literature on class, the expansion of 'middle classes' has been a dominant issue which as I have pointed out above reflects a condition which emerged in industrial countries. As Bottomore argues, the steady expansion of middle classes which correlates with the contraction of the working class, is one of the most significant changes which occured between Marx's time and our own (1971: 59). So a Marxist account of class has to include a study of the twentieth century along with that of the nineteenth century, according to Bottomore.

What the class debate mainly suffered from was overemphasis on structural factors, at the expense of historical factors. Equally neglected was the individual, the agent of historical processes, who was either classified into groups or was expected to behave in a certain way, determined by the existing economic or political structures.

One last point in relation to the class debate is the argument about the importance of labour organizations and collective action. It is argued that the 'working class' as a social class as such exists within the 'class struggle'. In theory it was assumed that the proletariat will form itself into a class through progressing from class awareness to

recognition of common class interests, to collective action as class struggle and finally to the formation of political organizations to pursue the political interests of the working class against the interests of the capital. The working class are said to organize themselves in labour organizations and to make collective action to protect their immediate interests. At this stage they are said to have formed a 'class in itself' or obtained what Lenin would call a spontaneous 'trade union consciousness'. They are assumed to have formed a 'class for itself' when they reach an alternative vision to the class society or develop a 'political consciousness', and for this they need advanced class practices within political organizations such as political parties. These assumptions become controversial in practice with the absence of such an expected advanced stage of consciousness among the working classes. Instead most working class action seems to take place within labour organizations.

On the other hand, the political functions of trade unions are a major theoretical issue. Marx attached great political significance to the trade unions. He did not see them as neutral organizations, as non-political organizations. In an excerpt taken from ***Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Workingmen's*** Association, assembled in London in 1871, Marx said: ".... considering that against this

collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes; .... that the combination of forces which the working class has already affected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists; ..... that the militant state of the working class, its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united" (quoted in Lozovsky, 1935, in MacCarthy, ed.)

In this, Marx was emphasising that in the general class struggle, the economic struggle of the workers and trade unions ought to be 'a lever' in the hands of the working class 'for the struggle against the political power of its exploiters'. He did not put political party and trade unions in one heap, and argued that both should work towards one and the same aim - the economic emancipation -but each should apply its own specific methods in fighting for this aim. So this did not involve turning trade unions into a political party or the adoption by the trade unions of a purely party programme or abolition of all differences between the trade unions and the party (Lozovsky, 1935). However the trade unions also had undeniable political tasks

such as the training of workers in class issues and working together with the political party of the proletariat (Gramsci, 1971).

Another view on trade unions would claim that:

"As institutions, trade unions do not ***challenge*** the existence of society based on a division of classes, they merely ***express*** it. Thus trade unions can never be viable vehicles towards socialism in themselves; by their nature they are tied to capitalism. They can bargain within society but not transform it" (Anderson, 1967, pp.334).

From this what follows is that trade union action is bound to be limited and should be overcome by "including the intellectuals and petit bourgeois who can alone provide the essential ***theory*** of socialism" (Anderson, 1967, pp. 336). This view recognises the supremacy of the intellectuals over the workers and their 'pure and simple' unionism, and following Lenin (1973) the vanguard role of a political party is stressed.

The view of the right on trade unions, on the other hand, revolves around the catch phrase 'responsible' or 'cooperative' trade unionism. The essence of this view which as Flanders (1972, pp.19) argues, repeats the mistakes of the left, is that:

"... trade unions were there to act as a kind of social police force - to keep the chaps in order and the wheels of industry turning". . Such views do not find much popularity among the trade unions because the primary responsibility of all trade unions is towards the welfare of their members and not to a firm or to an industry.

All these arguments and many others which are involved with different interpretations of Marx and Weber on class, havi influenced the studies on the Third World which I will try to explain below.

II. SOME STUDIES OF WORKING CLASS FORMATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

Studies of workers in other Third World countries reflect various tendencies. These countries vary in their level of integration into the world capitalist system, and in their cultures and social structures. For example, in Africa tribal and ethnic conflicts were found to divide the workers beyond class boundaries; the skilled or lucky few who managed to find work in large factories would be defined as 'labour aristocrats'; within the so-called 'dual economy'. In India, the divisions, political, ethnic or social, between trade union leaders lead to fragmentation of the labour movement;

workers fill vacancies with members of their kin groups, which may prove a problem for management. In Latin America, though the labour movement had a long history, starting around 1900, and was highly politicized it was not able to include all members of the working class. Governments and political parties were heavily involved in recruiting different sections of the labour movement behind their policies.

The earliest studies on the working class in the Third World started in the late 1960s, mainly in Latin America. They were influenced by two fashions, the class debate in the West and the dependency school developed by Fanon (1965) and Gunder Frank (1971). Latin American research mostly gave accounts of worker organizations, political parties, and ideologies. Researchers usually gave factual or chronological information on worker movements which developed from 1900 onwards. Landsberger (1966) for example, argued that organized labour had become less ideological and less 'extreme' (i.e. revolutionary) over time, asserting that its goals were economic rather than ideological. The structural limitations on its strength were the relatively low degrees of industrialization and the capital-intensive nature of many of the continent's major manufacturing enterprises. These were all hypotheses which needed to be supported by empirical

study. Latin American research mostly referred to the militancy, and radical approaches of the parties and the unions or the global reforminst movements, mainly in the predominant framework of the dependency school, but there was little empirical evidence or field work. Only after the 1970s such empirical work started mainly as accounts of various strikes and other collective actions (Spalding, 1977; Dewind, 1975; Harding, 1972).

In Africa the first studies of class formation were carried out in 1970 by Arrighi and Saul, with their argument that industrial workers in the newly independent African countries constituted a 'labour aristocracy' with the vested interests in the status quo, a privileged group vis-a-vis the urban sub-proletariat, unemployed, small-scale traders and peasantry (Also later Stichter, 1976-7). Their analysis remained unsatisfactory and the target of many criticisms later by other authors on class formation in Africa. The concept was found misleading at least in the African situation when there were vast income differences between political and business classes and the unionised workers though there may be some relative advantages in the living standards between modern sector workers and other poor groups (Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975; Waterman, 1975). In fact most of those relative advantages were offset by large size urban

dependent households, the higher cost of living in towns, remittances to the rural areas, and being forced to live in slums.

On the main question of whether the workers in various Third World countries formed a class or not, Worsley, in his very early work (1967), was one of the first to comment that workers, namely wage-earners, "are not modern industrial workers. They are people only beginning to transform themselves into permanent city dwellers, learning the habits of industrial and urban society, struggling to piece together a new identity and community out of the kaleidoscopic fragments of their lives" (1967: 160-61). So stating that workers did not yet constitute a class as such but were rather in the process of transformation, he referred to peasants as the only 'potential force' of social change. This view was argued to be misleading by many, also by Worsley himself, later on. Cohen (1972) criticised this attitude of categorizing classes, especially in the context of Africa, as one which was far from the truth. He commented, "Classes are said to exist or not to exist, almost as if their presence or absence vanished at the whim of the researcher" (1972: 252). In fact he argued that classes and class consciousness have a variable and limited manifestation and it was up to the researcher to find out how class conflict could be

activated, under which conditions. In many African Societies as in other traditional societies, social differentiation in one form or another existed. However, everywhere classes appeared with different features, and distinctions though working and political classes were accepted as the only viable ones. He suggested "a minimalist definition of class; one which recognises the incomplete and embryonic character of class formation and development on the one hand, but which attempts to derive a meaningful frame of reference for explaining a class-based act on the other". Thus he acknowledged short-lived class acts but insisted that we must not miss their political significance. In a similar argument, Peace (1974) in his research of an industrial conflict situation at Ikeja, in Nigeria, argued that the existence or not of class relationships was not a major problem. A division of classes into sellers of labour power and owners of the means of production already existed in Nigeria. So he was interested in the 'form' such relationships took and their expression in conflict situations. For this he studied the responses and the interpretations of those involved, namely the workers and union officials, in a major wage conflict with the government. When he evaluated these forms of expressions he came to the conclusion that both groups (workers and union leaders) emerged with a hightened awareness of the possibilities of making gains

within the existing social order. On the other hand they were accomodative; a vision of an alternative order, radically different to the existing one, did not exist.

Sandbrook and Cohen (1975: 7), in the book they edited, asked whether such global generalizations for the working classes in the Third World were plausible. They made use of extensive empirical work by many researchers. The starting point of their book was "to probe the extent to which a working class has formed in various parts of Africa". They loosely identified three levels of class consciousness: "The most elementary form, referring to the acceptance by a group of workers of a common identity in the production process; a more developed level referring to recognition by workers of their common interests which need to be protected against other classes or 'trade union consciousness'; the 'highest' level, normally not attained, referring to the recognition by the workers of the inevitable antagonism between capital and labour and the possibility of an alternative system or a 'political consciousness'" (1975: 8). After summarizing a large selection of field work in different parts of Africa, on working-class formation, action and organization, they listed five main conclusions.

a. Fanon's thesis of 'selfish and over-priviledged unions and workers of Africa' (and other dependent countries) was not

supported by the evidence. Apart from a small salariat who worked for colonial governments, the workers were badly paid, their jobs in docks, mines, railways and public works were the least desirable, and they suffered humiliation and brutalisation;

b. Apart from their ethnic loyalties, the workers were able to conceptualise wage employment as a common position, and at an early stage started organizing to defend their interests. Strike action in particular was spontaneous and common.

c. For a newly emerging proletariat with strong ties to rural backgrounds, the workers had developed a relatively homogenous corporate identity.

d. Worker organizations, despite their short-lived experiences, were able to mobilize a wide range of workers with different ethnic affiliations and skills.

e. Despite these findings, there were limitations to the manifestation of worker consciousness and ethnic and religious differences between Asian and African workers. Effective protests were confined to the industrial situation only. 'Dual consciousness' portrayed by the workers referred to manifestations of acquiescence which went together with a latent awareness of exploitation underneath. Union movements were mixed with national movements and the unions would support national parties for a long time even though later

they realised that their interests were different. Though unions suffered from leadership insecurity and factionalism the resulting militancy indicated to the authors that the union leaders were responsive to rank and file demands; counter arguments against the ruling classes remained at best at the populist level.

As a result of all these and similar arguments on class formation, especially on working classes, in 1982, Lloyd made an attempt to ask "to what degree we can apply the concepts developed in the West into the Third World conditions?" He then considered a wide range of empirical, or other studies in the Third World, and concluded that labelling or simple categorization of classes into two or three did not explain the situation in those countries because it was much more complicated. In fact just as it was difficult theoretically to describe the middle classes in the West, in the Third World classes had subdivisions which might be defined as a 'fragmentary class structure' or he suggested the use of Poulantzas's conception of fractions or strata of classes could be useful. Also he added that classes did not exist by our labelling them but they 'exist only in action' (1982: 123). So he concluded that the argument whether classes existed or not was not a significant one. Neither the terminology nor the developments taking place in the Third

World were the same as in the West. He substituted the term 'urban poor' for 'working class', to include all the poor, on the ground that all were exploited in various ways. Our task is to discover how they evaluate their conditions, and their mode of social protest.

In arguments about the formation of a working class, the emergence of institutions such as trade unions or radical political parties held an important place since they arose in the context of struggle and action. The development of worker organizations could not be separated from collective action in this sense. The research on organized labour indicated that wage earners in the Third World, despite their short-lived relations with the unions supported them mainly for economic gains. The pressure on the leaders was so great that the union leaders were pushed towards 'militant economism' and had to be more responsive to workers' demands despite government interventions through harsh laws or various incorporation strategies. In his research in Kano, Nigeria, Lubeck (1975) tried to give a view of the trade unions from below, from the eyes of the rank and file members. He stated that in an Islamic context class-based deprivation and the criteria for leadership were most likely to be shaped by an Islamic ideology. As mediators of this ideology the leadership gained the basis for legitimizing

their positions for the majority of unskilled workers. Also he found that the character of the organization of work, and attitudes of the factory management towards wage deals, affected the leadership, tactics and the consciousness of the workers. Another study in Kenya stressed the antagonistic relationship between the unions and the government (Sandbrook, 1975). In Kenya the national union federation was susceptible to government demands so the national unions would reject taking advice or suggestions from the federation. He found that the lower union leaders were more responsive to their members than the top leaders. Sandbrook argued that in the Kenya case there was no hope for the government to dominate the union movement but on the other hand unions stayed within the limits of economic struggle and he stated that any repression of their economic gains might lead to an explosion of protests. In another country, namely Iran, Bayat (1987) informed us that after the revolution, there was strong support by the workers for the workers' councils, to participate in the control of their work situations. Bayat, also argued from other examples in Algeria, Chile and Portugual that in the Third World, workers are keen to control the organization of work and production. The capitalist class was weak in resisting changes. Economic backwardness did not allow workers to have larger gains. Also capitalist strategies were

not strong enough to dominate ideologies. The strong desires of the workers to exert control over their work environment were evidence that they were not only interested in 'bread-and-butter' issues but wanted to have a say in a broader sphere. In my view, Bayat's analysis and arguments are very beneficial in showing social scientists the importance of keeping an eye on the effect of different levels of economic development as well as various cultural elements on the formation of a working class in any country, especially in the Third World.

In various studies on the formation of working class, collective action of some form, like strikes, militancy, or other protest movements have been analysed as manifestations of a certain level of 'consciousness' of common interests and an awareness of the need to protect them. Sandbrook and Cohen (1975) argued that even a simply narrow 'economist' type of strike action would raise workers' awareness that they had common interests to protect. For example a series of wild-cat strikes as reported in studies on Nigeria (Lubeck, 1975) and Ghana (Jeffries, 1975) occured because the workers sought to enhance their wages, yet later went against their initial aims and ended up with political purposes, according to the accounts we have. On the other hand the studies stressed the fact that

all labour movements were open to government or political party pressures. The labour leaderships, on the other hand, had to stick to traditional union goals in the face of workers' resistance to government interventions and pressures. Cohen (1982a) argued about 'overt' forms of protest. He claimed that there were more 'silent' or 'unorganized' responses of workers then there were 'formal' protests. Cohen distinguished the 'overt' from 'hidden' forms of consciousness. Strikes and other organized action referred to the former, which the proletariat believed to be its aim. The latter was displayed through those other unofficial forms of protest in the everyday life of workers. Cohen listed characteristic workers' responses which were unofficial protests, like desertion of work, 'target working', time-efficiency bargaining, sabotage, creation of a 'work-culture', sickness, drug use, theft and religious practices, which were spontaneous and 'hidden' forms of protest which happened in the everyday life of the African proletariat.

The new factory workers forming new identities and attitudes was also a point which interested the researchers. Holmstrom (1976) in his research among South Indian factory workers came to the conclusion that these workers, largely from a rural background, considered themselves lucky regarding their higher incomes and security, and

opportunities to send remmittances to their relatives or to help the unemployed members of their kinship groups to find jobs. They saw factory work as the citadel of security and relative prosperity with regular work, promotion, predictable rewards, and a secure position once within, as against the army of unemployed outside, one could not look for a better alternative. Some saw themselves as 'middle class' because well-paid manual jobs associated with technology carried prestige over office work in this society. However he argued that these workers did not see themselves as an elite or labour aristocrats by right but rather as the lucky few. Middle class aspirations were common among the young educated ones who looked for some chance of upward mobility, possibly into management positions. To get a job or build a career in the organized sector was seen as depending on a combination of luck, influence, merit judged by others, and one's planning and a choice between opportunity and security where security always won. Industrial jobs were perceived as a means to pursue certain goals, like security, higher pay, easier work, a pleasant atmosphere at work, respectability, a better future for one's children, and so on. Holmstrom argued, with caution, that these workers' world-views placed the individual at the centre of their thinking and all other social

institutions existed because they reconciled the intentions of the individuals.

"How did the working class create a meaningful community from the social chaos and corruption that surrounded them?" asked Lubeck (1986: 1-2) in the Nigerian study. He came up with two social processes which he claimed, appeared in a 'dialectical relationship with each other'. He argued that "while semi-industrial capitalism was creating an urban working class, at the same time, by building on centuries of Islamic history in Kano, an Islamic revival was creating a Muslim communal, or "ethno-nationalist' identity". Thus, both processes co-existed and retarded or advanced each other's activity in the creation of a Muslim working class. The problem was put as the task of understanding the experiences arising from interaction of both the social processes in which workers participated. This Muslim identity was used as a means of class struggle on the shop-floor against the foreign employers. Also the trade union leaders were careful to protect the rights of the workers such as daily prayers which might otherwise lead to class militancy in the workplace. So for Lubeck, this was a case of articulation of pre-capitalist elements of social organization with the structural processes of capital accumulation, commoditisation, and class formation. In another region,

namely in Egypt, in Cairo, urban class identity in opposition to the government and the 'rich' was formed around the problems of lack of sewage and water facilities, homeless people, and a main road building project by the government. However, this identity did not last long because of ethnic differences cross-cutting their identities based on common causes (Taher, 1986). In fact ethnic identities and ethnic status were reported to be important factors in cross-cutting the class formation of workers and fragmenting the trade union leadership in other places as well (Grillo, 1974).

III. RESEARCH ON LABOUR IN TURKEY

As I have mentioned before, in Turkey, studies on labour were greatly neglected, partly due to the political implications of the subject matter. An empirical study or field work requires permission from the government as well as from the employers; it can be a very time consuming effort and also uncomfortable. Therefore most researchers turned to chronological or descriptive work on the development of trade union confederations, labour legislation, social insurance legislation, worker welfare, or union and bargaining laws (Sülker, 1974, 1976; Ağralı, 1967; Çeçen, 1973; Koç, 1986).

The period from 1900 until 1923 was a particularly interesting time for some researchers because it was a time when the labour movement in Turkey was only in its incipient form among a group of workers in foreign owned firms or factories based in İstanbul. New ideas and movements in Europe at the turn of the century also influenced the intellectual atmosphere in Ottoman Turkey. Many ideological movements started. This was the time, some authors argued, giving evidence from certain strikes, when the workers came to the forefront of the struggle for nation-building. Also the workers were against the foreign companies (Şanda, 1975; Erişçi, 1951; Fişek, 1969). Others argued that in Turkey the labour movement was mainly led by left ideologies. Both the labour movement and the left were subjected to continuous government pressures all the time (Şişmanov, 1978; Boran, 1968; Tuncay, 1967). This kind of analysis had certain similarities with some of the Latin American research on labour which also combined left ideological movements with worker organizations and action.

Apart from these, some field work existed on workers in small factories or workshops which were deeply rooted in the indigenous social structure of the society. Arı, for one, (1978), in his research on committment and integration of workers in manufacturing industry, in the two biggest cities,

compared workers in large and small factories. He found that 'to become self-employed or to have one's own business', was a common aspiration of workers in small workshops. Skilled workers in the industrial sector thought that their skills would find their value if they could become self-employed. Small workshop workers were against the unions more than the large factory workers because they thought they would hinder their chances of self-employment. Dubetsky (1976) found that in urban areas in Turkey the class as such was only one type of conflict group. He listed also status groups, sects, regional groups and the like. Interested in the organization of relationships within industrial organizations, he found that recruitment to the factories was taking place usually on the basis of kinship. Organization of work within the factories was a continuation of the traditional division of labour between master, journey and the apprentices. Culturally important concepts like respect, loyalty, reliability or 'trustworthiness' had an effect on the nature of relationships on the shopfloor, and in keeping up the level of productivity.

In brief, he pointed to a set of complex relationships which linked the employers and the workers, patrons and clients. So separation of such cultural or primordial ties from work was not a necessary outcome in Turkish industrialization. On

the other hand, he reported that in some large factories, where the employer did not have to follow 'the cultural prescriptions in relating to others', recruitment was through the State Employment Agency. These employers claimed this prevented kinship groups covering for each others' slacking off, and also avoided regional conflicts. He also acknowledged the development of a 'politically conscious' labour movement and growth of 'class consciousness' among some Turks, especially in larger industries and among workers returning from Europe.

Sencer, (1965) in a comparative study, documented the backgrounds, present work conditions, and opinions about unions of quarry workers from two villages in the Kapıdağı peninsula. She found that the affiliations to the unions of workers from one village were very high compared to workers from the other village. After an analysis of the questionnaire data, she offered four reasons for the differences. i. Immigrant workers were more keen on unionization than the local people; ii. Older and married workers, 'possibly with the motive of securing their futures', were more inclined to unionization; iii. More education increased commitment to unionization; iv. Recruitment on a daily basis and in less qualified jobs in the workplace reduced unionization. Very interestingly she found a higher

rate of unionization among the workers who owned their houses and had some land; that is, workers with property were more likely to enter unions. Property owners, she argued, had some security and would more easily risk losing their jobs as a punishment for union support. Morris, (1973) reported a similar situation in India. The workers could support longer strikes because they could go back and survive on their land. Sencer concluded land-owning had provided a form of security; but it was also a negative factor, in that it prevented the development of a 'working class consciousness' among them.

Leaving aside the skilled and semi-skilled second or third generation workers concentrated in large factories in a few large cities, most of the labour force in Turkey are still first generation. The rural origins and rural ties carried great significance in any study on wage labour in Turkey. Vast agricultural changes and technological development, created a necessity for a considerable number of people in the villages to make a living or to find additional earnings by wage labour as they had lost their traditional means of survival. Farm mechanization could create some limited need for specialized labour such as tractor drivers, farm mechanics or chauffeurs but it would not be sufficient to cover the needs of the people for extra work. Kıray and Hinderik (1970: 103)

pointed out some additional factors such as increasing land concentration and polarization of wealth in the ***Çukurova*** region which pushed many people to cities to search for work. Stirling, (1972) referred to the increasing operation costs on land due to the transformation of traditional agriculture. The village households' requirements for fertilizers, selected seed and machinery for better farm management increased, together with their consumer needs. Therefore, the process was gradually leading to more and more young people migrating to towns and earning wages through using their skills as contractors, subcontractors, tile or bricklayers, or building workers of some kind. This cash income from urban jobs might be invested back into agriculture in some cases. So the conclusion which could be derived from these studies was that rural and urban work and life in Turkey were two interdependent ends of the process of becoming a wage worker. In a recently published study on colliery workers in the ***Zonguldak*** region, Oskay (1983) argued that those 'peasant-workers' who were living in between the two production systems, namely agricultural and industrial, represented the 'transitional worker's. She pointed out that the colliery workers retained their social values of a pre-industrial order within the industrial context though in different degrees depending on whether they were permanent or casual workers. She saw a 'cultural lag' in the permanent

workers who were losing their traditional culture but not adjusting to the new, industrial culture. This is a version of the 'modernist' approach which is dominant in Turkish literature. Kardam's work on industrial workers and employers in *Adana* (1976) also reported a great many small peasants who partly depended on wage labour and took permanent jobs in large factories while still living in their villages.

Before closing this section one point regarding the research on labour should be made clear. In addition to the lack of good, systematic studies on workers in Turkey, the statistical data on industrial workers was also incomplete. Neither the industrial censuses nor the statistics of the Ministry of Labour included in their enumerations the agricultural wage labourers, the unemployed, the home workers, the seasonal workers, and other strata of the 'working class'. On the other hand, included among the industrial workers, were all those who were related to the manufacturing sector, such as managers, white collar workers, and administrators. In the classification of such data it was not possible to distinguish the total number of workers employed in various sizes of establishments and for different provinces. Also, the classification of similar data seemed to change from year to

year. This was a major reason for the inadequacy of the national statistics in this thesis.

Footnotes

1. The notion 'semi-industrialized' is taken from Lubeck (1986). The term fits the Turkish situation well.

2. For example, certain ethnic minorities were known to adjust to industrial life more easily and were more 'entrepreneurially minded'. Apart from such common knowledge no systematic work on ethnic groups existed in Turkey.

3. See Westergaard and Resler, (1976) for a consistent and meaningful use of global statistics on Britain together with theory.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SETTING OF BOLU TOWN

I. Geography

The province of Bolu is situated in the West Black Sea region, northern Turkey. It lies on the main road between *İstanbul* and *Ankara* so it has an importance for transport and commerce. Besides it is popular for its skiing, thermal springs, spas and lakes. The area of the province is 4266.79 sq. miles and most of this area is covered with mountains and pine forests. Approximately 55 percent of total land is mountainous, 10 percent pasture, 17 percent wasteland and only 18 percent can be used as arable land. The province of Bolu, *Bolu İli*, is divided into 10 administrative districts each with its own town. The province capital is called Bolu town, *Bolu İl Merkezi,* where the research was undertaken.(1)

II. Population

According to the 1975 census, Bolu province had a population of 428.704 and Bolu town, the province capital, had 77.078 (32.812 in rural areas). In the whole province 23 percent of the population was living in urban areas and 77 percent in rural.(2) (The national ratio of urban to rural was

38 percent to 62 percent). In the 1985 census, as the population of the province increased to 504.778 and Bolu town to 100.910, the urban to rural ratio became 28.5 to 71.5 in the province.(3) The annual rate of increase of population from 1980 to 1985 was 1.56 percent for the province but 2.91 per cent for Bolu town. (National increase rate was 2.78 per cent). From the figures it seemed Bolu town was increasingly receiving migrants. According to the statistics most of the immigrants to Bolu town came from other small towns in the province, mainly ***Seben***, ***Mudurnu***, ***Kıbrıscık***, ***Mengen***, the poorest towns of the province; and from ***Düzce***, the wealthiest, from which most of the entrepreneurs and shopkeepers came. Also, many people from various provinces of the Black Sea coast came to Bolu to find jobs. A third place of origin for the immigrants (especially in forest and building jobs) was the far east region, for example ***Kars*** and ***Erzurum*** provinces.

So, Bolu had some degree of attraction for the people in the surrounding relatively poorer areas due to the availability of job opportunities mostly in the service sector (hotels, restaurants, skiing resorts and thermal springs) as well as in the transport, forest and building sectors.

Emigration from Bolu was also prominent, especially to *İstanbul* and *Ankara*, where people went to work mainly as cooks.(4) This affected the male to female ratio slightly, that is the female population was a little higher than the male in the rural areas but the reverse was true in urban areas which attracted male workers in search of jobs. However, the difference in the sex ratio was not as great as in the large metropolitan centers in Turkey because the tendency among the workers to take their families with them or to bring them to the town as soon as they found somewhere to live, was greater. This may be linked to the fact that there was not sufficient land to look after and no need to leave the family behind.(5)

Due to rapid population growth, the population in Bolu was very young. The age dependency ratio decreased from 79.71 in 1975 to 66.69 in 1985.(6) Still, 33 per cent of the population was 14 years and under in 1985. From the 249,977 economically active population of Bolu province (12 years and over), wage and salary earners' numbered 58,445 in 1985. It was 43,418 out of 216,850 in 1975. There was a steady rise. This figure represented the workforce without differentiating between wage earners and salary earners who worked in white collar jobs as government employees and who were not eligible to join trade unions. So it was

impossible to know the exact number of actual wage earners. Also a large number of unpaid family workers further complicated the issue.(7) As can be seen from Table 2.1. below, in Bolu, self-employed and unpaid family workers made up most of the economically active population.

The unemployment rate in Bolu was not very high according to the figures from the general census though they are not very reliable. In 1975 the figure was as low as 0.14 per cent but this increased to 2.3 per cent in 1985 for the province as a whole (of the economically active population 12 years of age and over). If we take only the town centre of the provincial capital, it was as high as 7.5 per cent which was a clear indicator of migration to town for jobs. The figure was especially high for the 15 to 24 age group, which again was explicable as many migrant workers in the sample reported that they were the younger members of families and they had to find a job in the town since the parents' land was not sufficient enough to feed them all.

Table.2.1
Population by economic activity, employment status and sex in 1975 and 1985

Econ. activity Yr.	Employee		Employer		Self-emp.		Unpaid family worker		Unknown	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Agricul.	75/8513	2991	506	51	40098	3941	35040	80032	131	40
	85/5235	563	120	103	38397	4768	33414	94364	2	-
Manufac. Cons., Elec.	9726	643	359	16	2965	384	435	54	7	1
	18092	1550	431	7	3392	169	577	95	-	-
Trade Hotels, Restaur.	2934	139	246	9	3257	100	237	16	6	-
	4851	297	415	27	6495	308	839	94	1	-
Communi. and Transport	2430	53	75	2	3202	3	378	2	6	-
	2488	154	85	2	3846	37	375	11	2	-
Services (Social, Finance, Business)	11171	2070	140	9	1010	40	122	14	4	-
	20339	4407	192	16	2305	84	253	44	-	-
Other	1638	110	30	2	305	13	128	14	4	-
	429	40	21	18	164	6	27	21	-	-
Total 1975	37412	6006	135 6	90	50837	4481	36340	80132	155	41
Total 1985	51434	7011	126 4	173	54599	5372	35485	94629	8	1

Source: Census of Population, Bolu Province, 1975 and 1985.

III. Educational Characteristics

Bolu, as a small town, had more secondary and technical and vocational schools than most other small towns in Turkey. It almost served as an educational center for the West Black Sea region in technical training. Literacy and education were highly valued, especially as means of achieving better jobs, and status. The highest in demand was higher education 'even the girls' but vocational schools were

also important especially for the boys to find jobs in industry.

The literacy rate in Bolu province in 1975 was 67.39 per cent which increased to 80.6 in 1985. The lower rate of literacy among the female population also changed to almost equal rates of literacy between males and females in 1985.

IV. Residential Areas

Bolu town was divided into 15 quarters, *mahalles*, which were residential areas within the municipal boundaries. The industrial areas were on the outskirts of the town. So many workers either lived in the nearby villages and walked to work or they lived in certain quarters in the town where accommodation was cheaper and commuted to work by service buses.

The physical boundaries of these quarters were very clear but social ones were rather vague. I tried to differentiate the quarters into four zones reflecting socio-economic status. Zone one, included the oldest quarters of the town where we could find old, wooden Ottoman houses where well-to-do artisans, craftsmen, and traders used to live. Most of them had moved to the well to do new quarters of the town and

rented their houses to civil servants or workers for low rents. Since the houses were very large they were divided into flats with two or three rooms, no kitchen or bathroom but a place for a toilet and washbasin. Each family rented one of these flats for a relatively cheap rent.

Zone two, again referred to the older quarters but rather poorer ones with old wooden or brick houses, mostly without running water in them and with outside toilets. The old inhabitants of these areas again had moved out and sold or rented these houses to the newcomers to the town.

Zone three, was the place of residence for well-to-do bureaucrats, professionals and self-employed people who mostly came to Bolu as a result of appointment to a post (and settled there). Also some were the descendants of local well-to-do families of Bolu who owned workshops, small factories, construction companies, legal advice bureaus and import export firms. In general these were the new middle classes of Bolu who could afford to live in comfortable flats.

Zone four, included people who were migrants but rather with assets to build their own houses in the town centre. The houses mostly belonged to the inhabitants who were either rich enough to build their own houses when they

first moved into the town or who lived in cheap rented accommodation in older parts of the town, then, managed to build their houses gradually in a couple of years after moving into the town. So these quarters had relatively better two to three-storey houses, with gardens around them.

The housing development of Bolu town was highly inefficient. Although new houses were built continuously, this was not a planned kind of development. Houses were built mainly by the people themselves as two-storied buildings in areas bought surrounding the town centre. Another prevailing practice was for contractors to build 'modern' apartment blocks on pieces of land which belonged to local people who did not have the financial resources to build their own houses. The nature of such contracts were largely informal and the land was exchanged for a percentage of the flats. In Bolu, depending on the closeness to the town centre, the owner of the land would get 30-50 per cent of the flats. The same arrangement could take place between relatives who shared the capital and the labour and then the flats in the multi-storey, modern houses mainly near the centre of the town.

The rest of the flats in these houses were sold by the contractors to state employees, professionals, doctors,

pharmacists, lawyers, teachers, engineers or to the small number of self-employed entrepreneurs, traders, and shop-keepers. Those who built their own houses were usually the worker-migrants or urban born whose main aspiration in life was "to have a place of their own, a roof over their heads and their families". A house means a great deal to people in Turkish society. As soon as families start getting some spare resources they invest in a house. (See Keyder and Aksu, 1988, on returning Turkish migrants in Germany).

All these new houses had the basic amenities of internal water, bathroom, toilet and electricity. Most of the modern flats had central heating, whereas in two-storey houses heating was provided by burning coal or wood in cast or sheet-iron stoves. Both coal and wood were considerably cheaper in Bolu than most other places in Turkey because both were locally produced.

Village houses in the surrounding areas on the other hand lacked such basic amenities. They were again built by the owners mostly and very few were rented. Although all the houses had electricity, almost all lacked internal water and other facilities which come with it. The toilets were outside the house and the water was carried in from communal taps in the street. Heating was provided by burning wood

in sheet-iron stoves. Because this is an officially recognized forest area the villagers were privileged in their heating expenses since they had a free allowance of wood from the state, called the village allowance. So workers living in the villages had to spend relatively less for maintenance costs. In addition, because they were outside the Municipality services area they did not pay Municipality tax. This, besides other political reasons, brought a conflict between the Municipality who wanted to extend the borders of the town centre (so called urban areas) to include the nearby villages as part of an urbanization policy and the villagers who resisted becoming part of the urban centre because they would lose their privileges.

In 1979 there was no city bus service and very few taxis making taxi-ownership a profitable business. The first bus service came in 1983 by which time the Municipality had been successful in declaring nearby villages part of the town centre. All the factories and workplaces had their own bus services for their employees to and from work, three or more times daily. The most common means of transport to other nearby small towns, villages and some factories were privately owned mini buses, ***dolmuş***.

Like most other small towns, Bolu had one main road, *Hürriyet Caddesi*, through the centre of the town. All the important government and administrative offices as well as certain professional services - private or joint medical practice, architecturing, engineering or law firms for construction work - were situated along this road. Also on this road, large shops for durable household goods, home decoration, carpet and furniture shops, supermarkets, luxury coffee-houses could be found. The *çarşı*, shopping centre, on the other hand which consisted of small service shops, small trade and a main covered market, *hal*, was located within the old town centre, next to the *Büyük Cami*, a historic mosque. This location was significant since the workers spent most of their free time wandering around these small shops and talking to the shopkeepers. This place formed the major frame of reference in their life. The successes or failures of the shop owners were well known to the workers.

V. Agricultural Structure in Bolu

The population figures, given above show clearly that in Bolu, as in the country as a whole, agriculture was the main sector of production. Agriculture was plainly of the greatest importance in the social, economic and ideological backgrounds of the workers. Small peasant holdings, where

most of the workers had their first life experiences, were the dominant form of land distribution..

According to the 1965 Village Inventory Study, 70 per cent of families owned land and only 30 per cent were landless or tenants. Agricultural workers were very few in number, except for casual labour in the state forests (see page 62). Share cropping was very insignificant, about 1 per cent of the families. As reported in the same study, in 1965, 92.8 per cent of families owned 5 hectares or less and cultivated 77 per cent of the arable land.(8) So big land ownership was negligible, only 8 per cent of all families in the province owning between 5 to 20 hectares cultivating roughly 23 per cent of the arable land. (No information on land distribution after 1965 was available but I had personal information, and reports from the workers that holdings were becoming smaller through the much discussed "fragmentation" by inheritance.)

Another factor influencing the small size of land holdings was geography. Forests and mountainous areas covered almost 55 per cent of the total land of the province. For the rest, only 18 per cent could be used as arable land which meant very limited availability of land for cultivation.(9) The State Planning Organization reports (1965)

that agricultural productivity was also fairly low. Two factors were shown to be responsible for this, one being the increasing amounts of inefficient land incorporated from forest areas by some peasants living near the forests. So although the size of individual holdings relatively increased, the overall efficiency of land tended to fall. Another reason for low productivity was the low level of technology and mechanized agriculture in the area. The small size of holdings was an important factor in inhibiting mechanization (S.P.O., 1965). Apart from Bolu town, and the district of Düzce, the largest town in the province, which both lay on the plain, all other province towns were mountainous or 'covered with stones', as the workers described them and very poor in agricultural productivity. Naturally migration from these areas to Bolu town or to other provinces was high.

The traditional crop of the region was wheat, mainly produced for home consumption. In fact because of the poor quality soil, the production of wheat often did not suffice for the farm family's own needs. Information gathered from my respondents shows that wheat producing small producers were usually forced to look for subsidiary incomes. So some members of the family, especially young ones, either had to

migrate to find other jobs or got casual employment in the forests and in small industry.

In the region, industrial crops, especially tobacco and sugar beet, and food crops such as potatoes and hazelnuts were much more profitable. Both tobacco and sugar beet were state monopolies, so the state controlled the area sown and the amount to be produced. Also as the sole buyer, the state determined the price every year. A State Planning Institute report (1965) pointed out that tobacco production in the region was in decline due to low price determination and the high labour consuming nature of tobacco. Despite a stable and guaranteed market the tendency among producers was to go into hazelnut production gradually, which was less labour consuming and yielded more income. Sugar beet had higher profits for the producer and they looked forward every other year to their region being allocated by the state to grow sugar beet. As some workers said, their agricultural life was incomparably better off when sugar beet production was allowed in their region.

Potatoes, on the other hand were a profitable but a more vulnerable crop. The labourers were mostly women, part time employed housewives, who willingly worked for very low wages, as a means of additional income. However the

marketing of the product for the producer was not always so easy. Most of the time the producers were unable to find buyers immediately so the quality and the price deteriorated.

Hazelnut production was economic because it was less labour intensive and more profitable. The main area of production was in the North of the province, nearer the sea where the climate was very humid. It was also reported that hazelnut production areas were extending in the West Black Sea region as a whole (Ministry of development and reconstruction, 1971). The immediate buyers of the product were agricultural cooperatives.

The peasants who lived in the mountainous forest villages, approximately half of the rural population, were the worst off in terms of agricultural income. On the other hand they had the opportunity of taking casual work in the state owned forests. This kind of employment had become a traditional way of earning additional income for subsistence in the area. It was impossible to find out how many persons worked as forest workers because it was a seasonal or part time job and government officials did not keep records of the turnover. Among my respondents 25 per cent had this experience before they took factory jobs. Of course

others who reported their previous jobs as industrial may have also engaged in forest work at the same time. In fact, according to a report by the Ministry of Development and Reconstruction, 1971, at least one member of every family living near forest areas would work in jobs like cutting and carrying trees, building of forest roads, planting new trees or protection of forest areas. Among the families living in the rural areas almost 50 per cent obtained a major part of their income from such jobs in the forests.

Uneven land made the use of modern technology almost impossible. There were fewer tractors, and less land cultivated by tractor than in other regions of a similar socio-economic level. The low level of technology, lack of intensive cultivation, poor soil and small size of holdings were insufficient to feed the increasing households. The obvious solutions were to look for additional, income opportunities around the villages or in nearby areas, mainly from the forests. The youngest members of the households moved out, migrating to cities or towns to find a means of earning a living.

VI. Industry

In Bolu industrial activities were mostly located in the province capital and in *Düzce*, the largest town of the province. Other towns had small handicrafts and workshops of little industrial importance. Since it was mainly a province famous for its forests, the wood products industry dominated both the private and public sectors. Bolu province produced 25 per cent of the country's timber, plank and parquet production and 40 per cent of the total chipboard and formica production in 1972 *(Bolu İl Yıllığı,* 1973).

Any significant industrial development took place from 1963 onwards. In 1940 there were only three flour mills, three timber factories and some workshops, mainly in *Gerede*, a province town closer to Ankara, making leather goods. By 1963, 16 industrial establishments existed in the province, 12 in the private and 4 in the public sector. Industrialization, parallel to the strong emphasis given to industry in the Five Year Development Plans, gained speed in Bolu after 1968-70. According to the Manufacturing Industry Survey in 1975, 45 establishments, 38 private and 7 public, employed 10 workers or more (the criterion used for large industrial enterprise by the S.P.O.). Among these, the state factories employed 350 to 600 workers. Some private factories employed around 100

workers. On the whole large establishments employed 10 per cent of the total workforce in industry and services (S.P.O., 1977). Of this 10 per cent, 40 per cent was in private and 52 in state enterprises. Thus, the public sector in Bolu, holding a prominent and leading role in the economy as in the rest of the country, was also the biggest employer.

Bolu's industrial development experienced a "take off" between 1973 and 1983. One reason for this was the inclusion of Bolu among the provinces getting priority in government support for infra-structural investments of a promotional nature (S.P.O., 1965). The plan was to attract private entrepreneurs to invest in the area after the state accomplished some basic structural investments like roads, better communication facilities, and sanitation. Also such provinces were given tax concessions on imported machinery. Besides the support from the government, most people with whom I talked at the time of the research thought that Bolu's proximity to the largest industrial centres, its location on the main transport route between the east and west of Turkey was an advantage and provided an attraction to the large private sector. In fact it was an observable fact for everyone that between Istanbul and ***Hendek*** almost all places were full and industry had to move further towards Bolu or ***Düzce*** for new investments. However, this plan did not work

out as intended after 1983. The only achievement was the establishment of a large *Arçelik* factory in Bolu town, manufacturing durable consumer goods (immersion heaters, gas cookers, carburetors) with a workforce of 1000 in 1982. In fact most of the investments went to *Düzce*, causing this province town to grow larger than Bolu itself, because it was closer to *İstanbul* and other industrial centres. After 1983 Bolu province lost its place as a priority province due to a slight increase in its socio-economic indicators. This change was appraised by the Bolu Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Without government support industrial development in Bolu Province slowed down after 1983 (*Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Bolu*, 86; Report on Bolu's industrial future by Chamber of Industry, 1988). Wood industries in the region generally used labour intensive technologies. The state factories used relatively well advanced assembly line technology in the production of timber, combined with heavy manual labour in some stages of the process, compared to the private timber and parquetry producing factories where the production was mainly manual, using pit saws. Actually the occupation of pit sawyer had a long history in Bolu and some of the large private timber factories developed from the early pit saw workshops. For most of the workers also, part or full time work in the small workshops was a chance to learn the trade and get

early employment. The workers still working in those workshops were unorganized. Employers used very tough methods to prevent unionization, and the workers lived a paternalist, master-apprentice relationship.

Other workshops manufactured wooden containers, all kinds of furniture and chemical wood preservatives. These were all small or medium sized enterprises, employing one to ten wage workers as well family labour, working with very simple technology and highly labour intensive.

Apart from the wood industry in Bolu town, the private sector included a cement factory, built in 1973, a pasta shell producing factory, built in 1976, a dairy products factory, built in 1968, and two large flour mills. These were plants with a workforce between 100 to 300, all using relatively advanced assembly line technologies. In 1978 there were 7 such establishments.

The earlier enterprises had their difficulties. First both private and public factories suffered from the lack of spare parts for the machines. It was a time when Turkey was experiencing shortages in every aspect of life but mainly in the industrial sector because of acute balance of payments difficulties. A second problem appeared to be finding

appropriately skilled personnel. So a few who had vocational school training were in high demand as technicians. These were usually more keen to start their own business if they could find the capital. Most of the skilled workers in the large factories however had learned their trade in small workshops before they got factory jobs and completed their training in the factory. This practice was costly to the employers but still preferable because the graduates of the vocational schools were younger men with higher aspirations and expectations which the employers found difficult to handle. Also it was more difficult to shift more educated workers to jobs which they did not fancy, whereas men from the small workshop backgrounds were more docile.

Compared to the small enterprises, the large factories had very little financial or marketing difficulties. Generally the kind of industries found in Bolu had reasonable profit margins due to assured markets, cheap labour and immediate availability of other inputs. Raw materials were obtained from the region and hence cheaper. Also Bolu was very close to big metropolitan areas so transport was easy, and markets assured.

The technology in the factories (including the factories in my sample) varied from assembly-line processes (wood) and

continuous-process industries (cement, dairy products and pasta shell manufacture) to one-off jobs by skilled mechanics (state service stations). The factories were built with German and Italian know-how and technology. Since then these particular technologies have become out of date in the West, but so far lack of resources and know-how has made updating impossible. On the other hand there were quite frequent breakdowns in parts of the machines which had to be ordered from abroad, from the producers of the machines. These could take months or even a year to arrive, especially when payments were delayed due to balance of payments shortages. Although many spare parts of this machinery could be manufactured by welders and turners in small workshops, some essential parts could not. So during the research I observed at least three break downs, two in state factories and one in the private cement factory. Vehicles were lying idle in the state service stations because the spare parts could not be found. The breakdowns allowed me to get ready permission to talk to workers for long periods during working hours.

VII. Petty Commodity Producers

Petty Commodity Production covered some 2000 small enterprises (workshops employing 1-10 workers usually having

quite paternalistic relationships with the owner/s), in the manufacturing and service sector. According to the 1970 survey, these employed 4000 workers or 10 per cent of the total workforce in industry and services (S.I.S., 1976). Actually, more than half of these were employing 1 to 3 workers. The small industries were mainly concentrated in manufacture of leather goods, footwear, transport equipment and supplies, metal products, furniture, wood and cork and some electrical appliances. Some of them, like manufacturers of transport equipment, electrical appliances and metal goods had relations with large industry as the suppliers of intermediate products. Although their services to the big industry were cheap it was a profitable, ready market for them. Also some part of their production was for the village population who were increasingly buying tractors and other agricultural equipment but depended on the small workshops to have their machines repaired or to buy spare parts. Another market for the small entrepreneurs was large scale transport activities taking place in Bolu town especially due to its strategic location on the main route from İstanbul to Ankara and the East. Thus, workshops manufacturing transport equipment and supplies and small service stations (garages) flourished in the province.

They were still at the level of artisan production with primitive tools and low productivity. Neither the sale of the commodity nor the buying of raw materials was well organized but rather unstable. Furniture making on the other hand, although another traditional industry in the province, was more in demand, more organized and profitable. These small furniture workshops had contracts with big furniture warehouses in İstanbul and Ankara and worked largely with orders.

The owners of the medium scale private enterprises and the petty commodity producers suffered from various shortcomings. Some of the most important ones were raw material shortages, lack of skilled personnel and management, low levels of productivity due to worn-out machinery and obsolete techniques and severe problems of credit and marketing. For such difficulties there was no help or guidance from the government. On the other hand they had quite effective ways and means to avoid the requirements of legislation. Inspections by social security officials were carefully misdirected or avoided. Any attempt at the organization of labour was strongly rejected. So the workers in these small workshops or factories worked for low wages, had no security of employment, pensions, leave or maternity benefits.

In most of the small workshops the entrepreneur himself was a skilled worker who worked as the master and employed 3 or 4 skilled or semi-skilled workers and a few apprentices, mostly teenagers from the age of 13 to 17, sent by their fathers to learn a trade. So the order and discipline in the workshops between the workers and the employers depended on the apprenticeship. I have heard cases where the masters encouraged their employees to open their own shops once they could satisfy the master that they had acquired enough skills to become their own masters. In such cases the masters also helped their previous workers financially and sent some of their own customers until they could stand in the business by themselves. So it was a kind of social and economic network, once the apprentice had learned his craft.

VIII. The Coal Industry

Bolu possessed coal-mines. I investigated them at the beginning of my research but did not include them in the actual research later because of the difficulties of getting in a second time when the owners were very sensitive to the existing government's plans to nationalize all private mines.

All were privately owned and managed, employing a total workforce of 4500 workers. They produced 5 per cent of the lignite production in Turkey and because of its good quality the product was in high demand in all the factories in the Western regions of Turkey. There was no demand from the east because of high costs of transport by lorries. There were no facilities in the mines to process the lignite, so the product had to be transported immediately.

The labour force in the mines were members of peasant families, usually from the nearby villages and mostly working seasonally. When the mines had to close from time to time they returned to their agricultural activities and came back when required. The employers could thus avoid paying social security dues by not registering their workers. The peasant-workers did not protest because they wanted to work their land; as part time workers they had to accept what was offered. Another small part of the workforce came from ***Zonguldak*** in the northern part of the region, a major coal mining area, worked by state enterprises. Workers in the state coal-mining who suffered from silicosis were certified medically unfit to work in any coal-mine. But they were much in demand in the private coal-mines in Bolu. They did not require payments for social security or retirement because they were already getting their social

security payments from the state. All the same they were working in the private mines for low wages, despite their health reports since none of these mines were unionized.

In spite of the advantages of cheap labour and ready markets these private mines did not operate as efficiently as the state owned mines. First due to the lack, or backwardness of the technology used and secondly due to financial shortcomings they were not able to cope with the complications of mining. They had to stop the work from time to time. Working conditions were very hazardous compared to the state mines. Health and safety and the quality of production was controlled directly by the experience and common sense of skilled workers, in the absence of technicians or mining engineers.

Quite a number of small non-industrial establishments also operated in the services, transport and commercial sector, again mainly fostered by the main transport route running through the province. Luxury hotels, cafes and restaurants in or around Bolu town offered employment opportunities to the migrants.

There were also self-employed shop owners, lorry owners, taxi and minibus owners, and drivers. According to the

official statistics -not all that reliable- the public sector was doing well by the measure of "value added".

Though public sector investments were 16 per cent of total investments, they created 56 per cent of the value added while large private investments contributed 44 per cent. The public sector included 48 percent of productive investments (timber, wood products, dairy products, tobacco and other agricultural products), 40 per cent of infrastructure investments and 12 per cent of services.

In summary, medium-scale private establishments (workforce 10 to 100) started to flourish after 1960. In the early 1970s larger private establishments (workforce 100 over) followed, concentrated in food industry, cement, parquetry, furniture and in the production of durable consumer goods (early 1980s one of the largest factories of ***Arçelik-Koç*** Holding producing refrigerators and other durables). Also in the services, transport and building industry (including road building) independent business firms or partnerships were prominent and continuously increasing. The significant role of the public sector in the initial stages of industrialization started to fall behind, leaving the ground to private enterprises. In the private sector, however, small and

medium sized establishments prevailed, parallel to the dominance of small land proprietors in agriculture.

IX. The Fieldwork

This work was a result of fieldwork, made in two stages, the first in 1977 and the second in 1979. My first intention, to make a social historical analysis of the development of trade unions in Turkey was gradually transformed into an ethnography of small town factory workers in Bolu.

The first reason for this change of mind was the virtual absence of any first hand empirical studies of the subject, in any region of Turkey, which could be used to make some comparisons and arrive at some general conclusions. All that existed was some chronological or documentary work on the development of Turkish Labour Unions largely using second hand information. The second reason was the insufficiency of the existing statistical and census data. The number of wage workers was given together with other employees without differentiating them. In Turkey, reliable figures for unemployment and underemployment are still impossible to find. Thirdly my experience and time to do such a wide ranging analysis was limited. It would require a group study over a long period to go through the

archives and official documents, in order to analyze the socio-historical development of the Turkish working class.

During my first short stay in the field, I set out to explore the general context, and to set limits and decide on directions. My central question was one of definition. "Who counts as a factory worker first in Turkey, secondly and more important in Bolu?".

I concluded a preliminary survey of some 60 workers by questionnaire. They worked in a variety of workplaces, medium or larger factories, mines, repair workshops.

I also took every opportunity to talk to people informally about my research. I obtained information about the enterprises from the managing directors or other administrative and clerical staff. The only difficulty appeared to be getting access to the files and documents of the establishments. Most of the time I had to accept approximate figures given orally.

After a year I went back to Bolu to undertake the actual research over a longer period and covering more people. By that time there had been a government change and the RPP (Republican People's Party) had come to power with coalition

partners. In the political spectrum of 1978 in Turkey, the RPP claimed to be 'social-democrat' as opposed to the conservative Justice Party. The managers of all state factories were changed and they were more helpful than the previous ones.

I tried to meet as many people as possible, asked questions, listened to their arguments and complaints, observed their everyday lives in the factories and outside, in their homes or shops. I also made structured depth interviews with 120 workers. With the data I collected during the eight months of my stay, my aim is to give some first hand accounts of factory workers in Bolu which might be useful for comparison with other studies. However I am aware of the fact that with this kind of research undertaken in a limited time, at a specific point of history in the lives of these workers, it would not be possible to comment on processes of change but only to point out the possible tendencies. To use a term from Lubeck (1986) I can only aim to give 'snap-shot photography' of their practices, i.e. like all ethnography.

The research had some time limitations. In any workplace I found that after a few days the workers started to become bored and lost their enthusiasm. Also the topics of my

interview started to circulate within the workplace and when the workers came to the interview they had already discussed the questions with others. So the best tactic was to return to the same workplace at odd unexpected times. Another time limitation came from the managers. As the interviews took longer and longer, the managers were also getting uneasy about the time spent by the workers. They were also skeptical about the topics raised in the interview as a wider group of workers started to discuss them.

Another aim of the research was to attempt to understand the workers' perceptions of the reality in which they lived their lives. As I got more involved I believed once more that to attempt to 'model' people's world views into some kind of categories was impossible. On the other hand to try to understand their ideas in terms of available social science terminology was absurd. I decided to rely only on what the workers themselves said, and to classify and analyze them only in their own terms.

I ran into two main difficulties, first, I could find no comparable studies to serve as a guide. Secondly, I did not at first know how to confront the differences of the meaning systems between myself and my respondents. Again

my solution was to use their words and terms from everyday language as much as possible.

The sample of 120 workers was chosen from the five largest industrial plants and workplaces in Bolu, the province centre. The main criteria for selecting those workplaces were that they should be the largest employers of wage earners and should be the oldest established ones in both the private and public sector. Therefore in the second round of the research I left out the private pasta shell factory which had only four years of experience, and all the small enterprises. Also I decided to leave out the women workers and selected the sample from manual male workers only. There were very few women workers in Bolu and in the pilot research they showed total disinterest to unions and to opinion questions. Typically, they would say "My husband knows such politics. I do not have enough knowledge to comment. Anyway women do not go to these meetings or speak to men about such 'things'. How are we supposed to know". Although this was a significant finding by itself I found the data insufficient and incomparable. The women industrial workers needed a special study concentrating on the problems of women in Turkey.

The selection of the manual workers was another difficult issue since the lists of workers' names in the factories were not precise and orderly. More importantly interviewing workers during work hours, when they worked in three shifts in all factories made it impossible to use the lists of names for sampling. So instead of selecting names at random from the lists I decided to ask who was available at the time. Those whom I asked were experienced workers in the factories whom both workers and managers respected and trusted and who seemed to know everybody. Hence the sample also covered the workers who were suggested by these respected elderly workers. This gave a slight and perhaps useful bias towards more educated and articulate workers in the sample.

This naming of the better educated workers for the interviews reflected the importance given to the study by the workers. Most of the workers in the sample factories and workplaces and even workers from other factories who heard about the research from their friends - were quite cooperative and enthusiastic simply because it was the first time in their lives that someone - especially an educated person - asked their opinions about such general matters. Before, the only men who talked to them, and seemed to be interested in their problems temporarily were top union

officials; or politicians who usually once they had their votes, deserted them. Although my interest in their affairs also had a selfish motive, collecting information for the purposes of research and my career - which I had tried to make clear to them, they perceived me as a person who might relay their voices to some powerful people in the capital.

In communicating with the workers, being a women came out to be an unexpected advantage. In a traditional Middle Eastern culture where women's role in economic life and education was not very prominent, I was expecting certain difficulties before the research, like a high refusal rate, lack of interest or not taking the matter seriously. In the event things very worked out very differently, and on reflection this is understandable. First I was highly respected and was helped in every way. Secondly, feeling that a woman could do no harm to them anyway, the workers were very open, sincere and very interested in discussing the issues raised in the interview. As a woman and a student I did not represent any authority (personal or formal) for them so during the interviews they could be relaxed and could talk about their opinions freely, without the fear of ridicule, or repercussions.

The choice of Bolu for the research was mainly for practical reasons. Limitations of finance and time forced one to look for a small locality where accommodation and transport would be easier. In this sense Bolu had many advantages for me since I had personal links to the locality and the people. No empirical research had been done in Bolu. To be chosen as an area for research gave the locals a certain pride and false hope, they were friendly and helpful to me. Also access to factories and workers was greatly helped through my links to the right persons to help me.

The choice of Bolu, a small town where the majority of workers were first generation, did in fact suit my aims. Although the range of industries were not very wide, Bolu had a fair coverage of public and private sector large-scale establishments besides many small and medium scale enterprises, and more opportunities than most provinces for non-agricultural work in transport and forests. This made the research more interesting, in covering different levels of experience in wage labour. Another crucial concern was about the ethnic and sectarian differences which might have influenced workers' attitudes. Some groups, for example the *Balkan* immigrants or the *Alevi's* had a reputation (unconfirmed since ethnic research in Turkey is almost non-existent) for being more 'open minded' and more adaptable

to the values of industrial society. So the responses and political affiliations of these groups may be quite different. Again Bolu had an ethnically and religiously homogeneous population so that these factors could be kept constant. One last point of theoretical concern was that the majority of workers in Bolu were first generation workers who had not totally severed their ties with the land. This kind of a workforce reflected the majority of industrial workers in Turkey - as in many Third World countries. The exceptions would be from the big industrial centres : *İstanbul, İzmit, Adana, İzmir, Bursa.* Thus, I was able to try to understand their perceptions and evaluations of wage labour; and to collect information about their experiences, while they were still fresh from village agriculture.

X. Techniques of Investigation

To find 'the most' valid and reliable technique of investigation has always been a problem in social sciences. Every technique has its own shortcomings and limitations as well as advantages. Avoiding the subjective biases of the researcher's own culture and beliefs is one main question to which no solution has yet been found. Each technique has different assumptions about uncovering the 'reality' and meaning. Some employ several techniques at the same time,

to reduce error by cross-checking and comparison (Lubeck, 1986). However most researchers are limited by finance and time. My research suffered from such limitations, and I was forced to rely mostly on interviews. But I did also support my findings with documentary and library research, with questionnaires about union organization and about the factories or workplaces in which I worked, and with informal discussions with a variety of people in Bolu. The structured depth interviews were very long. I covered many issues : from the social and demographic characteristics of workers, details of occupational history, all past and present relations with agriculture, residential and social networks, evaluations of unions at various levels; the attitudes of the workers to work and occupations, to their futures and their prospects, to social equality and mobility, political and economic problems (See Appendix II- Interview Schedule). My main purpose in these depth interviews was to obtain high quality data on levels of awareness of different workers with different backgrounds and experiences, though I was aware as well that this would only represent a snap shot of a long term and complicated process.

The interviews with each worker were completed within three and half to four hours without breaks which meant at most two interviews in a working day. For statistical

comparison, I planned an equal number of interviews - 24 or 25 in each factory or workplace; in the end, the number varied slightly between factories. There were no pre-coded questions in the interview. All issues were raised in a flexible manner with a variety of possibilities applicable in different cases. This meant there were no imposed concepts but a range of terms used to make sure the workers understood what was asked and could reply in their own terms. This made the coding in the end very complicated and difficult. The interviews took place on the shop floor, in the control rooms of foremen, in union rooms or in specially allocated rooms. The important criteria were that the place should be quiet so that the workers and I could understand each other, and that outside interference (other workers, unionists, officials) be reduced to a minimum. To maintain these conditions on the factory shop floor was not easy to achieve without offending people.

From the wives of some workers who invited me for tea, I learned a lot about their problems in everyday life, what they expected from their husbands' work and future prospects. My own network in the town helped me to find out various details about the town. Also talks with other employees in the factories helped me to cross check worker's responses related to the workplace.

Documentary and library research had to be done in two parts. The first part I completed in *Ankara* by visiting the national library to find any existing works on industrial labour in Turkey, the State Planning Organization (S.P.O), the State Institute of Statistics (S.I.S) and the Ministry of Labour to obtain general labour statistics and to the central offices of many unions to collect the union data. For the second part in Bolu I collected the information from the State Agricultural Office, Department of Social Insurance, Department of Settlements and Reconstruction, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as from the union offices and the central library. Separate questionnaires were prepared for the organizational information which I directed to the managing directors or other administrative staff in the factories.

Footnotes

1. Administratively, Turkey is divided into 67 provinces (*il*) (73 in 1990). Each province has a capital town (*il merkezi*) which also gives its name to the whole province (e.g. Bolu province and Bolu town). Each province is divided into districts, each with its central town, *ilçe merkezi*. To see the

administrative division in Bolu province refer to the ***Map*** at the back of the thesis.

2. In Turkey 'urban' refers to the area within the municipal boundaries of the town centre. Any area outside these boundaries is 'rural'.

3. This increase was mainly due to outward migration from the villages towards urban areas. But also it may be effected from a continuous extension of the urban boundaries, which include they nearby villages into the Municipality.

4. Bolu province is very well known in Turkey with its tradition of training the best cooks in the country. Cooks, as a trade, were especially trained in ***Mengen***, a district town, where a national 'cooks' festival is celebrated every year.

5. Most immigrant workers come from mountainous areas, where cultivable lands are few and inefficient.

$$6.\ \text{Age dependency ratio} = \frac{(0\text{-}14) + 65 + \text{population}}{15 - 64\ \text{population}} * 100$$

7. 'Unpaid family workers' includes those members of the family, mainly women, working on the land or in the small workshop which belong to the family, without receiving any payments.

8. Official statistics are used in the text;

1 ***Dönüm*** = 1 Decar = 1000 m2

1 Hectar = 10 Decar

However, in Bolu 1 ***Dönüm*** = 1600 m2 = 1.6 Decar, as given by Department of Technical Agriculture

9. Information taken from Department of Agriculture.

CHAPTER THREE

SAMPLE FACTORIES: TECHNICAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK PROCESS

Introduction

In the sample I had three factories and two other workplaces. I will call them Timber (public), Chipboard (public), Cement (private), Forest Roads Maintenance Centre (state), Village Roads Maintenance Centre (state). The last two were the largest. They were the central service stations of the North-West Black Sea Region. They were established as large workshops with two major functions. The first was to coordinate the work teams for the construction of roads, and the second, to maintain the upkeep of heavy road construction vehicles. In that sense they were both giving a form of public service and were connected to two different Ministries, namely the Ministry of Forestry and Ministry of Village Affairs, which later merged into one (Table, 3.1).

These were selected because at the time of the research they were the largest employers in Bolu. The public sector factories and workplaces were founded much earlier than the private one, which was only six years old when the

research was undertaken. This fitted in with the pattern in Turkey where industrial development was prompted by the large public sector factories founded after the 1950s and this later stimulated the growth of private sector establishments.

Table 3.1

The Sample Factories and Workplaces

	workforce	% of Women Workers (1)	year of estab.	type of prod.	no. of workers in sample
Timber (public)	615	3.2	1953	timber and wood products	29
Chipboard (public)	350	34.5	1961	chipboard and plywood	14
Cement (private)	320	-	1974	cement	28
Forest Roads (state)	340	2.9	1959	construction of forest roads and maintenance of vehicles	25
Village Roads (state)	271	-	1965	construction of village roads and maintenance of vehicles	24

(1) The percentage of women in these industries was generally low because of the heavy nature of the work. In the chipboard factory they worked in cutting and sticking paper and office jobs. Other factories tended to employ women for cleaning and other service jobs, apart from office work.

I. TIMBER FACTORY - KARACASU

I. a. Forest Industry in Turkey

Forests are state owned in Turkey. So the production of wood and wood products on a massive scale was initiated by the state in the province, and medium scale private

timber factories followed later. The state was involved in two stages of production. First the trees were cut and transported to the factories. Then in the second stage, logs were made into timber, parquetry and other wood products.

The first stage was done rather as a public service. The government appointed some forestry engineers as regional managing directors responsible for the forests of certain regions. They had to decide from which part the cutting could be done, and employed and supervised a group of labourers (usually from the Eastern provinces or some villagers of the province on a piece-rate basis). They also decided the amount of wood to be given to the villagers every year as a state allowance for the villages in the forest areas. They were also responsible for the security of the forests and prevention of illegal cutting. They supervised bookeeping and registration in the depots for the number of trees cut and sent to the state factories. This stage of production was time consuming and very difficult to control. The profits from timber increased when the first stage was over and the logs were carried down to the factories and it was after this point that the private sector became interested. The second stage of production of timber, in public sector factories, mainly took two forms. One was to cut logs into timber or produce other forms of wood

products (hardboard, chipboard, ply-wood). Another was to impregnate (wood preservation) power poles with chemicals so that they could be used for electricity or as telecommunication poles, protected from the elements.

The private local firms gained the distribution of the wood products by tender. There were two major local firms who would successfully manage to win the tender for the distribution of timber from the public factories every year and either transport it directly to the buyers or sell from their own warehouses. They would profit from the sale and distribution of the finished products and act as intermediaries between the factories and the contractors, (as 'distributing agents'), without being involved in the costly and time consuming but relatively less profitable process of production. The State on the other hand could not control the price of timber once it was bought by the agents. The intermediaries determined the retail price of timber depending on demand. Since the demand for timber always exceeded the supply (due to the thriving building sector) the distribution of timber was a very profitable business immediately at the factory gates, as long as the tender from the public timber factories was assured every year. Continuity was maintained through the local political and

social network and these firms tended to dominate local business as well as local politics in Bolu.(1)

The private sector was also interested in the production of consumer goods like parquetry and other wood products, such as containers, for which demand was high and would bring assured markets. Similarly to the distributors, the owners of these private factories were also influential in local politics in Bolu and they were members of the Town Council. One of them had been continually elected as Mayor of the town for thirty years, despite many allegations of dishonesty.

These distributing agents and owners of medium or small factories, were connected to seven established families in the town and dominated the town economically and politically especially after the 1940s. They were mainly engaged in either the production or distribution of wood products or extraction of coal and some of them had big accounting and contracting firms in the town.

I. b. The Setting of the Work Process

The Karacasu timber factory was situated four miles south of Bolu town, in the village with the same name, well

known in Turkey for its spa, and thermal spring. Most of the workers were either inhabitants of this village or migrants from *Seben* (a province town south of Bolu famous for its orchards, mountain lakes and a skiing resort) because it was the nearest province town.

Karacasu being the largest and the oldest timber factory of Bolu, had four different units. When established in 1953, it only consisted of one workshop and a warehouse. The workshop had four large pit-saws. Productivity was low and everything depended on manual labour. On the pit-saws one master and two apprentices worked as a team. One of the apprentices would push the logs on to the pit-saw, the master would use the machine to cut the timber into the required sizes and the other apprentice would pick up the small pieces of wood scattered around, sweep the wood dust and clear the working place. The logs were carried into the workshop by a water chanel while workers directed them with long sticks and then used special kind of lever to put them on to the pit-saws. Then the finished products were carried and loaded on to the trucks manually by the workers. This unit was modernized in the early 1970s. However the old pit-saws were not thrown away and they continued to be used as before. Additionally, a new extension, called the 'new workshop' was established next to

the 'old workshop' with modern pit-saws and new equipment, where usually younger workers were employed. The older workers stayed in the old workshop since they felt at ease with the old manual pit-saws. In the new workshop there were two big modern machines which could lift the logs, cut them and stack them on to the transporter. This considerably decreased the need for manual labour. Only one skilled worker was needed to use the machine and productivity was much higher than in the old workshop. However beside the skilled workers who used the machines there was still a need for apprentices to pick up pieces, to sweep and clear the workplace, and to help if a log went into the machine wrongly.

In 1956, an impregnation unit was established. Again the work was heavily dependant on manual labour as the power poles were carried and immersed into the chemicals. The whole process of carrying unprocessed poles and then stacking the finished poles outside the unit were manually done; so it was a heavy job. There were three teams of five workers on the shop-floor with two foremen to supervise the quality of the processing. The workers were unskilled, manual labourers and all decisions were taken by a foremen and one engineer. On the other hand the conditions in this unit were very hazardous for health

because of the strong chemicals used. The workers were always complaining that they were not given the proper industrial gloves to handle the poles covered with chemicals. The management and the union claimed that there were no such gloves to ease the situation and rubber gloves would be torn off immediately. Hence all the workers in this unit suffered from sores and abrasions on their hands. Besides they suffered from the fumes of hot chemical wells in which the poles had to be immersed for a certain period. For these hazardous health conditions the workers were unable to demand compensation from the management. They had to put up with them or lose their jobs.

In 1973, the chip-board unit was established, and since then it competed with the other public sector factory producing chip-board. The first part of the production process involving the preparation of chipped wood and fibres was highly mechanized and only a small number of workers were needed to attend to the machines. In the second part, where the half processed chipped wood mixed with resin was turned into hardboard or chipboard, more workers were used to attend the press machines. There were three moving bands with a team of five or six workers on each line. Two of them would be *usta* (masters) and three or four *usta yardımcısı* (master-apprentices). Apart from this, on the

shop-floor there were two worker teams who stacked the finished products together and carried them outside, to the warehouse, using transporting vehicles. The production of hardboard and chipboard required the use of certain chemicals (e.g. a kind of mixed resin). The process of manufacturing the resin from different inputs (usually imported from abroad) was undertaken in a separate, closed division on the shop-floor. This was another source of complaint since the resin was damaging to eyes and to lungs because of its strong burning smell. According to the workers, they should have been allowed hourly breaks in the fresh air. However this kind of a claim was considered an extreme demand by the management and the union was ineffective in getting any compromise on this issue except that they gained the supply of 'one cup of natural yoğurt' to each worker together with their free meal.

The third unit was the warehouse. Almost all workers were unskilled including the supervisor. The job here only required muscle power to load the trucks and the supervisor was responsible for registering the stocks in the warehouse and supervising the loading of the trucks in accordance with the orders.

The technology of production in the factory, on the whole, was out of date. As I have indicated above, this factory was established by German technology which was already absolete in that country. Replacing spare parts from the original company especially with foreign exchange which was in short supply was a major problem, leading to frequent halts in production within the factory. Actually when asked about the difficulties the factory was facing, the main complaint from both the workers and the managers was these halts which were affecting the work routine in the factory. Thus workers were faced with involuntary job shifting, and the managers had to cope with low productivity levels and failure to meet the market demand. Production targets were not met. For 1979 realized production of finished product was only 68% of the target level.

I. c. Work Schedule and Turnover

The working schedule was three shifts in the chip-board unit where they worked with moving bands, and two shifts in the other units. After every shift, day or night, the management provided transport to various districts in town or to certain villages. So provision of transport and meals by the management was considered to be part of the fringe benefits given to the workers.

The labour turnover in this factory was very low. The main aspirations of workers were to stay in the job at all costs once they got it, possibly until their retirement and obtain pension rights (after 25 years of service for men and 20 for women). Almost none left the job except for reasons of retirement, ill health, old age, military service or transfer to another workplace of the same establishment. Turnover rate for these reasons was only about 10 percent. In 1976 the total workforce was 450 which increased to 700 in 1978 due to the launching of the new chip-board unit. According to the manager, workers in Turkey in general preferred to work in public enterprises because of high fringe benefits, amounting to almost 70 percent of the actual wage (see page 105-106).

I. d. Management and Control

The factory was a 'state economic enterprise' *İktisadi Devlet Teşebbüsü*, which meant that the management personnel were appointed from Ankara, although many of them were locals of Bolu. The level of productivity, efficiency, marketing of the products, production targets, provision of inputs, any new investment or expansion, in general a whole lot of economic decisions were given from above, within the

Department of Forest Products Industry which belonged to the Ministry of Forestry. Even the negotiations with the unions were held between the top union officials and the representatives of the Ministry in Ankara. The local management did not have much initiative in this sense as everything was determined at the top, at governmental level. On the other hand, they had the responsibility of keeping up the production level, meeting the deadlines of the orders and keeping order and discipline in the factory. During the interviews many managers, from both the public and the private sector, responded that "public enterprises would operate considerably more efficiently if they were owned by private entrepreneurs". Obviously this statement reflected the image in Turkey that "private enterprises are always successful, whereas losses in the public sector are common knowledge".

In this factory differentiation of employment status was prominent among the workers through legal definition. Although all the employees were paid by the state, some personnel who were not directly involved with the production process, like drivers of personnel service cars, engineers, some technicians, accountants, bookeepers, laboratory assistants, secretaries or clerks were classified as state employees or *Memur*. They were not covered by

collective bargaining since in Turkey civil servants could not become unionized. This kind of differentiation weakened the bargaining power of the unions by creating examples of different pay levels. Alternative negotiations using different criteria led to fragmentation among the workers and hence strengthened management control.

Yet despite these bureaucratic rules and definitions, the relations on the shopfloor, apart from with the top managers, were very close, informal and friendly. An example of such an attitude was the football teams formed by different units which included workers (skilled or unskilled), technicians and engineers, foremen or supervisors, as well as some administrative personnel in clerical jobs, who were personal friends and neighbours outside the factory. The engineers would chat easily with the workers at any time, in any place, without much indication of status divisions. They would talk about national or local football matches, the best education for the children, party politics in Turkey or Bolu's local problems. Through these interactions, workers had easy access to information from the level of management, about the problems or about privileges and fringe benefits which the administrative personnel enjoyed. Through such informal relations the engineers became opinion leaders for most workers. They represented

'the educated' for the workers. Despite the fact that the engineers' perceptions of reality were very much shaped by their own conditions, they still influenced the workers' frame of reference.

Relations between the workers and the supervisors or the foremen were again not very bureaucratic but depended on other social criteria. These criteria might be similarities in ideological or political affiliations, or personal links (father's friend, neighbours, members of the same village, etc.) outside work. Management had no formal ideas about what proper shopfloor relations should be. The collective agreement simply said that both sides should 'respect each other', without defining respect or its limits. In fact most of the supervisors were old time small workshop owners so they still continued their paternalist attitude towards those they controlled. Usually some kind of respect for the master, *Usta,* (mostly in the old workshop but also in other units as well) ruled the relationships in the workplace. Good relations with the supervisors meant again being able to talk to them on various aspects of life or asking their opinions before making a decision about oneself or one's family. The supervisor might help the workers to get time off if the job was not too tight, or not report the worker to the management if he was late or absent from the job one day

due to family reasons. This kind of support from the supervisors was very significant for the workers who had many complicated problems, even daily, in the society. So all the workers on the shopfloor tried to keep friendly relations with their supervisors. Norms towards a certain level of production were also held within this framework, shared by both the workers and the foremen or supervisors. There could not be much flexibility in these norms as this would jeopardise the beneficial social relations of the worker on the shopfloor.

In other words in this establishment, like in many other public enterprises, bureaucratic control was something which was left at the level of paper work most of the time but came into effect if the employee was a 'trouble maker' (For example rotation of workers between the various regional branches of the same public enterprise was a rule written in the agreements but never applied. However due to a union conflict in one of the state service stations, this rule was put into practice immediately and 120 workers, most of them with settled homes in Bolu, were transferred to distant places which ended up with resignations and a loss of retirement benefits for many of them) (see chp.6 for more details).

On the other hand the organization of production - the techniques of production and the rhythm and pace of production - controlled the work more than anything else. The factory was working to keep up with the orders which were most of the time higher than the output. The technology of production was not advanced enough to fulfill this high demand from the construction sector. Also because of the frequent breakdowns or shortages of raw materials and spare parts the factory was not always capable of working to its full capacity. Under these conditions an 'unproblematic' workforce, who would agree to do any kind of job, would not dispute the organization of production, who would cost the least in terms of wages and fringe benefits, who would not strike easily for fear of the sack was a real asset.

I. e. Systems of Payment

Basic pay in this state factory was mainly determined by skill and seniority. Since it was the oldest establishment, years of employment were the longest except for the workers of the chip-board unit. Yet the wages were lower than those in the other workplaces in the sample. The nature of the industry and the organization of work affected this. A low level of skills was required for the jobs, mainly

in the pit-saws, the impregnation unit and the storing and packing unit (In the chip-board unit, the skill level was slightly higher and the workforce younger and more sophicticated). So seniority was counteracted by the relatively low skill requirements in this work. A S.P.O. report (1977) confirmed that the timber industry, and the food industry, were among the lowest paying in the country as a whole. The low level of skill and dominance of heavy manual labour, low level of labour action and organization, strong links of the workers with agriculture, all contributed to this feature, besides the effects of the low level of technology and productivity in the timber industry.

A worker's earnings might consist of one or more types of payment in this factory. These may be listed as follows:

(1) The basic wage, calculated on the basis of an eight hour working day, 26 days a month; (with a minimum of 150 Turkish Liras (3.19 £) a day for the unskilled, 270 TL. (5.7 £) for the skilled and technicians, 190 TL. (4.09 £) for the white collar workers, in 1978) (2);

(2) Night-shift payment at 5% above the normal basic hourly rate;

(3) Overtime payment at 60% above the individual hourly rate;

(4) Annual bonus, paid in four instalments in a year and in proportion to basic individual wage (total amount equals the monthly wage);

(5) Heating expense allowance, fixed every year by the government for all workers and civil servants, 'memur';

(6) Child allowance (100 TL. (£ 2.1) per child per month);

(7) Family allowance for married couples, equal to 250 TL. (£ 5.3) every month.

Apart from these, workers had social benefits like one free meal everyday, free transport to and from work, benefits for marriage, birth and death, 500 TL. (£ 10.6), yearly for each child in education and work clothing worth 2500 TL. (£ 53) every year. Some monthly deductions from the total wage were made like tax, union dues, social insurance and provident fund contributions.(3)

II. CHIPBOARD FACTORY - *SÜMERBANK*

This factory was established in 1961 first as a private enterprise but sold to *Sümerbank*, a state economic enterprise, in 1967. It was situated five miles from Bolu town, on the road to *Mudurnu* (a district town of Bolu province famous for its poultry and dairies), in proximity to the villages administratively connected to this town. So most

of the workers who lived outside Bolu town were from *Mudurnu*. Some of them still lived there and commuted to work. The ones living in Bolu mostly settled in *Sümer Mahallesi* (a relatively new residential district within Bolu town - Zone four- where migrants usually settled and most of them built their own two-storey houses). This district was established mainly by the newcomers to the town. It was also on the road to *Mudurnu* and was the nearest district to this factory. So transport to work was relatively easy for the workers living either in the villages or in this district even if they missed the service bus.

The main production of the factory was chipboard, hardboard, plywood formica and wallpaper. These products were in very high demand in the construction sector and for furniture making. So the factory was almost always working to full capacity.

The production was carried out in three shifts in the formica unit and the chip-board unit, on assembly lines. In the impregnation unit where the work was mainly manual, two shifts were sufficient. The technology of manufacturing chip-board was less advanced than in the similar unit in Karacasu state factory built in 1974. Though the Sümerbank factory pioneered the manufacture of such a product in

Turkey, its technology lagged behind the needs of the market. The chip-board unit in Karacasu factory was established with slightly better technology, and was in competition with Sümerbank factory.

II. a. The Setting of the Work Process

The work process in the formica unit of the Sümerbank factory was organized in two stages. First the raw material was prepared, cut to the required sizes, ground and polished, to be used for sticking on formica paper. At this stage there were two teams of four workers each with one master and three apprentices, who operated the machines to prepare and cut the raw material. This process needed a lot of manual handling of the materials in and out of the machines till the half finished product was transferred to the second part of the unit.

In the second stage, the half finished raw material was pressed and dried in a kiln. Each press was operated by a group of six workers, one master, *Usta*, two assistants, and three apprentices. At this stage, since production depended mostly on the pressing machines, very little manual labour was needed. The master would supervise the preparation of the raw material to be put under the press, decide the

design of the paper to be pressed on and check the correct handling and drying time of the material. In this procedure he had to rely heavily on the help and cooperation of the two assistants. This was also a very sociable situation where the team members could share their everyday problems or ideas while waiting for the previous pressing to be completed. Actually the rhythm of production was by no means slow. In an eight hour shift they had to complete five pressings, and hand them to the packing section within the unit.

Six people worked in the packing section. It was usually heavy manual work. This was also the place where the quality control of the finished product was carried out. They registered how many presses were completed, if there were any imperfections, shortages or failings to fulfill the target. Also the sale and transport of the product had to be supervised and registered. Transport was the responsibility of the buyers. So it was possible to watch the independent truck owners chatting to the workers, at all times of the day, while waiting for their trucks to be loaded. This was one of the meeting places of independent small business and wage-labour.

In the chip-board unit, production was organized in five stages. Here everything was done mostly by machines and the processing controlled from the electronic panels. Manual work was exceptional; only when something went wrong and handling was needed. The first process was to turn chipped wood into fibres. Then the fibres flowed into a pool where they were separated further into filaments in water and then stored in silos. When needed for production these filaments were pumped back from the silos, filtered through sieves and sent into the pressing section. This part of the process took only two skilled workers to control the electronic panels all through the work. The pressing section was responsible for putting the fibres (wet raw material) into lifts, feeding them to the pressing machine and setting the press according to the required thickness of the chip-board. Here there were two pressing machines each operated by five workers. Again there were one master and two assistants responsible for the control of the machines and the quality of the product, and two apprentices to do the odd jobs, and to lift boards from the press or to look after the cleaning of the press. Then came the finishing section where the kiln dried chip-board coming from the pressing section was cut into the required sizes, separated into different qualities, perforated and taken to the depot. This job was done by five workers who controled and directed

the machines during the cutting and performation processes. The final section was the depot where seven people worked to register the finished product, to supervise the sale and loading of trucks, etc.

The impregnation unit, was the same as in the Karacasu factory where the power poles were treated with chemicals and to submerging the poles in the wells was mainly a heavy manual job. This job needed four workers to hold and lift the poles where the one who was more skilled or experienced than the others determined the time the poles had to stay in the well. The chemical hazards also existed in this factory and no protection was given to the workers. In fact in the formica and chip-board units the mixing and manufacture of the resin was also a difficult job due to the noxious smell. It was impossible for me to stay in the place more than ten minutes without tears pouring down, whereas the workers had to stay in such circumstances eight hours a day. They did not get any compensation for this damage although they complained to me about their bad health. Their knowledge of the actual and long term dangers of the various chemicals they handled and inhaled everyday was, not suprisingly, very little.

II. b. Management and Control

The ownership status of this factory which was a state economic enterprise, had a different status from Karacasu. *Sümerbank*, was one of the independent state enterprises, established after 1924 to pioneer the textile industry in Turkey. The pioneering function of *Sümerbank* later extended to a wider range of production including shoes, carpets, and earthenware and the manufacture of paper and paper products, timber and other wood products. The reason behind establishing such enterprises by the state was to initiate a basic industry in the newly founded Turkish Republic after 1924 and later on to supply the public with cheap consumer goods, especially textiles. The Sümerbank factory in Bolu was performing this public service but because like Karacasu it also worked with distributing agents, the private sector profited more than the state or the public.

Managerial control in this factory was very similar to Karacasu. The top directors were appointed by the Sümerbank head office. Thus the top management was very much open to governmental changes. In fact as I witnessed myself, there were immediate changes in the management as soon as the government changed. This did not affect the turnover of the workforce too much, though during the

previous management I was told by some personal friends, that recruitment policy was inclined towards employing conservative workers with very strict religious ideas. This applied more to the salaried, clerical jobs. Also the kind of management in power made a difference in the policies of social relations with the workers. Thus the previous management, who were appointed by the conservative government (a coalition of liberal conservative Justice Party, religious Salvation party and very nationalistic Action Party) was more bureaucratic and formal in their relations with the workers.(4) They would not talk to the workers or the union within the factory and tended to be very rigid. They left all responsibility to the top management. The new management appointed later in 1979 by the social-democratic Republican People's Party were more open to everybody and more confident of themselves. The social climate in the factory changed totally and openly became much more relaxed.

The distinction between *Memur* and wage worker existed also in this factory. In a society where housing was a very sensitive issue, the allocation of factory houses to a limited number of salaried employees in administrative jobs was bound to attract attention and some anger. Maybe this was one of the main reasons why many workers in this factory

identified with *Memur* and wanted their children to take government jobs in the future. On the other hand there were no close or friendly relations between the administrative staff and the workers in this factory of the kind I had found in Karacasu. Employees and managers were very much conscious of the job and status differences.

On the shopfloor the relations between the *Ustas* and the apprentices were also quite formal. The informality in Karacasu did not appear here. There was much less playing around in the job, less tolerance from the *Ustabaşı* (Senior Master) in cases of asking permission to leave the job early, a day's sick leave or missing a day for 'personal reasons'. These were important in the lives of the workers since "the burdens of bureaucracy never ended and could be taken care of only during the day time". In Turkey the strong relations of dependence between kin forced people to allocate a lot of time to solving problems of other members of the larger family. Since these problems were mainly related to public services, the workers, at least once a month, needed time off during working hours to sort out theirs or others' problems with various government offices. In this sense an understanding or tolerant management which would not apply the rules strictly was always desirable.

II. c. Systems of Payment

The basic wage in this factory, as in other state establishments, depended on seniority and the level of skill required, besides the general productivity and profitability level of such an industry in Turkey. As I have said before, the timber industry happened to be one of the lowest paying sectors (S.P.O., 1977). Unlike Karacasu, seniority and skill coincided in the Sümerbank factory. Thus its workforce had longer experience and a higher level of skills than workers in many other establishments. Though the large number of women workers, in the formica and packing units especially, lowered the average wage rate in this factory, still it was considered by the workers themselves as a workplace with decent wages.

Workers' earnings consisted of various payments as follows:
(1) Basic wage for eight hours a day and forty eight hours in a week. Daily wages differed from 192 TL. (£ 4) for an *Usta* to 177 TL. (£ 37) for an appentice. However women workers in the formica section were paid lower than the male workers doing similar jobs. Women workers were younger, newly recruited and were paid the minimum wage which was about 150 TL. (£ 3) daily.

(2) Overtime payment, (50% above individual hourly rates during the day and 75% above during the night shifts);

(3) Annual bonus, (determined each year by the government);

(4) Heating expense allowance, (a total of 5000 TL. (£ 106) paid quarterly in a year);

(5) Child allowance, (50 TL. (£ 1.1)every month for each child);

(6) A premium share from the actual profits; for 1979 this was to be calculated as 23% of the actual profit and limited to a maximum of three months' total wages for each worker;

Again apart from these there were social benefits like one free meal every day, free transport to and from work, small payments in cases of births, deaths, marriages, children in education and total work outfits.

III. CEMENT FACTORY

Cement production in Turkey took off after 1968. According to 1972 statistics, Turkey became the greatest exporter of cement among all OECD countries. Between 1969 and 1970 while the labour force and production in the Cement Industry in OECD countries showed only a slight increase, in Turkey production increased 22% and the labour force

40%, with a great increase in capacity (OECD Report on Cement Industry, September, 1973).

III. a. The Setting of the Work Process

Bolu, like many other small towns, also had its share of this development in the cement industry due to the existence of essential raw materials (clay, limestone, gypsum, dross or cinder) in the province. The Cement factory was situated 11 miles east of Bolu town, on the main motorway to Ankara and close to the quarries and clay and limestone pits, near *Mengen,* a town which supplied much of the labour force in this factory. The district was known as *Çaydurt,* a village, of the province capital. In fact because of the Cement dust from this factory, this district was becoming increasingly depopulated leaving only the workers employed in this factory. The local villagers had mostly sold their lands to the Cement factory or to the nearby pasta shell factory and migrated to town or elsewhere, mainly because the fertility of the land was decreasing. The immediate landscape around this factory seemed dusty and dry which was exceptional in a forest area like Bolu. The Cement factory, a privately owned enterprise, started production in 1974.(5)

The production of cement and clinker was undertaken in the plant in continuous processes, without the actual involvement of manual labour except in the stockhole, to which the raw materials were brought in. The extraction of raw materials in quarries and pits was given on tender to contractors though the factory owned these pits. These contractors were using highly labour intensive methods in extraction, employing seasonal migrant labour with very cheap wage rates.

There were four main stages in the processing of cement and clinker (a side product); a crushing mill *(Fırın),* a rotary kiln *(Döner Fırın),* a grinding mill to turn kiln-dried material into cement *(Çimento Değirmeni)* and a packing unit. The production process required four additional units. These were the coal-mill which was connected to the rotary kiln, functioning as a kind of blast furnace, a mobile crane to bring raw material from the stockhole to the bunkers of the crushing mill, the laboratory and the mechanical workshop.

In the crushing mill, there were seven workers, all but two of whom were unskilled. In this stage the raw materials were crushed and mixed. The process was checked from the control unit by two *Usta's* (Masters) while the rest of the labourers were responsible for securing the steady flow of

clay and limestone through the bunkers, a task which did not need any particular skills.

In the second stage of production, the product was dried in the rotary kiln before being sent to the grinding mill. There were only two *Ustas* in this section and they controlled the flow of the product from electronic panels and decided the period needed for drying. If anything went wrong they would inform the unit engineer who was in his office in the administrative building most of the time.

In the last stage, in the grinding mill, the semi-finished product was turned into cement and transferred to the stockholes. In the packing unit, three unskilled workers were used to clear the chimneys of cement dust which tends to accumulate and block the passage. The packing of cement into bags was done by machines, but the bags were fitted to the machine by human labour. The bags of cement were then machine loaded into the trucks of the contractors or indivudal buyers to be transported, straight from the factory gates.

III. b. Work Schedule and Turnover

In the plant, work continued in three shifts all through the year. Labour turnover was very low. Even the temporary workers in the packing unit seemed to be stabilizing their employment. The technology and organization of production in this plant was capital intensive. There were no women workers except one or two for cleaning jobs and in the laboratories.

III. c. Management and Control

One thing totally different from state owned factories was the relaxed atmosphere with the management. One would not find the formal relations of state factories here. The top manager of the plant was an ex-army officer appointed by the share holders who did not involve himself with either the technical or the workers' problems. Hence the plant was administered by a handful of unit managers, all engineers. They were the ones who dealt with the technical as well as social problems. They were all in their thirties. Probably this young composition of the managing staff was responsible for creating a relaxed climate in the place. In fact as I observed the relationships between the staff and the workforce were quite friendly. This was again significant

in influencing the workers' views on work, society and so on.

III. d. Systems of Payment

Basic pay depended on skill and experience and did not differ between different units. As represented in the sample, most workers had vocational school education and on average, wages were higher in this plant than in the state factories. Unskilled workers were paid the minimum wage. The payment consisted of the following:

(1) Basic pay for eight hours a day and six days a week (In 1979 different daily wages were 304 TL. (£ 6.4) for skilled workers; 220 TL. (£ 4.6) for unskilled workers; 360 TL. (£ 7.6) for the technicians, white collar workers and surveyors; 448 TL. (£ 9.5) for the engineers).

(2) Overtime rates (50% for the day and 100% for the night shifts);

(3) Night shift payment, (25% above the normal wage);

(4) Annual bonus, (calculated to the amount of 150 days' gross daily wages of the worker and paid in five equal instalments in the year);

(5) Shares from every million of profit left after expenses and taxes were deduced;

(6) Child allowance, (50 TL. per month; also 500 TL. (£ 10.6) a year for children in education).

Apart from these, social benefits included one free meal, free transport to town or to their villages, 200 gr. natural yoğurt every day, total work outfits once a year, small subsidies at the time of marriages, child births and deaths and heating allowance once a year. Two special subsidies in this plant were a cement allowance of 10 tons for each worker at the manufacturing price and 20.000 TL. (£ 425) as house credits to those who became members of a housing cooperative. The cement allowance was especially significant because most workers were transferring their rights to the contractors at the factory gates for a small commission. So this led to a profitable transaction between the workers and the contractors who were keen to buy cement at a reduced price from the factory gates. One very striking example appeared among my sample workers. An unskilled worker in the packing unit told me that his main reason for staying in the job was not his 'meagre wage' but this allowance. Actually I found out that he earned his main income from the workers who wanted to transfer their allowances. He would buy their allowances and sell them to contractors at a modest profit. This was still advantageous to the contractors because the price would be slightly cheaper and

most importantly the product would be guaranteed at a time when cement shortages in the market were common. This particular worker was seen as a case of success by many other workers who thought that 'a worker needs a second job and preferably a job of his own where he is the boss'. This kind of positive attitude towards self-employment was quite common among workers and was fostered by such examples, as I will try to explain later.

III. e. Industrial Health

The health conditions in this plant were appalling. The high level of asbestos in the product which is dusty and inhaled by almost all the workers made it unhealthy for everyone working in the industry. The worst units were the coal mill, bunkers of the cement grinding mill and the packing unit. Coal dust was very thick in the building and in the air all the time and besides this the heat was intolerable. The workers explained to me that every day after their shift they felt dizzy and their throats were blocked for some time. In the bunkers of the cement mill, the workers tried to keep the chimneys clean and cement flowing despite a very dense cement dust. Similarly in the packing department cement dust blurred the vision and workers had to stand these conditions eight hours a day with only half an hour

lunch break. Though the packing process would be the easiest to mechanize it was obviously preferable for the employers to employ cheap labour to attach the bags to the machine, rather than to invest in new, modern versions of these filling machines. The workers said, "we know we are rotting here but what else can we do? Every day we go home, and wash ourselves but we continuously spit black. Sometimes we feel concrete has formed in our throats. There are many cases of lung disease among our friends and when we go to the social insurance clinics the doctors can not do or say much. In fact they do not care. Even if they care there is not much they can do, is there? The only thing is to get out of this job as quickly as we can if we can find a way". They were clearly very bitter about the whole issue but they felt trapped between the high risks of unemployment and the competition for unskilled jobs, and the health problem.

As I have indicated above the dust from the factory was also damaging the surrounding land and people. I was told that filters fitted to the chimneys would ease this problem to a great extent but in the absence of a government policy for environmental health there was no pressure for the employers to make any such investments. Consequently the land was turning into a desert and villagers were eager to

sell their land if there was a reasonable offer. In fact the cement factory was investing in buying land at the time to build a residential complex around the plant with luxurious houses, modern schools, a health unit, etc. for the engineers and top managing people. Would they ever want to stay in this area?

IV. FOREST ROADS MAINTENANCE CENTRE _ *'ANA TAMİRHANE'*

This workplace was situated in Karacasu *village, next to the* timber factory, about five miles from the town centre. Similarly to Karacasu factory *Ana Tamirhane* was also related to the Ministry of forestry.

IV. a. The Setting of the Work Process

Ana Tamirhane was the second oldest establishment in the sample, built in 1959. The work was divided into two spheres. The first one was the huge workshop where I did the research, which was the place where a wide range of excavating, transporting and road construction vehicles were repaired, parts changed, even manufactured. The workforce here was exceptionally skilled. All were mechanics of some kind. The second sphere of the work was actual road

building parties who worked in long (weekly or monthly) shifts at the place of construction. Since this workplace was the main service station for forest roads it covered almost all the West Black Sea region. Hence the road construction was not necessarily taking place within Bolu province. So those workers who were involved directly with road construction lived at the places of construction until the assigned work was completed, or for a long shift of not less than one week. That meant my chances of seeing those workers who were out working in the region were very slim unless they returned to the base for new assignments. In fact it happened that I met quite a few of them between their shifts through coincidence. The workforce here included many unskilled labourers, who were recruited temporarily or as seasonal workers for heavy manual work on the roads. These temporary workers were often found from nearby villages. Only the drivers of dump-trucks or operators of various road-machines (like bulldozers, graders, road rollers, cranes, payloaders) were considered to be the skilled workforce and these were the ones who returned to the base at the end of their shifts. The unskilled workforce was not directly related to the workplace and never came there. As the work in the area finished, their employment also ended until the next opportunity. The road digging and filling jobs were highly labour-intensive and for the workers

the status of these jobs were similar to the forest jobs which most villagers in Bolu province were used to doing.

The main function of this workplace was public service and no profit motives were involved. The budget was limited to what the government would and could allocate every year and this was not very high. According to the manager, the amount of work done always exceeded the allowance, so the establishment was continously working with a 'steady loss'. The targets were set by the relevant government department every year but only 80% were realized mainly due to lack of funds. The full capacity of the workplace included 150 heavy and light road construction machines but most often only two-thirds of these were in working order. Some part of the road construction, on very rough land, was offered for tender to one special contractor who happened to own modern and powerful machines.(6)

In this maintenance center the pattern of work was very different from that in the factories. One or two workers, both mechanics with either vocational education or with previous experience in small welding or metal-working workshops or garages, would work on one vehicle on the shopfloor. There were two such units within the workshop, one for light vehicles like trucks, service cars, etc. and the

other for heavy machines like graders, loaders or bulldozers. Most of the work involved repair and maintenance jobs but some spare parts could be manufactured by welders and turners in the workshop. Since one main difficulty of this workshop was reported as shortages of spare parts, this kind of manufacture gained major importance.

This kind of work increased the autonomy of the workers and involved some creativity as they, themselves were responsible only for putting the vehicle or the machine in working order. In fact the whole process was designed very much the same as in piece-work except that the workers were not paid piece-rate but hourly wages. They were not producing commodities with a market value but a useful service. Obviously there was a basic daily rate for a certain amount of work but this was not very strictly checked or controlled by the foreman. The relations of control at the shop floor were quite relaxed and left to the responsibility of the workers. A high percentage of skilled workers was a major factor in this confidence of the management. The apprentices were controlled by the master mechanics. If the apprentice wanted to learn the job and stay and get promotion he had to be very careful in his relations with the master mechanic. So in a way, a paternalist tradition of small industrial workshops between the masters and the

apprentices or the journeymen continued on the shop floor of this workplace.

IV. b. Management and Control

The Ministry, appointed a general manager, who acted as the employer's (Ministry of Forestry) representative in the establishment. He was himself an employee and was not given much room for initiative. Tender contracts with the contractors were arranged by the Ministry. Also pay deals, collective bargaining, solutions to spare parts shortages in the workplace, all had to be determined from the top. The manager only had very limited initiative, to control the everyday routine and discipline in the work. The relations of the manager with the rest of the administrative staff and the shopfloor workers were remote and very formal, a condition which was very much like that of the manager of the Karacasu timber factory.

This was the only place where many of my informants were willing to talk against the management, even before being asked about it. The bitterness was deep rooted. I happened to arrive just at the end of a serious conflict situation. The conflict arose from the existence of two unions, namely a Türk-İş affiliated union and a DİSK

affiliated union (see chp. 6, pp. 246) in the workplace. A small number of workers deliberately chose to pay fees and become members of both unions to avoid conflict. The subject will be dealt with in chp.6 so here it is sufficient to say that the management always acted in favour of the Türk-İş affiliated union whereas the members of the other union were overlooked. A major conflict was provoked by the management's decision in 1977, to transfer 120 workers - all members of the DİSK affiliated union - to other workplaces related to the same Department, following a strong disagreement during wage negotiations. Most of these workers were seniors with a few years left to retirement so they had to go in order not to lose their retirement rights; a kind of forced migration which would not only shatter the life of the worker but his family's as well, though some of these workers managed to come back in 1979 after the government changed. A few who were master mechanics with some capital resigned and opened their own small shops outside. Hence management's one-sidedness, and lack of initiative, and common shortages of spare parts which slowed work quite frequently were major factors for the dissatisfaction, bitterness and conflict in the workplace. Additionally the continuous fight between members of the two unions was a contributing factor.

IV. c. Work Schedule and Turnover

The turnover rate was fairly low. In 1975-1976 the new entries were 7 %, whereas only 2-3 workers left the job for personal reasons or for military service. The new ones, recruited to replace the ones sent to other places, were forced by the management to sign in with the Türk-İş union hence increasing the membership in favour of this union.

IV. d. Systems of Payment

Skill and seniority were also important factors in this workplace in determining wage levels. However the organization of work needs to be considered here. The workers who were assigned to road construction for long periods were given compensation which increased their actual wages by 40%. This created considerable wage differences between the workshop workers (mechanics) and the road construction workers. For example, a truck driver and a mechanic each with 14 years of employment would receive 5000 TL. (£ 106) and 3800 TL. (£ 80) a month respectively although both would be considered as highly-skilled in the sample.

The compound wage included the following additional payments:

(1) Basic daily wage;

(2) Overtime payment, (50% above the normal daily wage);

(3) Compensation to those working in road construction;

(4) Production bonus to the road workers for every mile over 94 miles;

(5) Annual bonus for everybody, (the amount equal to 78 days' wage paid as a lump sum once a year);

(6) Heating expense, as announced by the government each year;

(7) Child allowance, 100 TL. (£ 2.12) per child;

Apart from these, social benefits were one free meal every day, free transport, subsidies in cases of marriage, birth and death, work clothing supplied once a year. Work was organized in one shift only so no shift payments were made. Also next to the workplace there were a number of houses built to accomodate some department chiefs, higher administrative staff and some foremen. The allocation of these houses was again highly criticised and created conflict amongst the rank and file workers who thought that "the houses should be given to the most needy, not to the well-to - do personnel".

V. VILLAGE ROADS MAINTENANCE CENTRE - *Y.S.E.*

This workplace was situated two miles from Bolu town, towards the north. It was established in 1965 as Bolu Regional Department of the *Y.S.E.* The Head Office was in the Ministry of Village Affairs in Ankara.

Work in *Y.S.E.* was similar to that in *Ana Tamirhane* in that it too involved road construction and maintenance, excavation and also water-works and electrification to serve the village communities in the West Black Sea region. The main workshop functioned as a large garage for the repair and maintenance of the road machines and vehicles. Most of the workforce was employed for road works leaving only 45 out of 271 workers in the workshop.

V.a. The Setting of the Work Process

In the workshop 45 workers were skilled mechanics. The mechanics had been trained either by apprenticeship in the small industry or had vocational school education. Some of them were also trained in the workplace even if they had vocational education because they were recruited to different jobs than their specialized areas. This was a major complaint among the workers.

In this workplace the competition and dislike between the workshop trained master mechanics and those who had formal vocational school education was dominant. The age difference between the two groups also encouraged such tendencies. Some of the senior mechanics argued that the school graduates acted as if they knew everything much better, and had no respect for experience. They also claimed that they had been working in these jobs since they were small children and had experienced all the suffering of the small workshops. The young ones, they said, did not know about such things, but they behaved arrogantly, and selfishly (meaning not caring about the state's interests). On the other hand, the younger ones complained that the old workers insisted on old techniques of production which were inefficient. The young mechanics were against the recruitment policies which did not give everybody an equal chance of practising what they had been trained for. For example, an electrician could be employed as a welder or a turner would be appointed as a truck driver.

In fact what seemed an inefficient recruitment policy to these workers actually represented a dilemma of industry in small towns like Bolu and in general in Turkey. Despite high rates of unemployment, many factories or workplaces

were (and still are) short of skilled and experienced workers like electricians or motor mechanics. Outward migration and vertical mobility of the skilled from small towns towards metropolitan centres was one of the natural causes of this dilemma. On the other hand many sample workers said they would prefer vocational school training for their male children because their futures would be better in the sense that they would secure more job opportunities in the labour market, even than university graduates.

In the workshop, due to the large number of machines (160 work machines in all) and overcrowding, some of the workers had to stay outside the workshop and work in the open air in various weather conditions. On the other hand, due to overcrowding the workers within the workshop had to work in intolerably high noise conditions, which left people totally unable to talk to each other. These were major complaints about the organization of work in the workplace; a second workshop was desperately needed.

The spare parts problem also affected this workplace, in fact more than in the previous case because all the machines and tools were imported. Unlike the *Ana Tamirhane* where 20% of the required parts were made within the workplace, in *Y.S.E.* spares could not be made. As reported by the

manager, all repairs wholly depended on imports which were not coming in, due to the serious economic difficulties Turkey was experiencing at the time. This again caused frequent stoppages and delays in the workplace for which workers were usually blamed by the management.

The road construction workforce included truck-drivers, operators and assistant operators of road machines plus many labourers, usually seasonal from the nearby villages. Most of the time the villagers themselves would work in the construction of their village roads. The drivers or operators, like the workshop mechanics, came with some experience from the private building sector and knew the work conditions with the local contractors. The organization of work, the labour process and the work relations between the workers were very much the same as they were in Ana Tamirhane. The teams had to stay at the place of work till the work was completed and got some compensation for this. In this sense there was not much difference between the nature of work in the two workplaces except their targets and their head offices.

V. b. Management and Control

The targets to be completed were decided by the head office every year, after they heard from their regional offices the likely demands of the village heads in the region. The demands were first discussed at the regional level between the regional manager, Mayor, Governor and the village heads, *Muhtars,* and the priorities were listed. Of course this was a stage where a lot of local social and political networks or relations influenced these listings. In other words, those headmen who had good relations with top civil servants or knew influential persons in the bureaucracy, were usually successful in getting priority. Then at the level of the head office, who made the final decisions, a discriminating factor was the party in power (it depended whether the conservative Justice Party or the Republican People's Party was in power. I was told that villages would get priority according to their party affiliations. This kind of discrimination also affected the Municipality services sometimes). Another important factor was to have kinsmen or fellow citizens (or villagers) in higher positions in Ankara who could influence decisions. In this workshop Justice Party affiliation was strongest. There was an awareness about the influence of networks, even for promotions within the workplace.

The manager was a bureaucrat appointed recently from the Ministry of Village Affairs in *Ankara*. This caused scepticism or uneasiness among the employees. A majority of the personnel in this workplace were very strong supporters of the Justice Party (leading party in the previous government) whereas the manager was appointed by the new government (Republican People's Party). Though there were no actual cases, rumours and fears about possibilities of 'forced' retirements or sackings on political grounds were widespread. The manager was an experienced bureaucrat. He was trying to overcome this uneasiness through open meetings with the staff during which there was an exchange of opinions. This was an unusual practice, especially in state enterprises.

Another recent change in this workplace which affected the workers was the change of the union. The previous union was an independent, workplace union and alleged to be "more on the side of the employer rather than the employees". However after the change of the government *Y.S.E.* workplaces all over Turkey became members of the *YOL-İŞ* union, an industrial union affiliated to Türk-İş Trade Union Confederation. The workers were sceptial about this imposed change. On the other hand, they were aware that in the collective agreement, the new union was able to

make better wage deals because it had more members and was more powerful. So in this workplace, the difference of political affiliations between the workforce and the new manager created an unrest which was opposite to that which we had seen in *Ana Tamirhane.* Here the cause of the unrest was not the manager's authoritarian behaviour but the employees' fears of the unknown. [In *Ana Tamirhane*, the conflict arose mainly because the manager wanted to impose his own opinions on the workforce and supported the union which was not supported by the workers.]

V. c. Systems of Payment

The compound wage consisted of the following payments;

(1) Basic pay, for a month of 26 days calculated on the basis of daily wages,

(2) Overtime payment paid 60% above the normal daily wage,

(3) Compensation to the heavy vehicle users,

(4) Annual bonus two times a year equal to two month's wages;

(5) Compensation to some personnel for hard and heavy work;

(6) Heating allowance;

(7) Child allowance;

In addition to these, as in the other workplaces, the workers had some social benefits like birth, marriage and death payments, one free meal a day and a payment for work cloths once a year.

Conclusion

The description of the factories and workplaces in the Bolu sample clearly showed that there were considerable differences between them in terms of work conditions, control and management. Especially the determination of wages within the five sample factories or workplaces depended on various factors like the nature of industry, technology, different labour processes and skill reguirements, private or public ownership (even differences among public ownership), difference of management systems, the age of the establishment, backgrounds of the workers and the nature of unionization. Thus to compare wage differences between the workers in the sample was a very complicated task. On the other hand difficulties experienced in finance, spare parts, skilled labour were all common problems. In considering the formation of a class of wage-earners in industry, in Turkey, such differences were important because, as will be explained later, the opinions of the workers were

influenced by the nature of work they were doing, the kind of management relations, ownership (public or private), levels of payment, and differences (status, payment, responsibility, knowhow) between the blue-collar and white-collar jobs. All these differences affected the experiences of a newly emerging industrial 'social group' who were also confronted with a mixture of ideologies prevailing in Turkish society.

Footnotes

1. The owners of both firms appeared as share holders in almost all private sector establishments in Bolu. They also had their small workshops in the small industrial estate. They were also involved in the construction sector as contractors. Besides in terms of local politics, they were continuously re-elected members of the Town Council, *Belediye Meclisi,* which was the main committee which decides upon vital issues related to town development, such as deciding where and which lands should be expropriated to build roads, houses, etc. and what prices should be paid.

2. See Appendix I.

3. Provident Fund: The worker's Provident Fund was refunded, when he retired or died, with interest and a

small sum contributed from the employer. If the worker completed the twenty-five years legally necessary for men to retire, he could claim this pension. So this was another motive to stay in the job and earn the pension on retirement.

4. The National Salvation Party, basicly claiming to be a religious party but also representing the interests of small industrialists, shopowners, traders, merchants, etc., was established after 1970 coup and became a coalition partner to many governments until the 1980 coup and abolishing of all political parties.

5. The share holders included *Türkiye Çimento Sanayii* - Turkish Cement Industry- (the state is also partly involved in the production of cement in Turkey) 34%, *Oyak* 38-42% (Oyak was a cooperative for army personnel which had various large investments in Turkey especially in the car industry), Bank of İstanbul 15% (a private bank) and several small share holders from the public with as little as 1000 TL. per share with a minimum of five such shares per person.

6. This man was an exceptionally influential figure in Bolu. He was the local head of the Justice Party at the time in Bolu. He was a continuously re-elected member of the Town Council and all his work seemed to rely on tender from state enterprises. At the time when the Justice Party was in power this was not difficult to achieve and tender contracts were extremely profitable.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIFE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS OUT OF WORK

Introduction

My task in this chapter is to outline and explain the significant features of life for a factory worker in a small town, to analyse the degree to which dominant patterns of social relationships which were experienced in the neighbourhood, in associations or in trade circles, reinforced the structural positions of the workers. I will look successively at their origins, relations with land and agriculture, their rural and urban social networks and living conditions. The main aim is to explain the social context in which these workers constituted a major social group outside of the factory and to figure out some of the factors which influenced their perceptions and interpretations of life as workers.

I. ORIGINS OF WAGE-WORKERS

The majority of the workers or their parents were immigrants from the rural areas. Often they retained one foot in their villages of origin for social and economic support. This rural link was a continuous but not an

effective tie. This point will be explained in more detail in further sections but it is sufficient to say here that the rural link was different in certain aspects from the links of the workers who were involved in seasonal or pendulum migration. First, the workers were permanently settled in the town or its surrounding villages. Secondly, their relations were not one sided (worker sending remittances back) but in the form of 'mutual support' in the sense that labour power and some foodstuffs or money would be continuously exchanged between the immigrant workers and their kinsmen left in the villages. Thirdly, their village links were not dominant in their social and economic frame of reference. The workers always compared the village and the town life of course, but none of them were eager 'to go back one day'. Village life was something they had given up for good, even the ones who had relatively strong relations.

I. a. Family Origins and Birth Places

About 72 per cent of the workers were born in villages either of Bolu province or elsewhere and 33 per cent of them were still living in the villages of the province centre, close to their workplaces. Though there are no statistics available in Turkey showing the distribution of the workforce in terms of their places of origins, because industrial

development in Turkey is new, most of the industrial workers in Turkey are first generation workers with strong rural links, as represented in the sample. The second or third generation workers are concentrated in the largest centres, like İstanbul, İzmit, Bursa, Ankara, İzmir and Adana. Apart from these big centres, in the rest of Turkey the structure and origins of industrial workers are expected to show great similarities to the workers in the Bolu sample although they would differ quantitatively.

Being born in a village and living there for a considerable part of their life gave these workers a very good chance of knowing both worlds. As village boys they were involved in the production process in agriculture so they were well aware of the lack of opportunities in the countryside. The size of land holdings was insufficient to keep increasing numbers of family members. The productivity of land, continuously obtained from cutting the forests was poor. Additionally, the level of investments for advanced farming were also low. Therefore urban jobs were big opportunities to start with and accumulate some capital in order *not to return to their villages but to stay in the town.* These jobs would possibly help them to be able to establish a small business of their own in the towns. It was very clearly revealed in the research that when the immigrants came

they did not intend to stay in wage - employment very long. However, they were aware that it was gradually becoming a stable form of life for them.

With respect to their family origins, 57.1 percent of the workers reported fathers' occupations as *çiftçi* (farmer) or as *rençber* (small agricultural producer). A further 15 percent also declared their fathers as *çiftçi* who were involved in some wage or salary earning job at the same time. 14.2 percent had fathers who were wage or salary earners and 11 percent were born into artisan or various self-employed families in services, trade and street-peddling. So the workers in the sample predominantly came from small self-employed families in agriculture or in services and trade.

Table 4.1

Fathers' occupation and workers' place of birth

Father's Occupation	**Birth Place**					
	Bolu Town	Bolu village	District Town	District Village	Others*	Total
Small agricultural producer+some wage or salary earning	4	43	4	26	9	86
Wage earning	3	2	2	1	3	11
Salary earning	3	2	2	-	-	7
Artisan	2	1	1	-	-	4
Service sector (self-employed)	-	2	1	-	-	
Small trader	2	1	2	1	-	6
Other	1	-	1	-	1	3
Total	15	51	13	28	13	120
%	13%	43%	10%	23%	11%	

* Other refers to other province capitals, towns or villages.

To come from self-employed families (in agriculture, services or industry) was a more significant feature in the life of the workers than their continuing links with agriculture. Most of their preferences for future occupation focused on the choice of 'self-employed'. 'To be your own boss', 'to be able to make your own decisions' were common references among the workers. At this point the workers in the Bolu sample gave strong evidence that the 'ownership of means of production', which included owning a small workplace, some tools and equipment and being able to decide what to produce and how to sell, was a significant criterion for them in evaluating their life and opportunities. This was a more deep rooted experience than simply connections to land and has not been emphasized sufficiently in other studies (Lloyd, 1982; Shivji, 1986).

I. b. Previous Wage Work

Contrary to many other studies elsewhere, in the Bolu sample wage work was not a first time experience for most workers. The exception was four young workers whose birth places were in Bolu town and who were in their first jobs. The insufficient nature of agriculture forced people to look for alternative income opportunities all the time. Most

peasants needed wage-work to subsidise low incomes from agriculture.

The low quality of soil is a common feature of the forest or mountain villages in Northern Turkey. So forest work for some extra cash has become an established practice among all villages whether they are settled around the forests or not. This work is of a casual nature and done for shorter periods when the household needs some cash. Most permanent workers in forest jobs are the ones who came to Bolu from far away provinces in Eastern Turkey. They work as seasonal workers in the forests during summer and return home during winter. The local villagers of Bolu province, however, undertake wage work in forests, such as cutting and carrying the logs to the depots and loading the trucks, from time to time. The work is an extension of agricultural work for some more extra income. The majority of the workers reported that they had been involved in forest work during their rural experiences, before taking any other paid employment. Forest jobs were so common and so much part of their agricultural life that they did not even report them as a significant form of employment.

Payments were made on a piece-rate basis, calculated on the volume of logs cut and carried, and the nature of work was

casual, so the wages were low, even lower than the official minimum wage for full time workers. The forest job, where the state was the only employer, was never a job which could be done for a living but as a second job to subsidise one's subsistence income.

Other significant experiences of previous work, however, were the ones the workers practised in the manufacturing sector either in large or small enterprises. Some workers (28 in the sample) had their first acquaintance with collective labour in large enterprises like State Road Works (*Karayolları*), State Railways (*Devlet Demiryolları*), state timber factories in other regions, the municipality, private timber factories and assembly factories in İstanbul or İzmit, mostly as unskilled, low wage, casual workers. These jobs did not involve much training and were done only temporarily until a more stable one was found. When an opportunity for a more stable, higher paid job or a job closer to home was found, they transferred to the jobs in Bolu factories.

The workers who had their first experiences in small and medium size private enterprises (36 in the sample) had some advantages compared to the ones who transferred from larger entreprises. These workers obtained a lot of practical training in their previous jobs. In small enterprises the

workers usually started as apprentices with no social security, no labour organization of any kind and with wages lower than the minimum. In many cases the owner of these establishments appeared to be kin or a neighbour from the same village. So this experience was a different one, dominated by the will to learn some skills at any cost. These small workshops were not simply places of production but places of training as well. In Bolu these enterprises included metal working and welding workshops, garages for various car repairs, and artisan work like furniture making, carpentery, or tailoring and also blacksmiths and barbers. However the artisan skills quite often became redundant in the new job. They had to start from the unskilled jobs just like those who came from large enterprises. Those who were trained in small industry workshops, ***piyasa*** as they called it, as metal worker, electrician, motor mechanic, were easily given ***'Usta'*** (Master) or ***'Usta Yardımcısı'*** (Master's assistant) positions in the public or private factories.

The competition from technical (vocational) school graduates was not very severe because the supply of graduates was limited and many employers preferred workers who had practical workshop training. Also, as I have mentioned before, the ***Ustas*** who came from small workshop backgrounds and technical school graduate ***Ustas*** did not

trust and usually contradicted each other, mainly in terms of the technique of production. The employers believed that the workshop trainees were more down to earth and practical. These *Ustas* were able to improvise with the machines or manufacture particular spare parts without much difficulty.(1)

A third route of previous employment consisted of the transport and services sector both of which flourished in Bolu after the 1960s. This sector was also dominated by independent constructors, builders, trading and transport firms and small or medium scale recreational and touristic service establishments. The workers who were employed in the Maintenance Centers as driver-operators and learner drivers (28 in the sample) all worked as driver's assistants *(Muavin)* before, usually with a lorry owner. Transport work in a newly flourishing town like Bolu mostly involved building and construction materials and transport of coal and wood products. This gave those workers a chance to get closely acquainted with the dealings of the builders and contructors *('Müteahhit')* and the merchants or the trading agents *('Bayi')* in Bolu, who were politically and economically a very significant self-employed group in the whole of Turkey. In fact in Bolu this group appeared to be more powerful politically than the small industrial producers due to Bolu's location on the main transport route. So it was very easy

for the workers to be impressed with the idea of accumulating enough capital, say, to buy a lorry, possibly on the cheap, through deals with relatives working in Germany who have the right to import with reduced duties. Or to buy finished wood products from the state factories and sell them at a higher price, was also an alternative way of making quick profits.

This kind of work was also a training medium for some workers. When they started as *'Muavins'* they had to observe and learn very quickly to drive and do some small repairs while the owner-driver played cards in the local cafe. After that experience they would keep their eyes open for an opportunitiy of a more stable job in the factories or Maintenance Centers where they would be employed as driver-operators for heavy road construction vehicles.

Bolu workers, except the ones who transferred directly from being small commodity producer in agriculture or in the informal sector, saw their previous jobs as temporary. They wanted to hold on to something, whatver they could find, and then they would try to transfer to better, more stable jobs, preferably in the public sector. Public sector job paid much less, they said, but it was stable, continuous and a retirement payment was guaranteed. However, different

reasons like military service, family disputes, disagreements with the previous employers or distance of the workplace were all more important for the workers than purely economic reasons and influenced the choices of the workers to move on to other jobs even if the first job was a good one. In fact such social reasons were declared more by the workers (60 percent) compared to only the 20 percent who said they have transferred for good wages, benefits, etc. This suggests to us that the workers' evaluation of the factory jobs were much more complicated in their minds than simply considering the economic advantages of the jobs.

I. c. Nature of Migrant Labour

Bolu drew its migrant labour force mostly from the surrounding small district town villages and not from far away regions. Long distance migration from the provinces in Eastern Turkey was rare, and only in the seasonal construction and forest jobs. In that sense the immigrant workers were able to maintain their relations with their fellow villagers and kin who lived within the province or in nearby villages of the province centre (capital).

The geographical origin of the migrants varied from quite wealthy district towns to very poor villages. These district

towns were *Düzce*, the wealthiest in terms of agriculture and small manufacturing establishments; *Seben*, a mountainous town with a few apple orchards; *Mengen*, where the only job opportunities were in the private coal-pits and in some stone-quarries; *Mudurnu*, a town which was known for its flourishing poultry industry; and *Kıbrıscık*, the poorest of them all with absolutely no income opportunities in agriculture. People often said that even a dog could not survive there since the fields had nothing but stones. So the workers arrived in town from very different backgrounds or experiences of survival and with different push factors for migration, except that in a very general sense they all wanted to better their living conditions and future prospects. For some it was an absolute necessity since there were no opportunities in their villages. The workers were therefore economically differentiated before they arrived in town.

Among the workers who were born outside Bolu and its villages (53 or 45 % in the sample) most came after they found a job. There was no step-migration. Their ages when they first came varied from 18 to 24.

Many workers said that they had land and they only worked on the land to help their parents. Also as children they were frequently responsible for taking care of the

lifestock. After marriage their income from the land became insufficient to feed the household. Most of the workers found a solution by first finding a job and then moving to the town. Finding the job was facilitated by an established, urban-based network of kin and fellow villagers. After arranging their jobs, they brought the remaining family to the town. Usually the older brothers stayed behind to care for their parents and the land. Those who moved out, continued to get their shares in the form of *'zahire'* (various food stuffs like pulses, cereals, rice, flour etc.) poultry products, dairy products or fruits. However in return, these workers went to the village in their holidays to help with the ploughing and the harvesting. This kind of mutual support between the migrants and the kin they left behind was significant for their survival as a wage-earner.

The insufficiency of the land to feed and employ all members of the household was a more common complaint than landlessness in Bolu. The tendency was, instead of dividing the land between the sons, to send some of them away to non-agricultural or industrial employment with a steady income. In this way the family at large would have somewhere to hold on to in times of financial difficulties. The members of the family who chose to move out or who were sent out did not loose their rights to land. In other

words land ownership, although in an abstract sense, would continue among the migrant workers as a means of security. On the other hand they would try to invest in urban property, houses or land, since they had no intention of going back.

So their land rights were kept with the hope that one day it would be transformed into cash to buy property, to open a shop or to invest in childrens' education, briefly, to secure a base in the urban sphere. On the other hand the workers were continuing their duties, regular visits, presenting gifts, attending funerals of their kin living in rural areas.

Most of these migrant workers came with farming skills only. If they were employed in the factories or large workplaces directly, they would be recruited as labourers in construction work or other unskilled jobs. On the other hand if they got a job as an apprentice in the small private sector (trade, transport, services or manufacturing enterprises) then they might transfer to factory jobs as skilled workers later. This kind of opportunity was obviously more open to those who came from villages closer to the province centre. The low wages paid by employers to such apprentices was not enough to maintain them in the town. They lived with friends or relatives during the week days

and went back to their parents' home in the village at the weekends. This kind of employment, may be seen as some kind of a training period, continued until they found a stable factory job as skilled workers.

I. d. Age Distribution, Education and the Family

Given that state factories were established in Bolu some 15 to 25 years before the research, a section of the workforce in Bolu had been members of the industrial milieu quite a long time. The expansion of older state enterprises and private factories flourishing after 1974, helped more people to find stable industrial employment in the years between 1974 to 1982.

The respondents who had held jobs in the informal or service sector (42 % of the sample) before coming to work in the sample factories, were older. In the sample, the majority of the workers were in their late twenties (39 %) or thirties (37 %) and a considerable number were over forty (24 %). The sample represented an older and more skilled workforce.

Although they were an advantage in the research because they knew the history of the workplace, they were not representative of the labour force at large in Bolu.

Table 4.2
Total length of employment

Length of Service	No. of Workers
0-5 years	39
6-10 years	38
11-15 years	19
16-20 years	19
21 + years	6

All the workers had some formal education though not all up to a high level. Virtually all had completed elementary school (except some who quitted after the third year which was a common practice in Turkey).(2) In accordance with the higher number of skilled workers in the Bolu sample, technical (vocational) school graduates were the next largest group. Middle school and lycee (secondary school) graduates were almost negligible. In Turkey, secondary school education was increasingly becoming a popular choice for some parents who aspired to middle-class, administrative jobs for their children. However some workers, although they were themselves graduates of technical schools, did not want to send their children to secondary schools. They thought that children would have more opportunities in the labour market if they had an informal training in one of the small industrial enterprises. From their experiences they had

learned that formal school education did not guarantee jobs in Turkey anymore and even if it did, administrative jobs paid less than industrial jobs.

Table 4.3
Fathers' occupation by the level of education of workers

Fathers' Occupation	Level of Education			
	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary School	Technical School
Small agricultural producer + wage or salary jobs	4	69	4	9
Salary earner	-	3	1	3
Wage earner	-	7	2	2
Artisan	-	2	-	2
Service sector (self-employed)	-	2	2	2
Small trader	-	3	2	1
Total	4	86	11	19

Almost all of the workers (101 out of 120) were married with an average of two children. Many of the workers would stay single during their previous periods of employment in odd jobs or while in the informal sector. So a major tendency seemed to be to get a stable income job and then to start a settled life immediately. Given this condition, the age of marriage was higher then usual in the rural areas of Turkey. Most of them got married at the age of 22-23.

For the workers, family, *aile*, had a very special place especially at a time when they moved from their homes in

rural areas into town, into a strange environment. Marriage and having a family had two basic meanings for the worker. First, in the eyes of the close community, and society at large they would not be taken seriously unless they took on their shoulders the responsibility of their own family. So it was a means for the men to prove themselves to their kinsmen and to the society. Secondly, home and family relations represented the private sphere where they could relax far from the strange and formal world of employers, managers and bureaucrats.

Within the worker families in the Bolu sample the role of the wives was mainly reduced to home-keeping and looking after the children. None of the wives, as reflected in the very low level of female employment in Bolu in general, had been employed outside agriculture. Their level of education was usually much lower. 28 of them were without any education, and 74 had some elementary school education, mostly quitting after the third year. Their agricultural skills from rural life were only helpful in town if the family had a small garden or if they had settled in the nearby villages around the province centre from which their husbands could walk to the workplaces. Therefore the majority of wives were classified as housewives though a sizeable proportion (26 %) were doing some income earning

jobs from the home, like agricultural work on their own small piece of land or garden, picking potatoes as a part time job, tailoring or knitting to sell. The wives of these first generation workers became isolated from economic life and production in town and their territory became more and more home and the family. The effects of urban life on their daughters however was totally different. This will be explained in a further section (chp. 7. VI).

II. SOCIAL NETWORKS

The social networks of the workers included a mixture of friends from work, acquaintances struck up during education, past and present neighbours, fellow villagers and persons whom they met socially in the local coffee houses *(Kahvehane)* or in the retail shops. These supplied friendship, sociability, information on various issues of everyday life and support of many kinds. A significant amount of communication flowed through networks among these different social groups, which affected the forming of opinions and points of views among the workers more than the mass media which the workers could hardly follow.

Table 4.4
Leisure time activities,
"What do you do in your spare time?"

	Yes	No
Stay at home	28	92
Home visits	50	70
Coffee House	70	50
Go to movies, football, picnics or fishing	45	75
Union club or other assoc. of which he is a member	48	72
Other assoc. of which he is not a member	31	89
Workplace or shop of a friend	62	58

One specific feature of Bolu workers was that their free time out of work was spent largely in meeting and talking to friends and acquaintances outside of their homes, even far away from their own neighbourhoods. The meeting places were mainly the coffee houses in the centre of the town - not necessarily their local ones - small retail shops in the central shopping area or covered bazaar, and small workshops in the small industrial estate. A minority went to the teachers' and students' meeting places, again in the centre of the town, to spend their free time. Those would go there to see friends, fellow villagers or school friends, who had become teachers or students. My research suggested that Bolu workers in that sense had loose-knit networks and 77% spent their leisure time outside the home which showed a divergence from some other findings on workers' out of work activities (Bayat, 1987).

The workers were all compulsory members of unions due to the closed-shop. But membership of other voluntary associations was low. This was a common tendency found among other working communities as well (Peace, 1979). Except that, 40% of my sample said that they were due paying members of religious associations which collect contributions to support their neighbourhood mosques *(Cami Kalkındırma Derneği).* Also a small section of 40% said they were members of sports clubs, (soccer), again in their local area. Both of these groups went regularly to the meetings and participated in running them.

The social interaction of the workers outside the workplace showed some variety. This was reinforced by the mixed neighbourhoods in which workers lived in Bolu. *Gecekondu* or shanty town areas, which were a common fact in large urban centres, did not develop in Bolu because migration was not as great and as fast (Karpat, 1979). The newcomers and the workers inhabited older houses with poorer facilities in various neighbourhoods in town. A working class community district as such was hard to find in Bolu although it was evident that they tended to live in poorer neighbourhoods all around the town. This meant that they lived in mixed neighbourhoods, next to other groups in the society, which made it difficult to identify socially or

politically with a distinct working class culture. Their social world was a confused mixture of success stories or failures of small entrepreneurs, newly arrived migrants who were pleading for any job in the streets everyday, frustrated bureaucrats or government employees complaining about their low salaries and lack of initiatives, and teachers and students who were highly involved in political activities, especially during the political chaos in 1978-1979 in Turkey.

Kinship relations were most important at first, when the young worker was entering the urban milieu. First, in order to work in a small workshop, his parents would usually arrange with a kinsman who had such a business in town. The young person was sent to be trained as well as to work and would be paid a wage next to nothing. Kinsmen in the town were used as hosts for the young worker who arrived in town knowing nobody and having nowhere to stay. Such hosts gave them accomodation, food, advice and more often than not they were also the employers. Secondly, kinsmen were useful as informers from whom the young people in the villages learned about available urban jobs. The workers in my sample said they heard about their present jobs through their kinsmen (18%) or fellow villagers or school friends in the town (30%) who were already involved in factory work themselves and gave references to

the employer on behalf of the young worker. For the rest, 24% declared they found the job through their own efforts and initiatives whereas another 21% entered formally through the Labour Employment Office.

The support of relatives and friends is very great in Turkey and it also forms a basis of workers' first encounters and opinions of urban life. Although the social interactions of the worker widened after he entered the job, this first network stayed stable through continued co-operation and a set of complex reciprocal exchanges. Some of the workers said they would ask help from these first friends, during financial difficulties, (26%). *However the major tendency* would be to keep it within the close family so 40% would go to their parents if they needed financial help. The next group they would most likely ask help from was their work mates (30%) but they would never ask their neighbours or the unions. There was a feeling of mistrust and secrecy towards their neighbours.

Apart from kinship relations, the relations with other workers and work mates appeared equally significant. In fact the frequency of meetings with kin was much lower than with their work mates or other workers outside work. The workers said they saw some of their relatives, especially

parents, only once a week if they lived in near by villages but other workers and work mates they met everyday either because they were neighbours or they met in the coffee or retail shops. The contacts with small entrepreneurs, traders or shop owners were the next most common interaction. So workers' social interactions were wider than their close kinship network and most of the time extended to the coffee shops and shops in the town centre rather than their neighbourhood and home visits.

Wider networks showed a tendency among the workers towards establishing relations on social class lines despite the absence of a working-class community as such, such as existed in the industrial areas of Britain in the late 19th century. In Bolu the development of a working class culture started with the workers learning for the first time the meaning of collective work done for a wage in a large factory rather than in some casual or part time jobs for various entrepreneurs. Most of them had experienced wage work previously, in forests or the construction sector. However this kind of work was not stable enough to give the workers any feeling of belongingness. As they started working in the factories their structural positions became more stable and their contacts with workers from other workplaces or factories increased. This also helped them to

extend their information networks about different work conditions, collective bargaining, strikes, living conditions, technologies, etc. as well as learning about the best possible job opportunities existing in the area.

To sum up, the social network of the workers involved three major groups of people. First, the one they were in touch with the least was the small peasants (11%) who were mostly kinsmen and who represented the past for the workers. The second group was the small entrepreneurs, traders, shop owners (24%) who represented the future for most of the workers whose main aspirations were 'to own a business of their own one day'. The third group, however, which included work mates or workers from other workplaces (40%), represented the present, existing conditions experienced by others like themselves. With each of these groups they kept their relations and were affected, in different ways.

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF LAND

80% of the respondents said that they were involved with agricultural activities at some time in their lives, mostly in their early youth. We should consider how much this involvement still continued or to what extent it was

significant in the formation of a working class. If we think in terms of property relations, most of the workers in Turkey, as is common in the Third World, had some form of access to land, to its produce, inputs or simply to land rights (Shivji, 1982; Worsley, 1984; Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975; Stichter, 1975; Lloyd, 1982).

Bolu workers had strong links with the rural areas and kept them for various reasons. First of all the availability of a plot of land in the village was a means of security and a means of maintaining relations with the village, although they rarely thought of returning to the village, and even if they did not have time to cultivate the land. Secondly, the land rights brought them some financial help either in the form of cash or goods to subsidize their wage incomes. Thirdly the rural link was necessary to keep the information network as wide as possible. Information in the life of people helped them greatly to find jobs, to solve problems with the bureaucracy, and for survival in general.

Here I want to emphasise an important debate in the literature on the Third World. The debate is about the class position of newly emerging wage earners in various Third World countries, mainly in Africa and Latin America. These wage-earners who own some land or have access to land,

continue(d) strong rural links and are mostly affected by the ideology of peasants or the self-employed. Looking at these facts, some researchers consider the workers neither as a new class (Worsley, 1964) nor as 'true proletarians' but as 'semi-proletarians' (Shivji, 1986). Lloyd (1982) chooses to call them 'proto-proletarians'. According to his argument full membership of the proletariat is not achieved. They are only accepted as being on the way to becoming 'true proletarians' who are fully committed to urban life, work and wage-employment. Quantitatively and qualitatively the workers do not fulfill the preconditions of 'true proletarians' as yet.

Within the debate on the working class in the Third World there are two tendencies. One group argues that these workers will become 'true proletarians' on similar lines to the industrialized Western nations, once industrialization has speeded up development in the Third World. Another group, close to the Dependency school, claims that there is no such possibility because there is no hope for the Third World nations to catch up with the industrialized West due to core and periphery relations. In fact this kind of effort in analysing wage earners in the Third World started from the assumption that there is an ideal type of a true proletarian which can only develop after certain preconditions are fulfilled, such as a complete break with rural links, full

commitment to the urban way of life and to workers' organizations, and no other income apart from their wages and readiness to fight for their rights till the end. This kind of a true proletarian does not exist in the Third World; nor anywhere else in the world. In the industrialized countries some of those preconditions are not fulfilled still by the majority of the workers. In the analysis of Third World workers in general and Turkish workers in particular, ownership of land and rural links are a significant aspect of the formation of a working class. As I will discuss in chp. 5, such links are a major means for the subsistence and survival of workers. In fact access to land, helped in the establishment and maintenance of a working class in towns.

III. a. Ownership

The actual amount of land ownership was low among the sample but indirect links were stronger. Only 39 out of 120 owned land. Holdings varied from 1 to 50 *dönüms*; and 23 out of 39 cultivated it themselves, using family labour, mainly their wives. The remaining 16 landowners, either gave it for sharecropping, rented it or gave it to other relatives to be cultivated. With regard to their incomes, 26 out of 39 declared that: "Even if we cultivate this land all the time it is only enough for getting some of our

foodstuffs which is a small supplement for our subsistence. We do not gain any cash income from this effort". From the rest, 4 had no benefits from their land and left it unused and only 9 out of 39 landowners actually did earn between 20.000 (£ 425) to 30.000 (£ 638) Turkish Liras a year in 1979, which was slightly more than half of their yearly wage.

29 out of my 120 respondents said that their parents with whom they lived, or their wives' parents, owned land holdings of 1 to 70 dönüms. The yearly income varied between 4000 to 250.000 TL. (£ 85 to £ 5300) and belonged to the parents. The worker normally helped in cultivating this land. In return he might claim some part of this income when he was in financial difficulty. 16 of my respondents said that they returned to their villages of origin only for visits or to help their relatives with summer jobs. These were undertaken as part of the traditionally accepted social duties. However such activities were on the decrease as the reference groups of workers changed from rural to urban and their dependence on rural links for financial reasons diminished. Also, 24 workers and their families were living in the peripheral villages of Bolu town because the cheaper accomodation and proximity to the workplaces made living there very desirable. Not all the

workers living there were necessarily involved in cultivation and these villages were fast turning into cheap suburbs of the town. In fact by 1988 most of them were declared quarters of the town and benefited from the municipal services.

33 workers out of 120 by retaining their land rights, received their share in the form of foodstuffs or goods. This help in kind, which usually included basic foods like pulses, rice, flour, cheese, honey, butter, potatoes or most other root vegetables, etc., helped them to maintain their subsistence level which would be impossible with one wage only. The actual cash equivalent of this help in kind was very difficult to calculate or to guess for every month or even year because it was not a stable and guaranteed process and the range might change. Especially when the families in the villages of origin were hard up, the help could stop immediately. Some worker households counted on such help all the time and in return they found themselves in the unavoidable position of finding urban jobs or providing food and shelter to fellow villagers.

The sample made it clear that either in the form of having direct access to land and property or receiving partial help in kind in return for maintaining their land rights, nearly

60.0 percent of the workers could get some form of additional benefits from agriculture besides their wage income. Although I am aware of the danger of generalizing from a small sample, I suggest that these conditions possibly resembled the situation of most workers in small towns in Turkey.

III. b. Product

The major agricultural products of the region were cereals and pulses, potatoes, sugar beet, tobacco, hazelnuts, rice and fruits. As I have explained before, except around *Düzce*, the area was mountainous with little flat land, which made irrigation difficult and soil unproductive. Around Bolu, cereals and pulses were produced for home consumption and potatoes and sugar beet for the market. The workers who had some direct connections to land, that is the ones who had some access to land and cultivated it themselves, said that their agricultural production involved wheat, barley, oats, rye, maize and pulses which were mainly for household consumption. These could not be abandoned even if cash-crops like potatoes, sugar beet and tobacco were becoming more popular. Within the sample, from among the people who said that they had had some kind of relationship to agriculture at some time in their lifetime, about 80% of the

whole sample, the ones who only produced cereals for self consumption were 44%. The ones who produced cereals together with a small amount of cash-crops were 42% this giving them a chance of earning cash income in addition to their wages. Only 9% said their production was only cash crops related to the efficiency of land and a further 5% dealt with animal husbandry.

Among this group who had worked in agriculture at some time in their lifetime, only 43% said they still continued their agricultural activities either through living in a village or through having direct access to land. From the rest, 41% left agriculture because the holdings were small and the income insufficient for the livelihood of a family. Some respondents mentioned other reasons like quarrels in the family, education, dislike of agricultural work, and dislike of working as shepherds or farm labourers.

IV. Expenditure and Conditions of Living

It is notoriously difficult to get reliable data on family expenditure, and consumption habits unless one lives in close contact with the families and keeps detailed records over a long period of time of exact amounts spent on various items or investments, if any existed. I did ask the

workers themselves to identify their expenditure on a monthly and yearly basis. They appeared to be fairly accurate about the amount of expenditure on different items. It was perhaps due to their long experience of trying hard every month to make ends meet that they were able to make consistent calculations of their earnings and their spendings.

IV. a. Houses

In the 1970s, Bolu was undergoing rapid changes parallel to the development of industry and services. The construction sector flourished, especially the construction of multi-storey buildings with residential flats which were bought by professionals and some state employees. At first ***Bahçelievler***, the newest quarter of the town had most of this type of modern construction of luxury flats. Later on, this type of construction spread to almost every established, older quarter of the town and some technicians, self-employed, and skilled workers started buying them as well. The buying of flats was seen as a good investment if one could find enough resources and assets from agriculture, inheritance or kin abroad, (especially in Germany). Also starting from 1975 onwards the general municipality services of the town centre visibly boomed. Most of Bolu's narrow streets were turned

into large roads paved with tarmac; underground drainage and new sewage systems were developed; a city bus service started between major quarters of the town centre. The weekly market was collected into a large and orderly new setting. A new coach terminal was built outside the town centre next to the main motorway.

In Bolu the workers were not concentrated in any particular residential area. They would live in all quarters of the town as long as the house, usually found through kin and friends, had a suitable rent or the house was close to one of the parents of the couple. Of the 120 workers, 65 (55%) said they were owner-occupiers who either built their own one to two-storey houses with small gardens around or stayed without rent in the houses of their parents. This was a common arrangement among the workers and their parents who lived in the nearby villages since rented accomodation was very rare in the villages. The 45 who stayed in rented accomodation (38%) were mostly in the town and living in networks of friends and relatives from different factories, large workplaces, or small workshops with similar accomodation and life styles. Although they lived far from their factories, the transport was no problem because the factories had their own free bus services which would

go to almost every main quarter in the town. It was preferable to queuing for the inadequate city buses as some office workers did. The workers living in the villages would go to work usually on foot or by motorcycles. Very few workers (9 or 7% in the sample) were lucky enough to get factory houses which were built by the factory management mainly for the administrative personnel and the technicians. For these houses a symbolic rent was paid. The houses had all the amenities with small gardens and well-kept roads. The sites had their own parks, schools, little shops, and a mosque for the residents. There were only slight differences between the houses of employees at different salary scales. These houses were small, well-kept villas unlike the village houses, apartment flats or old, timber houses in the town so the demand to get one of them was great among the employees.

A typical factory worker's house had two to four rooms, plus kitchen and lavatory, and electric light in all of them. Only the village houses lacked running water in the house. For the heating of the houses 98% of the households used cast-iron or sheet-iron stoves since in Bolu both coal and wood were cheaper than in other provinces in Turkey. Accomodation was plain and clean and the mixed neighbourhoods were certainly not shanty towns or slums.

As I said before there was no significant development of *Gecekondus* (brick houses built almost overnight) in Bolu because the development of industry and services and job opportunities were limited and hence more outward migration towards metropolitan centres was evident. The problem of illegal buildings, seen in large metropolitan cities in Turkey, was an insignificant issue in Bolu.

In the houses there was not much furniture but they were plainly decorated in a traditional style with divans (a long settee covered with carpets and used as a bed at night), few chairs and a table, and all the floors covered with cheap, factory woven carpets or kilims (a traditonally woven rug). Refrigerators and coloured television sets were considered as the most needed goods in these households. Almost every house had a radio and a high proportion had television sets. A very negligible number of washing machines existed and workers' responses to such a question would be very likely a cruel joke like, "I have a wife so why should I need a washing machine?". For cooking, gas cookers were used in town houses and *Ocaks* (built-in ovens) were common in the village houses.

IV.b. Debts and Savings

Very few workers could keep savings, except forced savings in the workers' Provident Fund. Of the 120 questioned, only 23 (19%) said they could save sometimes, the remaining workers said that cash savings were an impossible achievement in their households. On the other hand, all but 39% of the workers, were paying monthly instalments to housing cooperatives, for buying small urban land, for various durable household goods like televisions, refrigerators, washing machines, etc., as well as for carpets, clothing or to help some mutual fund associations. In fact these were small investments for the future of the worker households. Some had debts to the local storekeepers for food or daily needs like cleaning materials, knitting yarn, etc.. Some 14% of the workers had cars which they bought with money borrowed from their parents or relatives, and which they used as a taxi, as a second job after work hours.

The amount of the debt had to be kept small not to upset the family budget but also sufficient enough to be able to satisfy the consumption needs confronted in the town. For 20% of the respondents the size of the monthly payment would be as high as one third of the wage. For 26% this amount was about one fourth of the wage. If the amount

of debt was equal to half the worker's wage (15% of the sample) then usually there were other members of the family, mostly younger brothers or fathers living within the household, also earning an income from either urban jobs or from agriculture.

The main motive was towards getting more established in the town through buying land and/or cooperative houses, mainly from the workers' social insurance fund. The lump sum needed to start membership in one of these cooperatives was given mostly by the relatives, parents or sometimes (rarely) by the employers. The rest of the instalments were paid by the workers themselves unless there was an increase in which case parents' help might be needed again. This house buying was seen by the workers and their families of origin as an investment for a place in town where they could send other members of the family later on. Hence, many workers had younger brothers or cousins living with them if not the parents themselves.

IV. c. Direct Personal Expenditure

IV.c.1. Rent

As I have said before the workers in Bolu sample had some advantages in terms of housing. House ownership, either

through building themselves or being given a place by their parents, was quite common in Bolu. Hence, the rent in the expenditure of the workers did not held a significant place. 73, or 61% of the workers did not pay any rent at all. only 44, or 37% paid rents equal to 1500-2000 TL. (£32-42.5) which could amount from one third to almost half of their wages.

Rented accomodation of the workers mostly involved old, timber houses in Bolu. They had two to three rooms with kitchen but no bathrooms. Although these old houses were relatively cheaper than the modern flats because the demand in the market was higher, especially from the newcomers in unskilled employment, the rents were rising faster and the workers were paying an increasingly higher proportion of their wages (No available housing statistics about this issue).

IV.c.2. Food, Clothing, Heating and Other Items

The food consumption of the workers' households was the major item of expenditure. In a typical worker household, diet would consist of a lot of carbohyrates and fat, but little meat, fish and vegetables. The proportion of spending on food would decrease considerably if basic foodstuffs in their diet like cereals, flour, rice and pulses were obtained free

through their rural relations. Then, such workers had to buy only limited amount of fresh products and some urban products like factory produced pasta and bread, oil, tomato puree, etc. for their consumption. On the other hand for a town based worker family who did not have such help, food would cost much more. On the average, for 82% of the families food consumption would mean spending between 1500 and 3000 TL. (£32-141). Another 16% of the families, mainly the ones with more than one member of the household earning an income, were able to spend 4000 TL. (£85) or more on food.

The next highest spending in the worker's budget was clothing. This was much lower than that on food. One reason was that the state owned factories were much better than the private sector factories in giving side benefits, like free clothes for the workers every year. The clothing was simple and some of it hand-knitted by women at home which would reduce the cost. Also the expenditure depended on the number and ages of the household members. For 71% of the workers (N=85) the cost of clothing varied between 700 to 1250 TL. (£15 to 27) monthly, 14% to 25% of the wage. This figure given was perhaps slightly higher than the reality because clothing was usually bought by the

women and it might be possible that the workers did not know how much was spent.

In Bolu heating expenses were fairly modest although winters were very cold, because most households used coal and wood from the region which was cheap compared to other sources of heating and easier to obtain. Also the added advantage for the village residents was the wood allowance given every year by the state, as the peasants' share of the forests. Considering all these factors, the monthly cost of heating was reported as nil by 19%, 500 TL. (£10) by 52% and around 900 TL. (£19) by 24% of the respondents. Hence the cost would take only 10% to 18% of the wage and the highest being of the town residents.

Conclusion

The workers in Bolu were suffering from the dilemma of their status. On the one hand they still had strong ties with their villages from which they had some advantages. On the other hand these links worked negatively in the determination of their wages. Hence, as it was very bluntly put in the words of the director of the Cement factory: "These workers are quite well off no matter what wage we pay to them. They have most of their food and other needs

coming from the rural areas or they have land themselves. The wage we pay them is just an additional income so why should we pay them more?" This kind of comment was sometimes shared by the unions as well in order to justify low level of union activity or participation from the workers. They were also blaming these links in order to hide their incompetence. For the workers on the other hand, the small and unstable advantages from their rural links were additional income to subsidise their very low wages. They were not villagers anymore who were undertaking wage work occasionally but established wage earners who were trapped between the low wages and high costs of living required in town life for which they had to look for subsidiary incomes, the easiest solution being to depend on their family networks.

In other words, the workers were trapped in a no win situation since even if they did not have any land or other income they would be treated all the same by the employers. Additionally, faced with the competition from unskilled labour, flowing into the town continuously, it was impossible for wages to rise. The impact of the rural support had a similar effect on the workers in Bolu as the introduction of Poor Law relief had on the labourers in England in the eighteenth to nineteenth century (Cole, 1975).

Footnotes

1. In small workshops one major form of production was 'imitation manufacture' of various spare parts of imported machinery which would be costly and sometimes impossible to renew. This was done through taking apart the genuine machinery and examining every piece carefully and then trying to imitate it in the workshop. This kind of imitation technique contributed a lot towards the development of the manufacturing of intermediate parts in Turkey. The success story of Turkish import-substituting industry where 80 percent of the industrial production was undertaken by Turkish manufacturers, was mainly a consequence of the imitation activity of small industrial producers (Dikerdem, 1982).

2. The Turkish formal educational system demands a 5 year elementary school education. The next higher level comprises 3 years of middle school and another 3 years of lycee (secondary school). This can be seen as the preparation for university education. Alternatively we find vocational or technical schools at the middle school and lycee levels. These provide the required qualifications for the industrial sector.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE AT WORK

Introduction

The social and economic structure inside the workplaces was very much a continuation of the life and networks of the workers outside work. This meant that although it was clear that the workers had to earn a living through selling their labour power for a wage to the employers, this relation was affected by other social relationships carried over from outside work life. Hence their rural backgrounds, nature and pattern of social relationships, previous work experiences and recruitment patterns would create differences in their structural positions in the workplace. At the workplaces, however, work conditions, the technical division of labour determining variations in skill and pay levels would also differ greatly. In these workplaces the technologies used, the pattern of production, the nature of the product, the nature of ownership and the managerial strategies were all very different. Besides in their everyday experiences the workers lived through many contradictions and constraints within the labour process which might be similar yet affected the workers differently. Therefore there were many sources of differentiation among the workers, both from outside and

within the workplace. My main point in this section will be to ascertain the divisions among the workers which depended on the social or economic factors prevailing in the work process. I intend to do this in two sections namely the organization of work and the organization and conditions of the labour force.

I. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

I. a. The Production Process

The choice and the level of technology in the formal sector in Bolu was affected by many different factors. In the first place, in importing the technologies from industrialized capitalist countries of the West, the main criterion was cost, rather than considerations of adaptability to the labour and natural resources or to long term profitability (Çarıkçı, 1983; Çelepov et al, 1977; Kurmuş et al, 1977; Gülalp, 1980; Kepenek, 1983). These technologies would cost less because they were usually less productive and already out of date in the countries of origin. Moreover they carried many hazards for human health and to the natural environment. Secondly, the choices were made within the import-substituting industrialization policy. This policy increased imports and the need for foreign exchange all the same. Therefore during

the research I witnessed the difficulties and halting of production on various occasions, because of the lack of major spare parts which could not be imported due to balance of payments shortages. Thirdly, mainly the public sector establishments, as a continuation of 'Etatist' policies, invested mostly in capital and indermediary goods industries which had structural importance for the country's industrial growth and hence the choice was directed to specific types of, rather capital-intensive, technologies.(1)

In the factories and workplaces of the sample, differences in the nature of the work processes were taken as part of the analysis, especially in understanding the differences of opinions, aspirations and attitudes among workers. In the literature it is very often argued that there are strong links between the nature of the work people do and their view of the world and aspirations for the future. Though technology itself is dependent on a number of factors - the nature of the product, the range of products, the market served and the techniques and hardware available to process the appropriate raw materials and components - the type of technology used greatly influences the workers' social relationships with each other, the quality of their work experience and in turn their orientations to work and management (Woodward, 1965; Blauner, 1964). R. Blauner, in

his famous study ***Alienation and Freedom*** (1964) analyses several technological settings which could influence the job satisfaction of the workers. He developed four dimensions of ***alienation*** - powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement - for this purpose and did his research in four types of industry with four distinct types of technology: printing (craft), textiles (machine-tending), car assembly (assembly line), chemicals (continuous process). Although his study has many theoretical shortcomings, nevertheless his findings are important because his research was unique in looking into this relation of technology to the - work experience and alienation from work. The factories and workplaces in my research also had distinct types of technologies which might affect the work experiences and so the workers' attitudes and orientations to work and life. In this respect Blauner's study is useful for comparison.

First, the cement factory (private shareholders) where the technology was relatively advanced, continuous process production, the job mainly involved the control of electronic panels by semi-skilled operators who were supervised by the engineers of the relevant unit. Nevertheless, some amount of unskilled work was needed at the beginning and at the end stage of the production process to help the free flow of the raw materials and the packing and transporting of the

finished product. The workers did not take much responsibility except for reporting any unusual event to the engineers and there was not much use of machine tools by the workers. This kind of work experience only required two-man teams who shared the responsibility of watching the electronic panels or checking the automatic control devices in the unit control room. In the meantime there was enough flexibility in the work to allow them to chat to the engineers, to move around the unit control room quite freely, to have tea or for small talk with other workers in other sections while one of them kept watch. On the other hand this kind of continuous process industry was much less complicated than Blauner's chemical plant so there was little initiative of the workers, technical responsibility resting on the engineers to a great extent.

In the state owned wood factories production was carried out by manually set and controlled machines. It may be found to share similarities with the machine-tending industry in Blauner's typification of industries because manual labour was used to a great extent to put the sheets of pressed wood or logs onto the press or cutting machines; to control the time and pressure of the press and the quality of the finished product. However, this kind of use of manual labour was different from tending or minding the

semiautomatic spinning frames or looms where the control of the worker over the production process was reduced to a minimum as in Blauner's work. In the wood production, workers had more responsibility for their productive activities but their initiatives had to comply with certain production standards set 'scientifically'. In this sense it was a machine-tending industry where the products were standardized, and hand work was still used but reduced to a very low level. In terms of the technical production systems proposed by J. Woodward, based on types of machinery and equipment, the wood industry in Bolu involved large batch production with standardized products.(2) As Woodward has shown, this type of production will give more possibility to exercise control over the manufacturing production and reduce the degree of 'uncertainty' in the prediction of results. Control, which J. Woodward defined as "the amount of discretion they (the workers) have in the organization of their own activities", would be the highest in the process industry where such uncertainty would be close to nil (Woodward, 1965, p. 190). Uncertainty would also give rise to difficulty in the definition of aims and values of the individuals. If an operator was asked what his job was, the reply would come in terms of the details of the operations with little, if any, reference to the primary task of the factory. On the other hand, due to the continuous spare parts and raw material

shortages, uncertainty about the quality and the quantity of production predominated in these state factories and alienated the managers and the workers alike from their work. It was a frequent complaint from both sides that there was no compensation or satisfaction from hard work because at the end of the day no matter how hard you tried the work was bound to be slow and inefficient.

This control aspect, associated with a particular technology and its consequences for workers, was also taken up by the Wedderburn and Crompton study (1972). The authors stressed that the nature of the technology influenced the structuring of the job itself and the way in which the relationship between the supervisors and the operators was shaped. Therefore, the degree of personal discretion technology could allow and its part in the authority and control relations were the two most important factors emphasised in influencing differences of attitudes and behaviour of the workers. They found that there were major attitude differences (towards work, collective action, power structure) between workers working in different parts of the same plant. Though my research in Bolu did not specify technology as a key variable, workers involved in different plants or jobs in the same plant and who experienced different degrees of control during the production process,

also showed considerable differences of attitudes to many issues which will be covered in further sections (chp. 7). However, the significant impact of level of education, rural or urban background, the degree and nature of social contacts, besides the technology factor should also be considered in making evaluations of this kind.

Ana Tamirhane and *Y.S.E,* where road machines and vehicles were serviced, were difficult to classify with any production criteria. In fact major production was road construction and water pipes which were done far away from the maintenance centers. This part of the production I did not cover in the research. Also in *Ana Tamirhane* there was some production of spare parts when needed. The level of technology, capacities and skill level of labour power, organization of work and the technical divisions of labour in these workplaces were all very different from the other three factories. The one-off nature of the work allowed greater control of these workers over their use of labour and direct control over the technological environment by means of the manipulation of tools and materials. A tradition of craftsmanskip developed within the workplaces and they increasingly became places for the most skilled craftsmen from the informal sector, as well as a training ground for young vocational school graduates. The job was not at all

predetermined but depended on the degree of skill of the worker. The worker set his own pace of work and because the operations were not standard he was responsible for the quality of the work and would determine his own time to finish.

All these features of the job led to a very different system of supervision or a set of work norms which depended more on the level of experience, skill and age rather than competitiveness and higher productivity. The period of employment and stability in these workplaces also tended to be longer. Mainly their skills proved to be irreplacable since the supply of such skilled work was limited and insufficient to meet demand in the labour market, especially in the flourishing motor industry. Despite the strong aspiration to open a small workshop of their own among individual craftsmen, they lacked access to the essential capital assets. Other workers knew they did not have the essential skills.

I. b. Managerial Control

Managers have the duty and the power to decide on the product, the production process, the market, and the effective use of labour power. This decision-making power designs and controls the organization of work within the units set by

the technology and the workforce. Here the technology again comes as one factor bringing some differences between managerial strategies and control. For example, it was possible to differentiate the unit production workplaces from the batch-production and continuous production factories in terms of their management systems. In unit production, mechanisms of control were simpler, unsophisticated and exercised through the personal authority pyramid, work was largely unprogrammed and end results usually difficult to predict. In batch production on the other hand, since the plant and the machinery were more flexible and modifications to the product were made more easily, the decisions about what to produce and how the plant and the machinery could best be utilized were taken more easily. Management had more choice about how the resources should be used, more certainty of the end product, and more control over production. In continuous production, the control system was determined when the factory was built. The objectives of production, in respect of time, quality and cost, the sequencing of the manufacturing activities were specified and built into the plant design (Woodward, 1970, p.39).

The factories and workplaces of the research in Bolu also proved these above differentiations between management

systems in relation to technology. In the maintenance centres which resembled the unit production systems in Woodward's research, production and order in the workplace was mainly controlled by the *'Ustas'* whose authority depended upon their skill and experience as explained before. The workshops carried the responsibility of maintaining in good order the vehicles which were to be used immediately by the road construction and repair teams. This was a job full of uncertainties with regard to when such maintenance work would be needed, how long it would take to accomplish or how the spare parts would be obtained. Therefore, the unpredictability of the end product ruled the workplace and no strict rules of productivity or efficiency could be established. The managements also had to face the pressures arising from the discrepancies between the needs and the available resources in the workplaces. Hence, the authority of the managements in those workplaces was weakened through uncertainties and the relatively high level of skills and expertise of the majority of the workers who had the power to control the work.

The wood factories in the research which resembled batch production, were public enterprises where the production targets were determined from above by the relevant state departments; but knowing the frequent difficulties confronted

in production and in the utilization of resources, these targets were not strictly imposed on the local managers. Also the management had the advantage of being able to direct and control the organization of work with more determination due to the relatively low level of skills of the workforce and less uncertainty of the end product. The jobs were well defined at very stage and except for the machine breakages or spare parts shortages the managements could make a close estimate of productivity.

The jobs in the timber units were easy to learn. The unit managers could thus be chosen not from among professional managers but from older, experienced mechanics or skilled workers, ***Ustabaşı***, who had been promoted to the supervisory position after long years of work. They came from among the workers' ranks themselves and knew the difficulties; thus their approaches to the problems of the shopfloor workers were tolerant and friendly. They were described by the workers as being one of themselves in terms of social and economic background. However in terms of skill level, experience and education (vocational school) they were different from the shopfloor workers. Only in the wood preservation units, which used relatively new technology, the unit managers were young mechanical engineers who were university graduates. These were

identified by the workers as, "children of the big city" *(Büyük şehir çocuğu),* no matter how friendly they might seem. Although they were respected and their advice on such matters as education of children, party politics, future life opportunities, etc. were taken seriously by the workers, they were excluded from the workers' social networks both within and outside of the factories.

The top managers, on the other hand, were bureuacrats, mainly engineers, not professional managers, appointed by the state departments very much in line with the politics of the existing governments. Hence there was no stability in these positions since at the time of the research Turkey was undergoing continuous government crises under various coalition governments (see chp. 3). Their control in the factories was relaxed and much like an ordinary civil servant with limited office responsibilities since they were aware of the fact that their jobs were political positions and did not depend on their personal success in increasing the productivity or efficiency in the factories. Their motives were different than the manager of a private factory who could also be the owner or a shareholder and could carry full initiative in most matters. For the top managers of the public factories the job consisted of flexible control of production targets set from above and maintaining the

continuation of production through the spare parts shortages. Their initiatives were limited to the red-tape of the state departments since approval was required on every matter. This total dependence slowed down the efficiency of control of productivity and most of the time the managers were forced to use their personal, 'political' links in the state departments to quicken the bureaucratic process or to get an approval of a much needed purchase. Only in the marketing of the product did the local managers have relatively more initiative since this activity was largely solved through local politics as explained below.

The cement factory where production was designed in continuous processes had a quite different system of management from the state factories. The management style was pre-determined within the design of the production system and the technology. The managers had no say in the setting up of the production system. They used most initiative in the maintenance of the system, coordinating the services and the materials needed, and keeping the quality and the cost within acceptable limits. On the other hand the uncertainty of the quality and the quantity of the end product was almost nil. This certainly made the control easier, and hence their relations with the workers more flexible. The majority of the workers were semi-skilled and

skilled, responsible for watching the temperature, pressure and speed of the processes regulated by automatic control devices. This left little chance for mistakes or slowdowns to occur in the units and the unit managers were warned only when some kind of breakdown took place (See chp. 3).

Apart from such differences in managerial control, all the managements shared the fact that they had a basic role in organizing the relationships between labour and capital. In 1974, H. Braverman in his famous book ***Labour and Monopoly Capital*** made a very important analysis of the role of management control and de-skilling of workers in the regulation of capital-labour relations. Despite the theoretical reductionism of his analysis, and the limited applicability of the de-skilling argument after the development of information technology, he argued that in order to achieve an increased output, capitalism mainly relied on a highly centralized and responsible management, who used 'rational' or 'scientific' criteria. The 'advanced' or 'scientific' managerial techniques included fragmentation and the de-skilling of labour so that an increased output could be obtained from a more manageable and cheaper workforce. Braverman also implied that the so-called rationality of managerial techniques in modern industrial enterprises was not a neutral or 'scientific' one but rather an aspect of class domination referring to

the control of one class (managers and owners) over another (workers). In this case the relation between the owners of capital (managers and owners) and labour power was a class relation in its very form. Taking into account Braverman's analysis, the managerial control within the public enterprises in Bolu was also a means of regulating the relations between labour and capital, although in this case the owner of the capital was mainly the state and the managers were the representatives of the state. No matter how relaxed their approach was towards control of the workforce, hierarchial control was the dominant feature of all these factories or service stations.

However, in Turkey public enterprises had two peculiar mechanisms which helped the managements to establish a rather relaxed but effective control. The first one was the enforced differentiation of status in the workforce between 'government employees' and the wage-workers. The other involved a very low level of labour turnover due to high rates of unemployment and the belief among most workers that the state was the best employer of all in terms of wage security and job stability.

All the employees in the administrative jobs, caretakers, warehouse workers, drivers of vehicles for personal services,

and some supervisors were defined as 'government employees' in the wood products factories and the service stations. They were not allowed to enter into any organizations and to participate in any 'political activity' or any labour dispute, by law. So this was a great restriction on democratic rights as well as causing fragmentation of the labour force during labour disputes, in negotiation of payment schemes and different fringe benefits. Although the salaries were low and determined every year by the state for all government employees on a seniority basis, their fringe benefits which included low rent factory houses, holiday camps, consumer cooperatives and pensions were much better than the wage-earners' and accepted as status symbols both by the workers and the government employees themselves.

The second factor, concerning the very high unemployment rate in Turkey, meant that people could not have high or very selective standards about jobs. In a way they were happy to accept whatever came their way. The wish to stay in the cities was so strong that they could not afford to be choosy. It was unlikely that they would leave the job once they got it despite lower payments or restricted labour rights. In terms of managerial control this was quite a

favourable condition for keeping a stable and dependent workforce.

I. c. Marketing

In any industrial organization marketing is as important as production since it determines the future of the enterprise. Firms can live as long as they can sell their products: a highly competetive and difficult task. Before starting any kind of production, entrepreneurs have to find out about their potential market; then they must convince the consumers and fix a viable price. But production and marketing, depend on technology and the economic environment.(3)

For all of the three factories in the research, marketing did not put great pressure on production and management. The evidence for this was that, although there was high demand for the products in the market, there were no observable or reported attempts to make new investments to increase the capacity or to convert the already existing machinery into more productive systems. All managers declared that the existing machinery was working below its full capacity due to frequent breakdowns and the poor supplies of raw materials and intermediary products. The reasons for such

inefficiency were related to the economic difficulties of the period rather than managerial incompetence or negligence. The existing governments were unable to respond positively to any demand for new investments or imports which required foreign currency. Therefore the managements neither felt responsible for the inefficiencies nor put much pressure on the workforce to improve.

These factories had assured markets. Production was never sufficient to meet demand in the booming construction sector. This raised prices and speculation in the market. No matter how slow the production was, the managers had market and price guarantees without the need to press for further extension of production. It was the buyers, mostly the contractors, *müteahhit*, or builders, who had to queue to buy the products from the factories.

The factory price of cement was fixed by the government. Government wanted to regulate the price of cement which was a main input in the construction sector.(4) On the other hand the fixed price was almost always below the expectations of the shareholders and the management. I was told that, very often long negotiations took place between them and the top bureaucrats about fixing the price. In the meantime, the shortages of cement doubled its price on the

black market. The managers in the cement factory complained about these speculative tendencies and the government regulating the limits of the factory price but could not do much about them because of low productivity and limited storage capacity making it a necessity to sell the product almost the same day.

The public sector factories had two different mechanisms for marketing. In the Karacasu factory the marketing of timber was mostly done by way of bidding. The date of auction was advertised in the local papers and was open to everybody who had enough cash. The sale was highly competetive and open to many tricks to beat others in the auction. A common mechanism was explained to me by a small tradesman. A large trade or contracting firm would recruit some people to enter the auction as buyers. Their function would be to try to raise the price in order to eliminate small and medium competitiors. Then these false buyers would withdraw from the competition, and in return they would receive some small lump sum from the large firm. In this way of marketing the producer was again the loser because the large contractors adjusted the price among themselves once the other medium or small competitors were eliminated.(5)

In the Sümerbank factory, in principle there was a retail saleshop in the town where the wood products should be sold by a sales clerk appointed by the factory management. However, in practice this saleshop was hardly used for sales. Instead the factory had contracts with the two largest contracting firms in the town who would make bulk purchases at the factory gate and then sell the goods from their own storehouses in the town for a much higher market price. The lack of storage space was again an important reason for the producer to give away a major share of its profit to the mediating agents or firms with big capital.

Through these mechanisms of indirect marketing, the large trading firms or distributing agents in the town, who played a mediating role between the producer and the customers, made more profits than the producers themselves. This group of intermediaries or middlemen held a significant place in the workers' social environment and influenced their perceptions (see chp. 7). In fact, at the time of economic difficulties, this group was identified by most workers as the source of shortages of goods and high prices.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR POWER

I use the term social division of labour to refer to the allocation of work tasks to various groups or individuals at the level of society, typically in most of the literature into occupations (Watson, 1980). In this sense it has a more limited meaning than the Marxist use which refers to the class relations between dominant and subordinate classes, and which has historical and political dimensions. The technical division of labour on the other hand, involves task specialisation within an occupation or an organisation. In this sense the technical division of labour among workers, which I have been describing above, is different from and more specific than the social division of labour. However, "in a capitalist mode of production the technical division of labour does not exist independently of the social division of labour (class relations). It is a function of capital's division of labour; it is no 'natural' manifestation (as some might argue that things which happen must always happen as they do)" (Nichols and Beynon, 1977, pp.72). For example, the technical and managerial control of the labour process, although it appears as a technologically necessary task, is closely related with the social division of labour and has ideological, economic and social bases. The level of development of technology is important in determining the

range of occupations during the process of production; but the status rankings among work tasks as high, or low, as more important or insignificant or sharp distinctions in terms of work conditions, earnings or skills depend on the social and ideological structure of the society. These distinctions extend into educational and job opportunities and life-styles in general and tend, also, to be reinforced by them (Allen, 1972, p.67). The analysis of occupations in some Marxist literature is either in terms of labour power being 'productive' or 'unproductive' (Poulantzas, 1974); or in terms of their contributions to the production process of 'surplus-value' (Carchedi, 1977); or in terms of their places in the control hierarchy, property ownership and relations of 'exploitation' (Wright, 1978; Wright, 1980). In the Weberian literature however, market positions together with status and cultural factors (life styles) related to occupations were recognized in the determination of 'classness' of a group (Giddens, 1973; Parkin, 1972).

The patterns and sources of recruitment of the workers, acquisition of skills, training, job opportunities in the available labour markets, secondary jobs, and the level of wages all reinforced the subordinate place of the manual worker within the social and technical division of labour in the society. In this section I will analyse those patterns in

which the class position of manual workers were determined or reinforced in the society.

II. a. Recruitment into the Labour Markets

The majority of Bolu workers entered casual wage labour during their adult life time. They have worked in the forests, in building and road construction, in transport and service jobs, in petty trading, in craft production and several public or private wage-earning occupations. Due to technological, economic, and structural factors labour markets were differentiated from each other in terms of employment and career opportunities; yet they were highly integrated and depended on each other in terms of the continuous movement of labour power from one to the other. Work in the formal sector was characterised by better working conditions and pay levels, organized labour and stability of employment. Workers in the informal sector were worse off in all these respects and suffered high instability and turnover rate.

In Bolu, in 1979, employment in the formal sector was becoming increasingly popular. However during their experiences as small agricultural producers and labourers in the forests, workers also looked forward to temporary labour

service in the informal sector (casual wage labour in transport, small workshops or garages, service jobs like tea-houses, restaurants, hotels or in artisan shops) as a first step towards becoming a wage-worker. Casual jobs available in the informal sector represented the structural features of Bolu first as a service town on the main transport route and secondly, the significance of forests for the economy of the province. Thus, almost half the sample workers' first jobs in the informal sector were either as lorry drivers or as apprentice workers in the garages, in small workshops for cutting timber or parquetry, or in road construction for private firms where they experienced very low wages, lack of job security and were confronted with injustices and unfair sacking. On the other hand, the representation of artisan or craft labour in the sample was very low because in Bolu the artisans (tailors, barbers, leather goods manufacturers, etc.) were successful in keeping their occupations. So very few experienced a downward occupational mobility from independent commodity production to industrial proletarianization. Among the sample a large group (24 percent) had direct entry to some other formal sector jobs in their previous occupational careers, like state railways, private timber factories, flour mills, dairy products factories or large construction firms. However, they later transferred to the factories and large workplaces covered in

the research when they had the opportunity, because of better work and pay conditions and more security of employment maintained through labour organizations. Hence the workers were continuously looking for chances of upward mobility in terms of pay, working conditions, status and stability. In that sense even the best formal sector job was not an end in itself but only a means to reach the ultimate goal which was to be one's own boss. The majority wanted to use the formal sector jobs to learn skills, to accumulate capital and to build up a network so that they could start a business, possibly a small workshop, of their own. A common pattern of occupational career for the workers involved intense interchange between the informal and the formal sector. Carrying over their small agricultural producer background into urban-industrial life, workers always aspired to return to the informal sector as independent commodity producers after their temporary involvement in formal sector jobs. They saw their formal sector employment as a great but temporary opportunity.(6) However, they were also aware that such aspirations were increasingly becoming impossible with the rising costs of starting an independent business. More and more they felt themselves established in the factory jobs held at the time of the interviews. Nevertheless, the workers were integrated with and

influenced by the independent producers in the informal sector.

The modes of recruitment for the workers did not vary between the rural-born and urban-born. All workers used their network of relatives, neighbours or friends to find a job, rather than using formal procedures. The help of friends, relatives or members of the same ethnic group is a very common practice in all societies, especially in newly industrialising ones. It forms a certain clientage between workers and those who help them (Lubeck, 1986). If recruitment depends on kinship networks it also, helps the problems of training and maintaining discipline in the workplaces. Thus, the respect for the ***Ustas*** from the younger workers or apprentices, which was mentioned before as a very effective means of control of production in the workplace, was related to this recruitment pattern to some extent since in most cases the ***Usta*** was a friend of the kinsman or friend who found the job. In other words, the worker had to prove that he was hard-working, disciplined and obedient as his reference had claimed. This was an important issue for the industrial commitment and integration of the workers within the workplaces. Also, since jobs were a scarce commodity, the worker's obligation to that person was expected.

The mode of recruitment also affected the friendship patterns of the workers. In fact for most workers the first friends in the workplaces were the kin or non-kin who helped them to find the job. Apart from that half the workers felt their 'closest friends' in the workplace, which might extend to out of work in most cases, were the workers from the same work team or assembly line or doing a similar job. The other half said their 'best friends' were the ***Usta*** or ***Postabaşı*** (foremen), especially for the semi-skilled workers as Table 5.1 presents. These friendship groups represented a new reference group for the workers in establishing new norms and developing different attitudes and aspirations in industrial life. They realized that to survive and establish themselves in urban life they needed different information networks and affiliations. So although they still went back to their close kin (parents or siblings) in hard times, mainly to ask for financial help, or were still expected to give charitable accomodation to family members when they first came to the town, they sought the advice or help of their work friends, their ***Ustas*** or sometimes the union in many other difficulties. The families of origin did not know the urban context and could neither give relevant advice nor could find solutions to urban difficulties, except giving financial help. A new form of co-operation, a complex set of

reciprocal exchanges, some degree of mutual trust were, then, becoming established in workers' recent networks.

Table 5.1

Work Friends by Skill Level

Skill	Position of Close Friend			
	Doing a Similar Job	Senior Master (*Ustabaşı* or *Postabaşı*)	Supervisor (*Şef*)	Technician, Electrician
Skilled	26	12	1	3
High semi-skilled	15	11	1	1
Low semi-skilled	12	7	-	1
Unskilled	25	4	-	-
Total	78	34	2	5

II. b. Skills

The production process involves the application of the division of labour between and within occupations. Hence the sellers of labour power will be distributed among a variety of *skills* involved in an even greater multiplicity of tasks. According to V. Allen, this totality comprises the labour process. Each of the occupations and its sub-divisions has its own skill requirements, its own status and its own price. However, there is no direct correlation between skills, as technical competence, status and price, for what is a skill is ideologically determined (Allen, 1977). For purposes of simplicity I chose to define *skill*, 'as labour power with a set of capacities which is appropriate to undertake a given

range of work tasks' (Dikerdem, 1982, p.153). In the factories and workplaces of the Bolu sample the work processes involved were very different as I have explained in previous sections. Hence, the required skill levels and the nature of skill varied to a great extent and I found it very difficult to make a general definition of skill, applicable to different workplaces.

In my research, confronted with the great variety of tasks, I distinguished between skilled, high semi-skilled, low semi-skilled or unskilled which was rather different than the convenient division of labour power into two as skilled and unskilled. This differentiation was done first according to the direct production tasks in the technical division of labour as described by the workers themselves, and secondly, in terms of the capacities required in different work tasks. For this, I used two criteria, the extent of the use of machinery by the workers and the amount and my own estimate of the quality of the mental activity (responsibility) involved. By these criteria, technicians, electricians, motor mechanics, supervisors, drivers, machine operators were classified as 'skilled'; electronic panel supervisors and product analysts were high semi-skilled; all apprentices such as apprentice machine operator or learner driver were low semi-skilled;

labourers, cleaners, workers in construction, caretaking, packing, storing jobs, etc. were unskilled.

There was no direct correlation between the skill level and the level of education a person had. In fact most of the skills were gained either through workplace training (45 percent) or through former wage work in small enterprises, workshops or working with a private employer (16 percent). As I have indicated above, technical or vocational school education might give one a certain preference over other candidates but it did not guarantee a job especially if someone with informal sector training applied through his kin or friends. According to the employers' points of views the persons who came from informal sector training were more flexible and competent in adapting to different kinds of skills required in the factories as well as being more quiescent to the pressures of industrial work. The school graduates, on the other hand, were found not very flexible in their knowhow, had much less practical experience. Also because they were educated, they saw themselves as superior to fellow workers and even employers. So in almost all workplaces there was great competition and contradiction among the skilled around knowhow, running of the work tasks or union affairs.

Except for the vocational school trainees, the duration of training for the various tasks was not very long. Half said they learned the job in one to two years within the workplace. 13 percent, mainly the ones who were employed in the informal sector previously, said they spent three years in learning the skill which they carried directly to the formal sector. On the other hand, school graduates had five to eight years of school training. Little of this would be directly relevant in their future careers in industrial work. Most were likely to work in different tasks than those for which they were trained. They were set to work under a senior *usta* for on the job training for new tasks, especially in the service stations, and they complained that this was downgrading. From this we can conclude that the criterion for ***skilled*** was not the duration of training but the practical ability to do a job. This criterion was further used at the shopfloor level for supervisory functions. The *ustas*, instead of the vocational school graduates, were usually given the authority to control the skilled workers, like machine operators or mechanics, on the shopfloor.

II. c. Wages and Subsistance

Wage work is the sale of labour power as a commodity. Labour belongs to the worker until he sells it. Once sold,

then the worker does not own it anymore. Only he can sell his future labour. So in defining wage work, it is not the 'labour' but the 'labour power' of the worker which is sold; and only for a definite time (Marx, 1964, Wage, Labour, Capital). For Bolu workers, their labour power was a commodity sold to the buyers in the available labour markets, where the competition was high between different sections of the workforce. Besides a very competetive labour market, the extra means of subsistence, the factors influencing the determination of wages and differences in standards of living brought differentiations in the sale of labour power.

Competition for jobs took place at various levels. The first level of competition was for the unskilled seasonal jobs, in the construction sector, in forests and in the informal sector, like loading lorries. These jobs did not require any specific skills or training. This level of competition took place among migrant workers from the Eastern provinces of Turkey and the villages in and around Bolu. Another level of competition was for more established and semi-skilled informal sector jobs. These were jobs in small-scale processing workshops (wood-sawing, repairs of cars or other vehicles, or agricultural equipment); in consumer goods production (leather goods, bakeries, sweets shops, etc.);

transport sector (taxi, bus or truck drivers); service jobs (in restaurants, hotels, schools) and in the commercial sector (as salespersons in the small groceries, stores). Here competition took place between more educated and younger members of the workforce who might be either migrants or urban-born. Most of these had intentions to transfer to factory jobs later on. Hence, they were potential rivals to the more skilled, elder urban residential labour force. In the larger public or private sector factories, the competition was between the skilled labour especially among the young men from the vocational schools and workshop trained elder workers. Small numbers of unskilled labourers needed in the factories were usually recruited as causal workers from the ranks of the small agricultural producers of the region.

The workforce was further differentiated in the level of subsistence for which they were dependent on their rural links. Part of their subsistence foods or other needs continued to come from agriculture, subsidising the wage incomes of the workers. Also these workers, who were once small agricultural producers, judged and took opportunities in the framework of their previous cognitive models which they carried over. So such a labour grouping, still maintaining strong rural ties to a certain extent, weakened the basis for the development of powerful organizations, demands for

higher wages or better rights and conditions (See Shivji, 1986, p.98). In that sense my observations suggested that perhaps the effect of the remittances in kind from the rural towards the urban groups (workers) which enabled the workers to survive and establish themselves in the urban areas was much more significant than vice versa.

In the workplaces the length of industrial work, skill level (responsibility, mental activity required), the type of ownership in the workplace (public or private) and the strategic position of the workplace within industry were significant factors in the determination of wages. Since the wood and wood products industry did not have a strategic position and the labour process consisted of simple tasks, the wages in the Karacasu factory were the lowest of all. The Sümerbank factory came a little higher at the time of the research, after the collective agreement ended with good fringe benefits (See table 5.2). The cement factory had the relatively most advanced technology and skilled labour to control electronic equipment as well as a very powerful union which had strong support from its members. So the wages here were higher. The other two service stations had strategic importance for better transport in the region; the workforce in both was made up of highly skilled mechanics with the longest work experience. However due to union

troubles in *Ana Tamirhane* later union membership was divided between DİSK and Türk-İş affiliated unions. Here the wages were much lower than in the other, *Y.S.E.*, where the wages were almost equal to the cement factory despite the negative effects of the bureaucratic administration on wage levels.

Calculating the standard of living of the workers was a complex and difficult business where one should consider the household income rather than only the wage or total wage paid (See table 5.3). For the Bolu workers there were various possible sources of income apart from the 'total wage' though wage income constituted the main part of their household income. As can be seen from the table, for more than half the workers total wage was 90 percent or more of household income (See table, 5.4). Possible other sources of incomes were i) any other person in the house being engaged in some form of paid employment ii) workers' second jobs other than agriculture iii) agricultural assets, his own or from the family at large.

Table 5.2
Distribution of total wage by workplaces, (1978-79), %

Total wage* (yearly)	Cement	Karacasu	Y.S.E.	Ana Tamir.	Sümerbank	Total
0.0-50.000 TL.	-	22.6	.8	2.5	-	25.18
50.000-100.000 TL.	7.6	1.7	5.9	18.5	10.9	44.6
100.000-150.000 TL.	15.1	-	12.6	-	.8	28.5
150.000+	.8	-	.8	-	-	1.6
Total	23.5	23.5	20.2	21.0	11.8	100.0
No.of workers	28	29	24	25	14	120

* Total yearly wage in all of these workplaces was a combination of net wage + overtime payments + annual bonus payment (calculated separately for each workplace depending on their systems of payments). These extra payments meant a major contribution to the net wage, in some cases as high as the net wage itself. E.g. the overall mean wage of the sample was around 5.000 TL. (£ 106) a month but together with the extras the overall mean wage would become 7000 TL. (£ 148) a month which was a quite considerable increase.

Table 5.3
Sources of other incomes by places of residence, 1979

	Places of Residence			
Sources of other Income of the Household*	Bolu Old Quarters	Bolu New Quarters	Bolu Villages	Total
Income from land owned by other members	6 (5.5)	5 (4.5)	15 (13.9)	26
Income from other person/s' wages or salaries**	12 (11.2)	6 (5.6)	11 (10.2)	29
Income from wife's employment	5 (4.7)	3 (2.7)	-	8
Income from worker's second jobs	6 (5.5)	2 (1.8)	8 (7.4)	16
Total	29	16	34	79

Total number of workers: 120
Missing observations: 12

* Income, means actually reported sums of earnings from such different sources. There were respondents who reported the sources but said no significant earnings were made. This should be taken as a cautious effort to avoid giving exact amounts of earnings.

** excluding the wife's wage or salary

Table 5.4
Percentage of Total Wage Within Household Income, 1979

% of total wage to total income	Number of workers	%
0.0 to 30.0	13	10.9
30.0 to 60.0	22	18.5
60.0 to 90.0	18	15.1
90.0 to 100.0	67	55.5
Total	120	100.

i) Other persons employed: In most worker families, the worker as the head of the household was the breadwinner. So the main part of the household income came from his wage. Among the 110 married workers only 34 had wives engaged in some kind of income earning activity (though only 8 were reported to be actually earning cash). 69 percent of the wives were housewives, dealing with the domestic duties within the house and looking after the children. They were mostly elementary school graduates while some were illiterate. Anyway, taking a job outside the house was highly unlikely since in Bolu there were very few jobs available for women in industry and elsewhere, except in cleaning and packing jobs in the pasta factory, a parquetry factory, and cleaning or tea-making in the administrative or bureaucratic offices. On the other hand if the wives were earning small amounts of cash, working from home, mainly growing vegetables in their small gardens or producing cheese, butter, milk, eggs for the market or doing craftwork

like sewing and tailoring dresses, embroidery, etc., these little earnings all belonged to the wives and were unaccounted for in the worker's calculations of household incomes. These earnings were usually used to cover her own expenses or childrens' small needs. However if the women were involved in individual activities in the field, it was considered as part of the household income. Only two wives in the sample were doing agricultural work for others (peasant households who needed to employ extra labour). Although agricultural wage work was not common in the region, during the high season for certain crops like potatoes and sugarbeet, casual women workers were employed.

In 58 percent of the households, workers lived alone with their spouses and children. 33 percent were joint households where workers lived with their parents and/or some other kin from either side. In joint households most of those 'other persons' (parents, cousins, siblings from either side, etc.) usually under-took some paid employment and brought some amount of cash, mainly in the form of wages and salaries or land income. Parents living together within the worker households may also own land and have some agricultural earnings but as I said earlier these belonged to the parents. The worker could not claim this income. It was rather considered a common income of the family at large,

earned by the parents, but only some part of it could be contributed to the household expenditure.

In the sample, out of 120 worker households, 25 had other persons earning wages or salaries, 4 had persons who were self-employed and only 26 who brought earnings from agriculture (though 29 said there were other persons owning land in the house). Wage and salary earners were usually fathers or younger brothers or cousins of either of the spouses. The fathers were usually working in the factories before their sons and later introduced their sons to the employers. The younger relatives were employed in various informal sector jobs as apprentice turners, welders, electricians or car body repairers. The wages of fathers were higher than their sons because of their seniority and experience, whereas for the young apprentices the wages were below the minimum wage because they were unskilled, young and working in order to learn the trade in small workshops. So instead of being a help to the household income they were rather using their kinship relations (their brothers' or sisters' hospitality) as a step to better their future lifes, to find better jobs, get educated, etc. In fact these young apprentices, *çırak,* were hardly a help to the household income but were rather an extra person to feed. However this expense was considered an investment for the

future of these young men. One worker, for example said his brother was young and inexperienced, but needed to work. He said he was like his brother before but he has saved himself and managed to get a stable job. Now he felt it was his duty to help his brother as other people had helped him once. On the other hand his brother's contribution to the household income was insignificant because his wages were very little and he spent them while going out with friends. Anyway the worker was not expecting any help from his brother. He just wanted him to get his own stable job or get educated and then help others as he, himself did. This kind of thought and communal support was the basis of survival in the urban areas for many migrants. The familial solidarity, help and support was the key to understanding how people in Turkey, and in that context in many other Third World countries, could survive with meagre wages, salaries or agricultural incomes (Lloyd, 1982; Worsley, 1984; Lubeck, 1986; Peace, 1979).

ii) Worker's second jobs: The most common second jobs in Bolu were driving a taxi, or working in the small industries as self-employed or as an employee. If they could work as self-employed in their own workshops or taxis they were better off; but this needed capital to start with. Since this was very unlikely if their parents did not help, most of the

second jobs turned out to be working for another employer, either the owner of a taxi or the owner of a small workshop. Of course these jobs were done after work hours so they could only be done for about 2 to 3 hours at the most. An average monthly earning from the secondary jobs could be equal to half of their total wages from the factories (3000 TL. (£ 64) a month). Second jobs in the informal sector are again a common feature of Third World countries (Lubeck, 1986). However among Bolu workers the figures were not very significant. Only 16 out of 120 said they were doing second jobs which were non-agricultural. As far as I can figure out there were three reasons for this. One was that, among the workers in my sample extra agricultural work (on their own or parents' land) was more common. Secondly, in Bolu in general, opportunities for non-agricultural employment were limited. Thirdly, and most importantly the workers said, after working eight hours on the factory shift they were too exhausted to do another job. From those 16, 7 were taxi-drivers (own or for others), 2 supervisors in *Y.S.E.* had their own workshops outside which they intended to continue after their retirement, 4 were skilled workers (electrician, furniture making, welding) employed in the small workshops. 3 were self-employed in other odd jobs, street-seller, furniture making at home, electrical repairs for neighbours.

Table 5.5
The Forms of Rural Links of Bolu Workers, 1979

Links	Number of Workers	%
Only for visits	8	6.7
Only help in summer	8	6.7
Receives *zahire** from relatives	34	28.8
Still rural resident	24	20.2
Has own land	19	16.0
Without any links	27	22.7
Total	120	100.0

**zahire*= foodstuffs

iii) Agricultural assets: In the previous section I have explained the relations of the workers with agriculture. 80 percent had some relation with agriculture sometime in their lives or were rural born and 77 percent still kept some of their rural links. As Table 5.5 shows, 36 percent either worked on their own land or lived in nearby villages which meant that they were able to produce some part of the foodstuffs themselves; 29 percent who had kin in a village had help in the form of foodstuffs. So many possible forms of rural contribution for the worker households existed. On the other hand, workers' remittances to the kin left in the villages were very insignificant, and mostly given in the form of help during the harvest. This showed that in the sample the village supported the young migrants to town for future settlement rather than vice versa. This help was an investment for a future in urban areas, possibly for all the family.

23% of the workers had no links with agriculture, and this comprised the urban born who thus had no such rural help. Also they did not receive help for essentials like heating expenses (free wood allowance to the villagers); most of them had to pay rent for their accomodation and their social and physical needs as an urban resident. On the other hand with no local kin they needed other forms of socialising. They met with other people in coffee houses, locals, or they followed the cultural events of the small town such as touring theatre companies, famous singers or popular films. These activities were very costly. In another division between the rural and urban residents, the workers living in the town had much better house amenities with electricity and running water and better roads, more social activities, etc., than the workers resident in the villages, but most of them did not have the considerable benefits of extra cash or foodstuffs from rural connections. On the other hand both for the majority of rural and urban residents a major part of their household incomes was spent for subsistence. 93 workers spent 60 to 100% of their total income for main expenses like food, clothing, heating or rent though the workers were only able to make rough calculations of their expenses (see table 5.6). What was left from the essentials was spent for education or for buying house amenities.

Table 5.6
Percentages of Expenses of the Household Income, 1979

% of main expenses (food, clothing, heating, rent) to household income	Number of Workers	%
0.0 to 30.0	7*	5.9
30.0 to 60.0	20	16.6
60.0 to 90.0	48	40.0
90.0 to 100.0	45	37.5

*This was an exceptional group of rural households who could not make accurate calculations of their expenses due to the extras they receive from their agricultural activities.

The wages, even with the additional payments, would not be enough to maintain a subsistence level of living if there were no extra income either through the worker's own efforts or from the families. In fact the process of proletarianization was developing fast with more and more workers becoming dependent on wages to survive.

III. HEALTH, SOCIAL SECURITY AND LABOUR TURNOVER

One aim of working in the formal sector, public or private, was that the workers would join pension schemes providing them with basic social security and retirement benefits. A social security system covering all sections of the population was absent in Turkey. Thus such benefits carried great significance for all the workers equally. In rural Turkey

social security was mainly provided within the extended family with a series of reciprocal relationships between the members; though it continued to some extent even after some members migrated to towns. For the new urban residents it was a great relief to be entitled to free medical treatment for all the close family members, to have compensation payments in case of a work accident, to be guaranteed a retirement pension, etc.

In the sample factories and workplaces such social rights and benefits were well developed. In times of illness the workers and their close kin (*parents, wife and children*) were allowed free medical examinations and treatment in the social insurance hospitals. They could be transferred to other better equipped hospitals if the treatment or facilities in the social insurance hospital was found to be insufficient by the doctors. Maternity leave was given and a small benefit was paid by the employers. In cases of work accidents, if lives were lost or a worker was left disabled, the employer had to pay a lump sum to compensate the family's loss. When asked about the 'usefulness' of the social insurance, half the workers (51%) mentioned the free and guaranteed health service, despite its poor quality (48% said the services in the hospitals were very insufficient and should be improved), was the most important service they received all through

their lives. Secondly, 12 percent gave importance to the compensations paid in case of a work accident. Thirdly, 9 percent, mentioned the housing credits (a lump sum paid by the social insurance department to workers with over five years of employment to start membership of a housing cooperative or to build their own houses) though again the credits were too low to start a membership because of the rising costs in the construction sector and had to be supported from the families' own savings or subsidies from the extended family.

The workers had regular holidays, one month's summer holiday, and one and a half day's off during the week or the weekend, depending on the shift work. During the arrangement of summer holidays the managements had problems. Many workers who had links with agriculture, wanted their holidays in August, the time of the harvest, either to do their own harvest or to help their parents or relatives. In a continuing process of production this was difficult to arrange and caused many rows between the management and the workers. In the words of one manager: "These workers are just unable to understand what we are doing here. This is not a job like agriculture. Continuous production can not be stopped, but they are so selfish and do not understand the consequences when they ask for long

holidays all at the same time. They also do not care if they do not turn up for a certain number of days. Labour absenteeism is high because they think it is no problem, thus if they cannot turn up, someone else or friends could take over easily. They still carry the influences of their agricultural experiences in their attitudes to industrial work". On the other hand, all the sample factories had a largely stable workforce and a low labour turnover. Actually this was a condition preferred both by the employers and the workers. Permanent workers considered themselves very fortunate given the threat of unemployment in Turkey. The workers quitted the jobs only for reasons of retirement or military service. For the employers a stable workforce meant less time lost in training unskilled labour potential.

The point about labour absenteeism was stressed from a different view point by workers themselves. Thus, when they were asked to compare their life as a worker and as a villager, they preferred the flexibility of village life. Some workers with rural links would say, "There you are free, you are your own boss. If you do not feel like going to work you just do not go. It is your decision and your work, nobody can interfere. You can work twenty-four hours a day sometimes in the year depending on the agricultural cycle of the crops, but you know that you are working for

your own benefit. I cannot stand the eight hour work responsibility everyday, under someone else's „supervision". This kind of reaction was perhaps a form of protest at becoming wage-labourers and losing one's independence in production activity. Especially in a society where self-employment was predominant in both agriculture and in industry, this reaction can also be taken as an indication of their aspirations for the future (Dikerdem, 1982).

Another complaint from the workers was about the half day's work on Saturdays. Comparing themselves with the white collar workers in the factories, they said workers should also not be made to work on Saturdays without extra payment. In fact workers continuously made such comparisons with the white collar workers that the jobs of such employees were cleaner, easier, carried more prestige they had more rights in social security, and benefited more from the factories' housing schemes, etc.; but the workers saw that the salaries of the lower administrative occupations in the factories and in the society at large were not much higher, often lower, than their own wages. Some even thought that their positions were better since as workers they had unions to protect their rights or negotiate their wages but the government employees did not have such rights.

Conclusion

In this section I tried to explain the conditions under which a wage-worker as such was formed in Bolu factories. Development of modern capitalist industrial production, mostly pioneered by public enterprises in Bolu, brought a new technical and social division of labour. The new technical division of labour appeared in large factories where production was concentrated in a large, enclosed environment. The workmen were distributed among various departments of the factories and used different machinery which required various levels of skills. In this type of production the organised labour of small workshops or factories was replaced by small teams of workmen composed of an ***Usta*** or ***ustabaşı*** and two or three apprentices. According to Marx, this kind of organisation of labour marks the period of 'Modern Industry' where the cooperation between the workmen became simple (Marx, K., Capital, vol.I, p. 396). However, in Bolu, modern industry and the small manufacturing enterprises flourished together from the start and they were dependent on each other, especially for exchange of skilled labour. Many skills gained in the small enterprises would then be transferred into modern industry and remoulded to suit the needs of scientific operations. The

social division of labour also was changing as more and more agricultural producers were employed in modern factories as wage-earners and lost their independent status. These new wage-earners were resistant to this transformation to some extent by showing high rates of labour absenteeism or through maintaining their rural links. This kind of development was not very different from Western industrialized countries but it was much slower.

As I have explained in the previous sections the Bolu workers are yet *in the making* in terms of their objective conditions meaning: i) losing control over the means and conditions of production, ii) turning into wage-earners competing in the labour market iii) detached from their rural ties and culture. On the other hand, they still continued to have some forms of access to land; some of them were self-employed in second jobs like taxi driving and most of them still continued their family responsibilities towards their kin in the villages and their links with the rural culture. The major fallacy in many earlier studies on the 'working class' in various Third World countries was their expectation of finding a similar development of the working class as has been demonstrated historically in some advanced capitalist countries and to try to generalise the theoretical expectations to Third World conditions (Arrighi

and Saul, 1970; Worsley, 1964) However Worsley (1984) in *The Three Worlds* emphasises very correctly that every country's historical conditions are different and classes develop under these different conditions, with different features, in their own rights. Besides some kind of second jobs are increasingly becoming a common feature even among the working class in more advanced capitalist countries. The strictly theoretical approach of previous researchers on the Third World almost denied the existence of any working class in such countries. In the next sections I will try to demonstrate how much the workers in Bolu revealed a class identity through their views, expectations, definitions and support of their unions.

Footnotes

1. In the advanced capitalist economies, the government depended on private enterprise to initiate the economy, and entered into industrial activity itself only when there was a need to relieve certain problem areas and control private enterprise. The development of public enterprise or employment of labour by the state came rather late, in the advanced stage of the capitalist economy, whereas in Turkey, again as in many Third World countries, the public sector tends to be prominent from the start (Elkan, 1960). The

state's prominent role in industrial initiative was recognised immediately from the beginning of the Republic, because the private entrepreneurs lacked the large scale capital accumulation and initiative needed to start any industrial investment. So the largest and the earliest industrial establishments belonged to the public sector and the state became the greatest employer of labour.

From the beginning of the Republic the main motive of 'Etatism' was to create an indigenous capitalist class. The state was to undertake the more costly and less profitable infrastructural investments, cheap state credits and tax returns, and to provide intermediary and capital goods cheaply for the private sector (Turkish Economic Congress in İzmir, 1923). Also politically the state took all the measures to ensure that wages and trade union organization were kept under control. Despite all these efforts the private sector in Turkey showed a continous reluctancy and incompetency to use these privileges and to expand the home market. Complaints about the conspicuous consumption tendencies of private entrepreneurs rather than new investments, were common among the people as well as among the various state officials.

2. In the classification of industries the basis was J. Woodward's, *Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice,* 1965, p. 38-9.

Techniques of production	**Production systems**	**Types of Machinery**
Unit and small batch production	Production of units to customer's requirements; Production of prototypes	Hand set Tools
Large batch production	Production of large batches on assembly lines; Mass production transfer lines	Sequence controlled machines,
Process production	Continuous flow production;	Numerically controlled machines, flow and transfer lines or units

3. According to Woodward (1970), in different systems of production the relative importance of marketing and production functions varies. For example, in technically advanced systems, such as the continuous production factories, these functions are separated in time and place and marketing is the more critical function which must be considered before production. Production becomes a routine matter once an assured market is found for the new products. In batch production however, first the production is completed then it is the job of the sales staff to convince the customers to buy the goods the firm produces. In this system marketing puts great pressure on the

production side in order to get work out quickly or to achieve the desired quality; so production appears to be the most critical function. In unit production systems, first the market has to be found then production takes place for that special market. Production of the very specific goods as required by the customer is very significant so the most critical function in the firm is research and development of new products. This kind of categorization serves as a very general and rough guide to understand the differences of activities between various industries. In Turkey, this guide can be used in some small industries and the private sector.

4. The Cement industry was mostly state owned in Turkey but there were a few private companies. As a major input of the construction industry governments wanted to regulate the price of cement for fear that it may lead to increasing prices in the housing sphere. Etatist economic policies were also another reason. Since the majority of the market was controlled by the state owned cement factories, private cement factories had little influence on the price of cement.

5. In the wood factories, which firms or distributing agents would win the bid was closely linked to the political party affiliations of both those firms, and the managers and their bosses in the Ministries. In other words the managers had

to listen to the political views of the departments of the Ministries to which they were related in deciding whom or which firm to choose for the tender. Also the factory prices of the wood products were determined by these departments leaving little market initiative to the managers. The managers' own positions were highly vulnerable since they depended on government appointment, itself influenced by political loyalties.

6. In different regions in Turkey practices can differ. In some practices, the idea can be to open a workshop without giving up the permanent job, and to 'moonlight' in town while using friends, kin or employees to man the business.

CHAPTER SIX

WORKERS AND THEIR UNIONS

Introduction

In the Third World, trade unions have been seen as "the only permanent mass organization of any section of the labouring poor which will remain the key organization for translating mass consciousness into organization, policy and activity" (Waterman, 1978). Workers, especially those in permanent factory jobs, as a section of the labouring poor, have the grounds to organize most easily (Lubeck, 1986; Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975, Spalding, 1977). The rest of the workers are in casual or seasonal jobs, or employed in enterprises where the employers are hostile to any kind of labour organization. Some workers who continuously move between factory jobs and self-employment, are themselves not interested in unionization. So the unionized labour force in the Third World represents the better off section of the labouring poor due to its bargaining power which has led some authors on African labour to refer to them as an 'elite' or 'labour aristocracy'(1) (Arrighi and Saul, 1973; Fanon, 1965; Stichter, 1977).

In this chapter I am concerned to discuss the nature of unions in Bolu from the point of view of the sample workers' evaluations of different levels of union leadership, on the shopfloor and at local and national levels; their relations with unionists in and out of work; participation in union meetings and affairs. However, first I intend to give a brief account of the development of unions, *Sendika*, in Turkey and the structure of unions in the sample factories.(2)

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONS IN TURKEY

Beginning with the announcement of the Republic, the State in Turkey had a significant impact on the labour movement through legislation. The use of law was directed to the control of the workers and their activities. The labour legislation continuously put into practice the State's own version of what capital-labour relations ought to be and helped to coopt union development in Turkey. However, I have no space to go into the stages and details of such an important topic.

The establishment of *'Ameleperver Cemiyeti'* (Association of Labourers) in 1871 and the dockworkers' strike a year later is considered the beginning of Turkish trade unionism. At

that stage there were some efforts to educate the newly emerging workers on the lines of Western, especially French, ideas of unionism (Işıklı, 1972, p. 291). Many other small workers' associations followed this move until 1908. However, they did not last very long due to the pressures coming from the foreign companies and the strict measures taken by the Ottoman government. They were either abolished after some time or moved their head quarters to *Selanik* (a town now in Greece) (Şanda, 1975). During the War of Independence many workers' associations were reported to arrange strikes in İstanbul, then the Ottoman capital, to support the war, like the railwaymen *(Şark Demiryolu İşçileri)* and Tram-workers *(Tramway İşçileri)* (Işıklı, 1972, p. 293). After the war until the multi-party period in 1946 no significant associations could be seen apart from the failures of various attempts by *Türkiye Amele Birliği* (Union of Turkish Labourers), established in 1923, to win certain rights for the workers after the Turkish Economy Congress in İzmir (1923). During the one-party period all opposition was crushed or abolished by force (Yerasimos, 1977, p. 1276).

The first attempts in Turkey to organize workers started in the late 1940's. The first Union Law was promulgated in 1947. By 1950, 432 unions had formed, with a membership of 282,000 though unions were denied the right to strike, to

bargain collectively or 'to engage in political activities' (Işıklı and Talas, 1956). A nationwide confederation, The Turkish Trade Union Confederation, (Türk-İş) was founded in 1952 but it did not take a firm stand in achieving better working and living conditions for labour. This confederation had close links with American labour unions (A.F.L.) receiving money and expert advice. It sent members to the United States to be trained in union techniques and policies. Accordingly, the policies of Türk-İş resembled that of American Unionism in emphasising economic action as the major duty of the unions which should not be committed to any form of politics. In 1963 a new Labour Code was passed by Parliament which conceded the rights of collective bargaining, strikes and lock-outs; employers and employees were entitled to form or join a union and to resign from membership freely. In the 1965 elections fifteen deputies of the newly established Turkish Workers' Party *(Türkiye İşçi Partisi)* won seats in Parliament. The founders of this party were a group of union leaders who resigned from Türk-İş due to ideological differences. In 1967, a new confederation of labour, the Revolutionary Trade Unions Confederation (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*-DİSK) was founded by the presidents of two former Türk-İş unions, the Mine and Metal Workers Union, (M.M.W.U), and the Union of Rubber Workers (U.R.W.). These two unions did not approve

the policies of Türk-İş, resigned from the membership and accused Türk-İş of co-operating in the government's anti-labour policies and laws (Sülker, 1976). The policy of DİSK was to pursue a ***democratic union movement***; meaning that the working class should participate in both economic and political issues and should be able to influence the political decisions of the government. They claimed that "the national interests of Turkey should be taken as meaning the common interests of all the working people". They defended the equal rights for political struggle of different classes in the society. In that sense they strongly opposed the policy of 'non-commitment' of the unions to politics. In fact, they argued, "the working people should be involved in political struggle and must have a political party of its own which will serve the interests of the working classes in Parliament" (Sülker, 1974). Until the 1970's, DISK had close links with the Turkish Workers' Party (T.W.P.). The presidents of M.M.W.U. and R.W.U., were elected to Parliament as members of this party. After the 1971 coup, T.W.P. was banned on the grounds of left-wing ideology. There were also unsuccessful attempts to close DISK. Ironically Türk-İş effectively protested against these attempts on the basis of democratic rights (Işıklı, 1972). Although T.W.P. was established again in 1973, there was a split between the DISK leadership and the new party and the previous link

could not be reestablished. After 1970, none of the unions had any organic, open links with any of the political parties. Instead, they would support different political parties during the general elections, parallel to their ideological tendencies. For example, during the 1973 and 1977 elections the DISK leadership openly backed the Republican People's Party. After the 1980 coup DISK was abolished together with all political parties and all its property was confiscated by the State. Only Türk-İş was left to stay as the only labour organization to operate within a restricted scheme of labour rights. In the new Constitution (1981), labour's rights to strike, and collective bargaining were greatly reduced. For a long period the Higher Arbitration Council played a prominent role in collective bargaining, putting the unions into a passive position.

Since DİSK was formed, it had had a strong left-wing tendency in political and economic issues. On the other hand, the Türk-İş leaders favoured a policy of 'Supra-party unionism' meaning that Türk-İş was to act as a non-party pressure group in the society (Tunç, 1973). So the ideological confrontation between these two large organizations of labour was great, and consequently divisive in the labour movement. The conflicts were not only between the top executive leadership. Shopfloor organization was also affected.

Rival unions organized in the same workplace or factory. The workers were confused most of the time as to which union they should belong to. Among the rank and file members of different unions there were hostilities which weakened their positions in negotiations with the employers. The employers exploited the conflicts between the union officials by supporting one against the other during the negotiations (One significant incident happened in *Ana Tamirhane*, as explained below, p.260-261).

II. UNION STRUCTURE AND MEMBERSHIP IN TURKEY

In Turkey the estimated number of unionized workers in 1970 was about one and a half million which was about 10% of the whole unionizable workforce (Işıklı, 1972; Talas, 1976). Hale (1976) reported that, of this, Türk-İş claimed to have a membership of slightly over a million in 1973. This left DİSK with around 400.000 or so members. Also another source estimated DİSK membership in 1975 as 500.000 (T.I.B., 1976). To find the exact numbers of unionized workers was an impossible task in Turkey. The state figures would exclude DİSK membership totally, reporting only the Türk-İş membership.

On the other hand, the numbers obtained from the unions themselves would be equally unreliable as they needed to show off to each other (rival unions), employers and the government that each had the largest membership, and hence the right to negotiate in collective bargaining. Besides, encouraged by the low union dues some workers chose to become members of both unions if there were two unions in their factory. This would protect them from hostilities from the members of the other union. In addition there were independent unions, organized at plant or local level, often bogus bodies sponsored by the employers, which were increasing and impossible to count. During the research I listened to many similar complaints from workers and unionists that this kind of fragmented union development did more harm than good to the workers. What they all suggested was to move into national or industry-wide unions with broader bases to cover everybody working in the same branch of economic activity throughout the country. In 1978 Türk-İş had 35 affiliated industry-wide unions and DİSK had 25.

As a general guide line, Türk-İş appeared to be more successful or acceptable in organizing the public sector enterprises, and in the private sector food, and textile industries, where the skill level of the workforce was low

and which employed more women workers than any other industry. Women workers were not keen on unions.(3) The metal and steel industries also had Türk-İş affiliated unions. DİSK on the other hand, was organized in the larger private sector factories (e.g. car manufacture, durable consumer goods) where the productivity and return of capital was higher so the unions were in a better bargaining position. Also DİSK unions organized the workers in large petro-chemical plants or oil refineries, which were totally state owned enterprises, and employed the most skilled labour force. So the industries where the unions were organized by DİSK were those with modern technology, and highly skilled labour, where productivity and market opportunities were relatively higher. Though DİSK union leaders had a reputation of being tough negotiators among the employers, the high capital returns in such advanced industries should also be considered as a major factor which helped DİSK to make significant economic gains for its members. Türk-İş was organized in public enterprises. In these the workers were divided into *Memur* (state employees) and *İşçi* (worker) and the *memur's* were not allowed to enter into unions. The işçi's were easily replaceable. The labour processes in the textile and food industries, depended on less skilled workers, mostly women who were paid lower than the skilled and male workers in every industry. According to a report by

the State Planning Institute on the period between 1965 and 1975, the lowest wages were paid in the food, tobacco and beverages industries. The wages in the textile industry rose slightly towards the 1970s. In the same report, the petro-chemical, oil, metal and paper manufacturing industries paid the highest wages (S.P.I., 1977). In comparing the efficiencies of Türk-İş and DİSK affiliated unions and the economic gains of their members, such factors as different technologies, different labour processes and the nature of the labour force, low or high capital returns and the market opportunities of the commodities produced by the factories, were all relevant. Just concentrating on their ideological differences could not explain much if we did not consider these factors. On the other hand workers in the research when asked to evaluate and compare the gains of Türk-İş and DİSK unions, used 'ideological differences' as a major criterion.

III. UNION DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE IN BOLU

In Bolu, the first unions appeared after the 1963 Labour Code. At the time of the research all large industrial establishments (over 100 workers) public or private, were unionized. According to the Annual of Bolu Province (*Bolu İl Yıllığı*), in 1970 there were 4,700 unionized workers in Bolu

province as a whole, about 14 percent of the total workforce (wage and salaried employees). For 1978-79, we could make a projection and double this figure due to the establishment of many new large workplaces or factories. Since Bolu lay on the main road from *İstanbul* to *Ankara* and the East, and is close to *İstanbul* and *İzmir*, large private enterprises were increasingly attracted to the province.

Generally all unions within Bolu town were Türk-İş affiliated except in *Ana Tamirhane* (Forest Roads Maintenance Centre) where there were two rival unions. Most of the employers reported favourable attitudes towards workers getting unionized. In fact in the private macaroni factory it was the employer himself who invited the union in 1977, as soon as the factory started employing its first workers. On the other hand there was a reported incident of hostility from an employer towards any unionization of his workers. This particular private factory, manufactured parquetry flooring. It employed a workforce of around 80, 40 percent of which were women and children, who worked mainly in packing, sorting, classifying and cleaning jobs. The owner of the factory was from one of the wealthiest families of the town. He was also a long time politician, Chairman of the town council, *Belediye Başkanı* and a very influential person in every local decision. The four informants I had interviewed

from this factory during my pilot study said that they wanted a union in the factory in order to have some say over their wages and social allowances. They said in the absence of a union the employer refused to give them their most basic legal rights such as the minimum wage. Five years before, in 1974, they had attempted to bring in a union. This led to violence between the employer's men and the union officials who came from Ankara, the head office of the union, to register the workers. The union was then turned down by the employer. One of the oldest workers in the factory said,

"At that time we all wanted the union. In fact we ourselves organized and applied for membership. They accepted our request and sent some representatives. The federation to which we applied was the Wood Industries Workers Union, an affiliate of Türk-İş. When the employer did not want them, they left us without resisting. Some of us continued to resist but we gave up soon because we lacked the solidarity and commitment to each other. Also we all feared being sacked since we did not have any protection. I think that if we had called a union affiliated to DİSK, we would have had a better chance because I have heard they give full support to their members and do not desert them."

I found this worker exceptionally well informed, with a wide knowledge of both local as well as national issues.

In each factory, unions were given a small room for use as an office. There were six or seven union committee members for the departments in each factory. They were responsible for listening to everyday complaints. Anything which needed serious handling they would take to the president or some other official. None of the unions had permanent, full time staff. No time-off was allowed for union work, except that in some factories the union representatives were given a job leaving them free time for union activities. In each union a few union representatives did the paper work. Union officials, especially the young ones, used the union office as a place to meet during the breaks and the evenings. A few rank-and-file workers who were close friends could join them to discuss grievances about promotion, disciplinary action and so on; but most men would take grievances to their shop stewards. The union officials would meet formally at least once a month. At least once a year there would be a general meeting open to all members. The workers' attendance at these meetings was high. I even heard complaints from members that a meeting a year was not enough. They said more meetings were necessary in order to follow up decisions taken by

their unions. These complaints, and the high attendance rate indicated that the workers were not indifferent to union activities. Perhaps they were keen to learn what was going on since they did not have a long experience in industrial relations.

At times of urgent issues, the union officials in most factories would call a meeting during lunch breaks or at the end of the day shift to inform the workers. When a top union official visited the factory, as they sometimes did mainly at times of union elections, the main cafeteria would be used for the speech. Union meetings during work hours were not permitted by any management. During the meetings the platform would be occupied by the union officials or shop stewards to inform the members of a certain issue. Hardly any ordinary rank-and-file member would take the chance to express his views during the general meetings. They justified their attitudes by saying that it should be the duty of union officials to deal with such issues because rank and file workers with less experience could not know what is correct and what is not. They prefered to be passive listeners although the majority attended the meetings. My interpretation of this attitude was that first there would not be enough time for everybody to talk since only a limited time was allocated to the meetings.

Also it could be a sign of the disillusionment of the workers with the unions as a result of many unhappy experiences (See below).

Subscriptions to Türk-İş unions were low, about half a day's wage monthly. Union dues for DİSK unions were higher, a full day's wage a month. In some large industrial complexes extra contributions were collected from some militant supporters. There was a strike fund (a full day's wage paid annually) and also a full day's wage paid by every member after each new collective agreement was signed. The low subscription rates helped double union membership. Since the membership was closed shop, the union dues were cut automatically by the managements which gave a guaranteed income to the unions but also a distant relationship with the members who took these cuts for granted rather than seeing them as a form of active participation.

IV. UNIONS IN THE FACTORIES

IV. a. Karacasu Wood Products Factory

The union organized in this factory was the Turkish Wood Workers Union (*Ağaç-İş*). In 1960 the idea of a union first emerged in the Karacasu factory from three skilled *Ustabaşı*

called *Sedat, Servet* and *Ali.* Two of them were still working as unit managers, *Bölüm Şefleri,* in this factory. At first they wanted to form a kind of charity fund, *Yardım Derneği,* but then after talks in coffee houses they decided to form a union in 1962, to cover workers from Karacasu factory, Sümerbank factory and *Ana Tamirhane.* Then in 1963 the union was separated into two according to economic activities; the Wood Workers Union (*Ağaç-İş*) was formed to cover the Karacasu and Sümerbank factories and *Ana Tamirhane* separately belonged to the Metal Workers Union (*Metal-İş*). The union president was a laboratory technician in the factory, which left him a lot of free time. Also particularly in this factory the union representatives were very friendly with the factory manager, *Fabrika Müdürü* and spent their free time with him. According to the workers of this factory, to be a union official helped one to get a convenient and higher paid job, better promotion prospects and a future political investment. It was easy to observe that the relationship between the union representatives and the rank-and-file was a very remote one. When asked, the workers hardly acknowledged the existence of the union. They said the main reason for the low wages in this factory was its passive and uncommitted union. On the other hand the local union officials justified their positions by always putting the blame on top union leaders who

carried out the negotiations with the Forest Department in *Ankara* and said that they could not have any influence on the results because they were not given any initiative.

IV. b. *Ana Tamirhane*-Forest Roads Maintenance Centre

In this workplace there were two unions. The Metal Workers Union (*Metal-İş*) affiliated to Türk-İş was the first in 1963. Later the DİSK affiliated Mine Workers Union (*Maden-İş*) started to recruit members in the workplace (See VI.I). The first break from *Metal-İş* followed after an unsuccessful strike in 1971 which lasted 97 days, during which the workers suffered because they were not paid. As a result, in 1973 an independent union, *Çağdaş Metal-İş*, was formed by *Zeki* and *Sedat*, two of the most experienced mechanics. Later *Maden-İş* began to gain the members of *Çağdaş Metal-İş* and in the end the two leaders decided to abolish this independent union and apply for membership of *Maden-İş*, which they thought would be much more powerful. Since both were very influential personalities among the workers, many workers followed their example and the majority had joined *Maden-İş* by 1974, which gave *Maden-İş* recognition for signing collective agreements. At the time of the research the alleged membership of *Metal-İş* was only 80 or so members, about 30 percent of the total unionized workers,

but its activities had the full support of the manager, who was again a bureaucrat appointed by the Forestry Department. According to the representatives of *Maden-İş*, the officials of *Metal-İş* used fake membership cards to prove to the employer, who was prepared to believe anything coming from *Metal-İş*, that they had the majority of the membership and so had won the right to sign the collective bargaining of 1978 (See chp.3, p.130)

During the time I spent in this workplace I heard many mutual accusations. With such bitterness, it was hard to check allegations against facts. Representatives of both unions expressed the view that this rivalry was weakening the bargaining power of the workers against the management and stressed the importance of solidarity among workers. The management was exploiting the situation by calling *Metal-İş* union representatives to the meetings rather than the *Maden-İş* representatives. I arrived in the workplace at the end of a victimization act of the employer towards the members of *Maden-İş*. 120 workers, who were all members of this union, found themselves transferred to other remote branches of the same Department (See chp. 3, p.130). This was a deliberate act, to force these people with fifteen or so years service either to resign, in which case they would lose their retirement benefits, or to leave Bolu, where they had

lived for many years. As a result, all of a sudden membership majority passed to the *Metal-İş*. This act heightened the already existing hostility towards the management among the workers. Even some members of the *Metal-İş* union thought that it was an unfair practice. As a whole, most of my respondents from this workplace, from both sides, claimed that they were against union competition as they believed that this fragmentation weakened their bargaining power. A DİSK member with 24 years of service and a shop-floor union official, explained the situation as that of maintaining solidarity:

"The workers can resist the employers and win their rights if they can ensure that they are in harmony and in unity with each other. This is the only way for them to be strong and to get their legal rights. In our workplace, as well as in many other establishments throughout Turkey, employers are exploiting any fragmentation between workers to weaken them. The workers on the other hand, are mostly uneducated and inexperienced in such matters. So the employers' tactics to divide the workers are successful. In our workplace, though the employer is the state, it does not make any difference; the state acts just the same as a private capitalist and the only consideration is profit at the expense of the workers." This worker, himself, was also

victimized by the management. He could not move because of the house he had built and the children's education, but due to his old age he was able to get a concession from the management for one more year until he retired.

The *Maden-İş* union was following the policy of DİSK and running educational seminars. In these seminars they discussed questions such as 'what is industry?', 'who is an industrial worker?, 'who are the employers?', 'how do the unions work?', 'what are their functions?', 'how an industrial working class has formed in the world?'. I was given an account of these seminars by the *Maden-İş* representative. The ones who were successful at the elementary level would then be given an advanced course and might be sent abroad for further training. The union would give 5 percent of its funds for this purpose. Also they claimed that during strikes Maden-İş members would continue receiving 70 percent of their wages from the union, whereas Türk-İş unions did not have such a fund. The workers were given information and explainations more often than in other unions during disputes. All these activities singled out this union. None of these activities existed, or were even attempted by other unions in my sample.

IV. c. Sümerbank Wood Products Factory

The union in this factory had also been connected to the Bolu branch of the Wood Workers Union (*Ağaç-İş*) since 1963. However the attitudes of union officials and shop stewards were more friendly and close to the rank-and-file. Both the workers and the union officials said that there was a recent shift in the union leadership because "the previous ones were not committed to their duties". The new leaders issued a questionnaire asking the demands of the workers. This act pleased most of the workers since they interpreted it as a more caring and serious approach to their problems. Also before preparing the proposals to the employers, the union president had visited other Sümerbank factories to agree on a common approach. This, the workers said, indicated that he did not do such serious things arbitrarily. On the other hand, most workers said that, "the top union officials in the head office in Ankara were just a selfish lot who do not care what happens to their members". Therefore the failures were again conveniently blamed on the top union officials by the local union representatives. The workers trusted the local union representatives more than the top leaders because they thought that the local union ones were their friends, relatives, neighbours or workmates.

At this factory the workers were not able to evaluate the hierarchical dependency between the local unions and the top leadership. Actually the collective agreements had to be approved at the highest level between the central offices of Sümerbank and *Ağaç-İş* before being signed by the local union. So neither the managements nor the local unions could commit themselves without referring to a higher authority. In fact governments' labour policies and the political tendencies of the top bureaucrats, (such as the General Manager of Sümerbank), were more important than plant-level negotiations and industrial action. For example, in this factory there was a change of management in 1978. As soon as the government changed hands in 1978, a new manager, was appointed (See chp. 3). Following this a moderate atmosphere started in the factory towards workers' problems in order to win their sympathies which also affected union activities.

The union president outlined their policy as follows:
"In Bolu unions are weak in general. Ours is the strongest because most of us are committed to working for the workers' welfare and peace. We believe that the unions real struggle should be to make workers dominant in production as well as in control and decision-making. If needed we should work for the foundation of a genuine workers' party.

Unions should not only engage themselves with making economic gains but also they should follow what is happening in other parts of the world in terms of labour movements. At the moment our greatest problem is workers' ignorance in every matter. We are in a better position financially with the present government. We get whatever we ask for. Only we need more enlightened members".

This kind of talk reflected a lot of propaganda and pragmatism to impress me as a stranger as well as the workers around us. The speech sounded egalitarian, with reformist and gradualist overtones.

IV. d. Cement Factory

In this private factory the union was led by a group of young men, some of them idealist socialists. The union Cement Industry Union (*Çimse-İş*) was affiliated to Türk-İş. This affiliation, the 24 year old union president explained, was for convenience rather than ideology. Nevertheless, he also emphasised that "one day it will be possible for our groups to take over the Türk-İş leadership through democratic elections. At present there is a great struggle in Türk-İş between the conservative unions and the social-democrat union leaders. We belong to social-democrat unions

who in my opinion have a great chance of gaining control in the near future". The union president, nick-named *Komunist Mehmet* in the factory, was also well known to union members in other factories. He described himself as a socialist. He was a Kurd from *Elazığ*, in the East of Anatolia, whose family migrated to Bolu to find work and then settled there. He graduated from the secondary school in Bolu and his job in the factory was surveilance of the workers in the quarries which belonged to the cement factory. This job gave him a lot of mobility between the factory and the quarries and also much free time to deal with union matters, and to talk with workers in different parts of the workplace. He was the only union president in the sample with a union owned car, which he used as his personal car. He justified this to the members on the grounds that as president he needed mobility. He saw his main problem as the illiteracy and ignorance and related conservatism of the workers. When I asked what kind of efforts the union had made to overcome this problem he replied:

"Look, these workers are all 'ignorant' peasants. So I decided to explain to them how they are exploited at the level of their agricultural production first. So I drew a sketch of their plot of land. Then calculated how many hours they and their family members had to spend in a year to obtain

a certain amount of yield. Then I divided their earnings from a whole year's yield by those hours spent. I thought it would be very easy for them to realize that what they had earned in return for all this hard work was just very little. The value of their labour comes next to nothing. One would expect this should change their minds. But no. They are so stubborn and do not want to understand. After all this explanation they still say ***Allaha şükür, yetiyor*** (Thanks be to God, it is enough). Now you tell me how can we as a union explain to them what is going on. They have no 'consciousness' at all".

These comments indicated that the union president himself was not very educated in union matters himself, nor experienced. His whole approach and way of speaking about the rank-and-file members was scornful, looking down on them. His elitist and patronizing approach was known to most workers and they did not trust him. The rest of the union committee members were also affected by his attitude. So the relations of the union officials with the workers in this factory was not based on trust or friendliness but rather on pragmatic reasons such as higher wage deals. I also met the leaders of the opposition within the union who also carried socialist ideals but who thought that the union should dis-affiliate from Türk-İş and affiliate to DİSK;

the education programs should be delivered in a more friendly manner; more participation of the rank-and-file members should be encouraged; the elections should be democratic instead of being manipulated (I was there at the time of union elections and there were many alleegations of rigging and corruption during the preparation of lists of candidates which it was impossible to check). On the other hand, the members of this union (even the opposition) reported more favourable opinions about their union than other workers in the sample, because of its high pay deals. The union representatives were very tough and uncompromising during the negotiations and in the town this factory had a reputation of giving the highest wages.

Again this union had made two significant attempts at actions different than others. One was that they formed a social committee, ***sosyal komite,*** oriented to research and education which started a new practice by publishing a wall-paper in the factory. Secondly, they organized monthly health checks for all workers in the workers' social insurance hospital but this was not very successful because of insufficient personnel in the hospital.

IV. e. *Y.S.E.* - Village Roads Maintenance Centre

In this workplace the union was Türk-İş affiliated *Yol-İş* (Road construction works) Federation. It was a federation type union which covered all unions organized nationwide in the road construction sector. Before 1978 they had had an independent union which, it was claimed, had been supported by the employer, the Ministry of Village Affairs. A lot of disillusionment led to a common appeal by the workers to change their union. Then they applied to Türk-İş and invited the *Yol-İş* federation to organize in the workplace. As I arrived, this transfer has just been completed, so many did not have any opinion about the new union apart from their considerably better collective agreement in which they had received high pay deals. Since the optimistic atmosphere of changeover was still there the old union was highly criticised as being unresponsive to workers' demands.

V. THE SHOP FLOOR UNIONISM And WORKERS' PARTICIPATION

The union leaders in the research were all elected to union offices as executive or committee members from the shopfloor. In their backgrounds they were not much

different in terms of age, education, previous work experience or occupational rank, from the rank-and-file. Only some of them might have longer factory work experience than the others, and their jobs allowed them more freedom of movement, flexibility and wider contact with the workers. On the other hand, to be elected to a post in the union did not give them any extra benefits. They got their occasional grade promotions as everybody did, and they gained the increments which accrue to all workers. As such they were fully representative of the shopfloor workers who elected them to office. Among my sample quite a few of the workers, 26 percent to be exact, had performed some union duty in their lives, mainly as committee members since this was a fairly simple job and could be done by a less experienced member. Union executives were chosen from among more experienced workers because they had to undertake negotiations. These were normally done with the local management. The top executives from the head office only attended the collective agreements every two years.

The unions would be careful to avoid any cause for dissatisfaction among their members for which they employed certain means. First, in each shift it was arranged that one committee member, together with the shop-stewards, would work alongside the workers. This made them

constantly available for conversation and discussion of current problems. Also the worker had a union representative on hand to whom he could quickly turn for support in case of any grievances. 45 percent of the workers said they would go to the committee member immediately if they had a complaint in the work. The other half, 46 percent made their complaints to the unit managers who were *usta* or *ustabaşı*, trusted by the workers due to the paternalist tendencies continuing in the factories as I have explained in previous chapters (See chp. 3). Only 6 percent, mainly the new recruits, went to relatives or friends in the same workplace for complaints. The great majority of workers, 85 percent, believed the local union executives and/or committee members were the only ones to defend, protect and win their rights because they were working hard and doing the maximum they could. Compared to this only a few, 2.5 percent, trusted the top executives of their unions in the head offices in *Ankara* or *İstanbul*. This trust in local rather than top leaders came from high rates of local contact. In or out of work, 79 percent of the workers said they saw or talked to their local leaders every day or at least frequently; but only 53 percent met the top leaders when they came to give speeches at election times and in such limited conditions they did not have time to talk about personal problems. On the other hand, the workers would

rate the top leaders as having a more powerful position in negotiations because they could exercise political pressure on the employers in *Ankara*. So on the national level the top leaders were likely to achieve more whereas the local or shofloor leaders would be more effective in gains within the workplace. The local union representatives had many limitations according to the workers, which would hinder their success though they worked harder. They were not professionals, lacked the experience and wider knowledge of economics and politics, and most of all they feared being sacked. The top leaders were also reported to have some deficiencies like 'remoteness' from their members; being more keen on their own interests and their statuses rather than the interests of the union members; being too politicized (see comments on DİSK below); and not working as hard as the local ones.

Secondly, the unions would convene meetings at times of disputes, usually during short breaks or weekends. These meetings would be more for giving information about a certain issue rather than giving the ordinary members a chance to voice their opinions. The attendances were high, usually 90 percent, but mostly as a passive audience to hear what the union executives had to say. This high attendance was explained by the workers as a duty. Also they said that

they had to learn what was going on from those people who know everything. As ordinary workers they thought that they did not know such intricate matters as economics, legal rights or how to deal with politics.

This explanation showed both a kind of permissiveness to the ones taking the decisions; and also an eagerness to control them. Considering that their experiences within unions were very new, they were more inclined to see and learn than to interfere in something they did not feel qualified for. However, I was told by an old *usta* that workers had to hear their leaders speaking publicly in order to assess them and the union policies critically. In the public, the union leaders had to stick to the truth as closely as they could. In the past he said he had witnessed many lies and to deal with this the workers should not be submissive; they should participate and force the leaders to talk in public.

Thirdly, the unions would be responsive to workers' demands, especially complaints about unfair treatment, disciplinary action by the managements or sackings. Wages were determined by periodical collective agreements. Other complaints happened everyday and needed immediate solutions. So the workers judged the effectiveness of their

union representatives by their efforts and their success in finding solutions. Unreported and persistent absenteeism would usually be the cause of disciplinary action by the employers. The union representatives had then to negotiate the validity of the private reasons of the worker with the employers. In an environment where family and kinship responsibilities, like taking family members to the doctor, attending funerals or weddings or taking care of family property matters, were all very important for the workers. The union representatives had to justify time off from work for 'reasonable' cases. The union officials also had to be effective in enhancing workers' job security. Understandably all workers, lucky enough to find a factory job, wanted to make their employment stable and permanent. Those recruited as casual workers for three monthly periods, expected the unions to negotiate with the employers for their promotion to a permanent job. Without considering the circumstances and requirements of such a job, they would assess the union as unsuccessful if they did not get a promotion.

The unions for their part were aware of the fact that workers' major interests in unions were instrumental, seeing unions as their representatives in negotiations mainly to voice their economic demands and to protect them against

injustices. The provision of welfare like health, training or job security came afterwards. So the unions' approaches were also instrumental, feeling responsible only for satisfying those demands within the boundaries of the factories, neglecting what was going on outside with other sections of the working class or society as a whole. In fact, in terms of workers' perceptions, the unions were not totally successful.

VI. WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF UNIONS

In the light of the workers' continuing rural links, their relatively short experience of factory work and labour organizations, I expected that the workers' replies to questions on unions would not tell me much. On the contrary the perceptions of the workers were accurate and realistic. In fact they had developed an awareness of the functions and benefits of trade unions. In the literature this level of awareness might be similar to what has been described by Lenin (1973) as *Trade Union Consciousness.*

Nevertheless my concern was not whether these workers in Bolu had reached "political consciousness" or not. Instead my aim was to find out their perceptions and evaluations of labour organizations and collective action, and what accounts they gave of their new experiences. Could their

perceptions be taken as reflections of their awareness of a 'class position'?.

For the majority of the workers the unions represented a front for the protection of their wages and 'social rights'. 'Social rights' ***(Sosyal haklar)*** referred to fringe benefits and allowances for heating, children, clothing, and the like. This term was used by the workers themselves but in fact it was mainly a slogan used by the union officials and adopted by the workers. Table 6.1 clearly indicated that wages and social rights came first for the majority of workers. About 80 percent of the sample mentioned these. The workers mentioned other aims of unions as well which were equally interesting. 'Solidarity and unity', ***Birlik, beraberlik,*** was the second highest function of the unions mentioned by 63 percent of the workers. Third, was the statement: 'unions help us to have a voice in politics', (51 percent). On the other hand, the statement: 'unions help us in solving our personal problems' was mentioned by only 25 percent. The workers had certainly been affected by the collective nature of their work. Industrial production needed co-operation. This co-operation was different than the co-operation in peasant agriculture. They had lost their independence. The pace of the work was largely determined by machines. Protection of their common interests, - wages and social rights - was only

possible through collective bargaining and communal action. As one worker from the cement factory explained: "We need unions to develop commitment and support to each other. If there were no unions employers would force us to work without any rights just as I used to work for a building contractor *(Müteahhit)* before. So I know what it means to be without a union to support you against the employer". This new experience was learned during the first couple of months of their industrial employment. Personal negotiations with the employers were impossible. Any such attempt would be criticised by work mates. Among the workers "Power comes from unity" was a standard phrase.

Table 6.1
Workers' Perceptions of the Role of Unions:

"According to you, do we need the unions or not? Why?"*

	No. of workers who mentioned the criterion	%
Unions are useful for bargaining our wages;	95	80
Unions are useful for bargaining our social rights;	93	78
Unions are useful for solving our personal problems;	30	25
Unions are needed to defend our rights;	58	48
Unions are useful for creating solidarity and unity among workers;	75	63
Unions are useful for workers to have a voice in politics;	61	51
Unions are not needed at all;	4	3

* This question implied the possibility of more than one answer. The coding of the answers is based directly on their answers. I gave them no prompting.

As I indicated above, the workers' attachment to unions was instrumental. That is the workers were very much concerned about the success of negotiations. They expected the unions, as a powerful body, to obtain a better standard of living for them through wage increases, social rights, and working conditions. Therefore in assessing their unions, workers used the degree of achievement of these gains as the main criterion; and these expectations kept the union leaders, from both DİSK and Türk-İş, under pressure to realize the immediate aims of their rank-and-file members. The rivalry between unions forced the union leaders to be responsive to workers' demands.

I asked the workers to rank the functions which they themselves had given. The results in Table 6.2 also show that for the workers the defence of wages and social rights was the first priority, with solidarity and unity coming second. On the other hand, a new criterion which implied that workers should be trained or informed in union matters and in industrial relations, came third. This reflected the fact that the workers were asked such questions for the first time and they started to think seriously about it so were able to think of other functions. Also thinking further made them realize that they actually knew little about the

unions, and they rightly concluded that it was the duty of the unions to inform them.

Another important shift was in the criterion of politics. Although in the first question 61 of them mentioned that unions should help workers to get a voice in politics, afterwards half of them did not put this criterion into the ranking. This may be explained by the notorious reputation of politics in Turkey, especially during the chaotic political conditions of 1979. Although workers believed that they could not obtain their demands unless they took a politcal stand to some degree, they were also cautious not to be misunderstood as political activists. They generally expressed their thoughts on the subject of politics like this: "Excess involvement in politics is not good for the workers. Workers have to protect their rights but they should do this without becoming selfish and without causing damage to the national economy and to the interests of the state and nation". They had all heard about the bitter rivalry between the members of two unions and victimizations in *Ana Tamirhane* for which the political involment of the unions, particularly of the DİSK union, was commonly blamed. These issues will be discussed again in the workers' evaluations of unions.

Table 6.2
"Can you please rank the main functions of unions as you yourself have mentioned?"

Criteria	R A N K I N G					
	1	2	3	4	8*	Total
To help advance workers' wages and social rights	53	23	13	1	30	120
To help keep solidarity and unity among workers	16	27	16	1	60	120
To provide training to their members in industrial relations	8	21	19	1	71	120
To help solve personal problems of their members	11	12	14	1	82	120
To make workers' voices heard in economic and political decisions	10	11	9	2	88	120
To help us to protect our rights in unfair treatment	6	3	7	1	103	120

* Number eight refers to the workers who did not mention that particular criterion or did not put it into the ranking.

One small group of young workers in the sample were very keen to stress the political factor. They were skilled but with little experience of factory work, urban-born, articulate and usually graduates of the vocational school; some were employed in the cement factory and the others in *Ana Tamirhane*; some were union committee members or representatives. They all had links with local student or teacher associations. Their ideas about the whole concept of the rights of the working class, labour organizations and action were different and sounded sophisticated. The views of these young activists might be summed up something like this:

What the unions had achieved to date was not enough. Anyway they are only able to gain some economic concessions which is not what the labour movement is about. The unions must be aligned with a working class party. None of the existing political parties fulfills such a function. So we must work towards establishing our party.

Their views were not shared by other workers. Indeed these young workers expressed pessimism about the attitudes of other workers claiming that they were so influenced by personal gains and so ignorant, that it would be hopeless to expect them to undertake any action. In their own attitudes though they claimed to be socialists they put a distinction between themselves and the workers and did not try to win their co-operation. This mainly indicated that these less experienced young men identified themselves with students or teachers, the middle class graduates, and were impressed by their ideologies without actually understanding them. Among them some were looking forward to opportunities to open their own workshops or businesses, mainly hoping to take over their fathers' jobs. On the other hand, there were a few who sounded very genuine when they declared that they would like to remain as workers because they would not like to transfer into the ranks of the capitalist class and become exploiters themselves.

Four workers in the sample put forward a different argument:

"Unions and strike action are causing a lot of heartache to the workers. The best situation would be for the employers to grant a fair increase by themselves every year. Then we would not need unions".

These workers were doing such unskilled jobs as storekeeper, caretaker of tools. They did not identify themselves as workers but as representatives of the employers. They looked after the tools and the machines of the workplace or the finished product for the employer. They were the ones as well who believed in ***Kader*** (fate) and said that ***'Allah'*** (God), as the ultimate power, would give everybody their fair share. We should not ask for more and be greedy because it would be against the will of ***'Allah'***.

VII. WORKERS' EVALUATIONS OF UNIONS

I next wanted to know whether the workers thought that what had been achieved till then was sufficient or not. For this purpose I asked for a further evaluation of the unions' successes and failures at three levels, namely in the workplace, locally and in Turkey in general.

VII. a. The Workplace Union

As I have said the union representatives were usually elected from among the workers so they were work-mates, neighbours or kin. Also whatever they did they had to do in front of the rank-and-file members. In a way they were in the forefront of the union movement for the ordinary members and the employers. Their overall performance was rated as highly satisfactory or successful by almost half the *workers in all* establishments. To be more accurate, 45 percent found the overall performance of their unions quite satisfactory; 33 percent said that they were not too bad and doing whatever they could; 19 percent, only, said they were not at all satisfactory. Only 5 workers did not want to reply. The results indicated to me that the workers were willing to cooperate despite the risks involved in talking about such a subject. This was the first time that anybody had given value to their opinions.

However when asked to identify their criteria of success and failure in assessing their unions, workers were not very clear and could not remember the particular details of previous collective agreements. It showed that they were not well informed by the union representatives. On the other hand some common ideas could be found in their answers.

As listed in Table 6.3 on two major criteria the workers agreed that successes were higher than failures. In other words, they agreed that the union representatives were most successful in their achievements of increases in wages and social benefits, and their concern and hard work, whereas issues such as workers' health, job security or education and information about their legal rights and duties were largely neglected by the union representatives and considered as failures.

Table 6.3
Aspects of successes or failures of workplace unions, %

	Successful	Failure	Other*	Don't Know**
Wage and social benefits	40	32	16	12
Work of Union Representatives	36	27	25	12
Workers' Health Matters	9	24	43	24
Training and giving information	8	28	40	24
Providing Solidarity Among members	3	10	60	27

* Other refers to informants who mentioned some of the other criterion rather than that particular criterion. The question was asked as an open-ended question and multiple answers were given.

** Do not know, includes both those who did not have an opinion when asked to differentiate the aspects of success or failure and also a few who did not want to reply at all to union questions. Some small questions were added to help those who could not identify the criteria of their assessments, like "do you think for example, the union is successful or not in money matters?" This gave them a chance to remember and add some other criteria of their own.

VII. b. Other Local Unions

Workers met the union members from other factories in the coffee houses, friends' shops or knew them as neighbours or kin. So they knew at first hand about the state of gains in other factories and compared them with their own. Hence, the worker's ratings largely depended on the information obtained from other workers. According to this, 11 percent said that among the local unions some of them were more successful than their own unions judging from the figures given to them by their friends; 14 percent said others were doing well, but not as well as their own; 15 percent thought others were doing badly because they had smaller increases or the union officials were negligent or their members suffered during a strike, and so on. The rest did not have any idea about other local unions simply because they lacked information. The unions did not make any effort to illuminate their members about industrial relations in the town or in the province or in Turkey.

The workers named three of the sample unions, namely *Çimse-İş* (cement), *Yol-İş (Y.S.E.)* and *Maden-İş (Ana Tamirhane)*, at the top of the most successful list. The reasons behind their perceived success were suggested in statements like the following:

a) "In the cement factory union, the union officials are professionals. They know what they are doing, how to negotiate with employers, when and at what point they need to be tough" (a worker from Sümerbank factory).

b) "In *Y.S.E.*, the union signs the agreement for all the workplaces of the employer. Therefore the extent of the agreement is very wide, covering many workers. Whereas in our workplace the agreement only covers 350 workers in this workplace. So we are not so strong in negotiating" (Sümerbank wood factory).

c) "*Y.S.E.* is a workplace of an important sector and their union organizes all workplaces in this sector. In case of a disagreement the work in all of them comes to a halt which will be destructive and unmanageable. That is why they can get higher wage increases" (Cement factory).

d) "In the cement factory and in *Ana Tamirhane* the union representatives work very hard. They try to achieve the maximum benefit for their members and do not settle for unsatisfactory results" (Karacasu factory).

e) "In *Ana Tamirhane* the workers are skilled, that is they are drivers or mechanics. Of course they should be able to earn more" (Karacasu).

f) "All unions connected to Türk-İş are doing well at the moment because of the 'Social Contract' which has been signed between Türk-İş and the present government (R.P.P.

coalition).(4) The present government wanted peace with the workers and offered this 'social contract' with good intentions. However, it can soon dissappear with inflation" (*Y.S.E.* workers).

g) "In *Ana Tamirhane* the union is affiliated to DİSK. DİSK unions everywhere win higher pay and better social benefits. It may be because they are more powerful politically" (*Y.S.E.* worker).

The main failure was *Ağaç-İş*, which had members in the Sümerbank and Karacasu wood factories. Some workers also identified *Maden-İş* as a failure, mainly because of rivalry between two unions. The various reasons were again given as in the following statements from different workers:

a) "In Sümerbank the hourly pay is very low. It may be because in this factory the level of production and extent of profits are pre-determined and it can not go up any further. Whereas look at those non-productive establishments like *Y.S.E.* and *Ana Tamirhane*. They always get higher pay. Why? I think it is also because they have hard working union representatives at head office whereas ours are very passive in action. So in my opinion two factors affect high pay; the profit possibilities of the employers and hard working and tough union representatives" (Sümerbank factory).

b) "Under the previous government we were better off. Now the government has changed and Türk-İş signed the 'social contract'. So the wage increases are frozen at the present level. It is because Türk-İş supports the present government for its political interests but does not consider what will happen to the workers. Also frequent government changes bring instability to union policies" (Sümerbank factory, subjected to a shift in management).

c) "What can the unions do? The workers are ignorant and not well educated in defending their rights. So they cannot give good support to their unions and unions are bound to fail with no support from their rank-and-file" (Karacasu).

e) "In Bolu unionization is slow. This is especially because the employers of timber factories, other than the public sector, do not allow unions" *(Ana Tamirhane).*

f) "The main problem is the fragmentation of unions as we have seen in *Ana Tamirhane.* There is no need for many unions in the same branch of industry. They should merge into one to be powerful" *(Ana Tamirhane).*

g) "The success or failure of the union is very much determined by the sector the factory is connected to. Who cares about forest roads? If a workplace does not belong to the strategic sector no matter how hard the union tries their success will be limited" *(Ana Tamirhane).*

These statements indicate that the workers actually obtained a lot of information, through their networks. Also they were able to make quite plausible interpretations about the reasons of successes or failures of the unions when they were 'forced' to think during the interviews. In fact they proved to be extremely committed to and interested in the affairs of the unions despite the opinions of the various union representatives who claimed that the workers coming from peasant backgrounds were not capable of understanding the benefits of unions. The statements proved that those claims were wrong and misleading. The workers had their own terms and ways of evaluating the unions which the union leaders were unable to figure out or simply neglected. Important interpretations of workers' statements were:

i. Fragmentation between the unions and union members was greatly blamed for weaknesses in negotiations.

ii. They judged the unions by the efforts of union representatives. The workers appeared satisfied if the union representatives showed open concern for the grievances which appeared at every level, even if nothing significant was achieved during the negotiations.

iii. The feelings about political involvement were ambiguous and confused. In a national evaluation of the functions of the unions, most workers said they believed that the unions should put political pressure on governments and employers.

However in evaluating the performances of their workplace or local unions they decreased the emphasis. A commonly used phrase was that too much politicizing was not good for the state, for the nation and for the workers as well because it would make them selfish. My interpretation of this shift was that besides being a politically sensitive subject at that time, it also indicated the workers' awareness and the differentiation of the limits between what the national unions and the local unions could do.

iv. The workers seemed to acknowledge vaguely the significant effects of the socio-political conditions of the country, on labour policies, on the effectiveness of unions and in determining better gains or benefits.

v. Some workers were able to see that the wages and total benefits which could be paid to the workforce strongly corresponded to the profitability of the industrial organizations. The strategic significance of the sector, the nature and level of education of the workforce were all mentioned by a small group who could look to some macro reasons behind success or failure.

VII. c. National Unions

To assess the success or failure of national unions was the most difficult question for the workers. There was an almost

equal distribution between those who said 'very successful', those who said 'normal' (*Normal*, in Turkish) and 'bad'. The criteria of success were:

i. The unions have been found ***most successful by the workers in Turkey in terms of their achievements of higher wages and benefits.***

ii. Achivements were thought to be highest depending on ***better economic conditions.*** The workers claimed that if Turkey's dependence on foreign powers could be reduced and if the country could become self-sufficient in industrialization then workers would achieve better results. This comment had some links with the evaluation of the economic crisis in Turkey at the time, to be discussed in the last chapter (chp.7).

iii. The law, they argued, was a double-edged sword in Turkey. It could help as well as hinder the advancement of their rights. At the time due to the agreement, ('social contract' signed between Türk-İş and the government) they thought they were doing a little better.

iv. The workers thought that ***political involvement of every kind***, such as taking political action, forming pressure groups, using politicians for their own ends could have positive effects on their rights. However, if the unions and the leaders agreed to be used by the politicians for their own interests then it could have negative effects on the workers.

The most common criteria which indicated the reasons for failure were:

I. Competition between different unions in the same branch of industry;

ii. Selfishness of the union leaders;

iii. Bad economic conditions;

iv. Extreme politics;

These largely repeated the previous criteria about local unions but the significance of economic conditions and politics were emphasised more than for the local or workplace level which indicated that workers' expectations from unions varied between the two levels.

Workers' evaluations of the national union movement in Turkey inevitably had to include comparisons between DİSK and Türk-İş. Workers themselves talked about this issue without being prompted by the researcher. About half the workers of the sample made comparisons between DİSK and Türk-İş, without being asked directly and regardless of their union affiliations. The criteria they used for comparison were solidarity, political involvement and pressure, political action, wage gains, sectoral differences, leadership and training. Table 6.4 gives a breakdown of their criteria so that we can compare workers' conceptions of DİSK and Türk-İş separately.

A close look at the table indicates that the workers evaluations of success and failures of DİSK and Türk-İş were different. The first impression is that in general the workers found DİSK more successful than Türk-İş on all criteria. In particular DİSK was found successful in taking effective political action (meaning long term strikes), achieving much higher wage increases and in terms of the work of its union leaders and representatives. On the other hand, DİSK was found a failure in its political involvement by some workers. Instead of working towards putting pressure on governments these workers said, DİSK provoked the workers to actions (strikes) which were damaging to the State, and divided the working class. Türk-İş scored positively on this issue of political involvement and pressure because the leaders were found to behaved cool-headedly, but were thought to be a failure on all other criteria, eg. the leaders were accused of being scared of taking political action (strike) even when necessary; they were found negligent and lazy; they were blamed for not training the workers; also the Türk-İş unions were thought to achieve very little in terms of wage increases and benefits. Only a few mentioned the sectoral criteria saying that DİSK was successful because it was organized in the highly profitable private sector where they could afford higher wages, whereas Türk-İş was

mostly organized in the public sector, or in the less profitable parts of the private sector.

Table 6.4
Worker's Evaluations of DİSK and Türk-İş Confederations, %*

Criteria	DİSK		TÜRK-İŞ	
	Success	Failure	Success	Failure
Solidarity	5	7	4	4
Political Involment (pressure on governments)	8	14	9	7
Strikes	24	9	10	13
Wages and Benefits	34	3	9	12
**Sectoral Differences	5	-	1	3
Union Leaders	17	3	1	8
Union Training	1	1	2	16

* This table again covered multiple possible responses by each worker in the sample who made a comparison between DİSK and Türk-İş. The percentages are taken out of the total sample including the missing cases who did not respond to this evaluation or could not think of comparing both Confederations. In this way it is expected to give a clearer understanding of the distribution of criteria.

** Sectoral differences meant different levels of profitability among the enterprises which were thought to affect wage gains.

Apart from these general views there were also some statements about both Confederations which might further represent workers' opinions:

a) "Though I think all unions should unite, I have heard that DİSK is defending its members more through its powerful lawyers. On the other hand, there are some who call DİSK disruptive, (*Bozguncu* in Turkish)" (member of *Maden-İş*).

b) "The problem we have in this country is that we have a very unjust tax system. The rich pay less, we, workers pay the most. Unions protect us from these injustices to some extent otherwise the employer would not want to give his money from his pocket. Why should he? Knowing this, DİSK resists the employers very stubbornly and gets what it wants. Türk-İş is not capable if this" (member of *Çimse-İş*).

c) "For me Türk-İş is better. DİSK is labelled as a communist union. Türk-İş thinks about the benefits of the country. They are peaceful and consider the conditions of both sides. DİSK acts in a very selfish way and destroys the lives of everybody" (member of *Ağaç-İş* from Sümerbank).

d) "Disk is stubborn, opposes everybody and makes long strikes until it gets what it wants. Türk-İş accepts whatever is offered by the employer because they think anything more will bankrupt the employer. On the other hand of course we prefer getting higher wages because we work for wages, what else? So maybe obeying the laws, like Türk-İş, is wrong" (member of *Ağaç-İş*).

e) "DİSK is provoking the workers to anarchy. They do not have any religious values or respect the will of the workers. Although the wages are high, the workers have no job security. Also the subscription dues are much higher. Therefore for me DİSK is not useful as long as it cannot provide peace and security among the workers" (*Ağaç-İş*).

f) "I do not think DİSK is very successful. Though at first they resist the employers, when they foresee that it will be tough, they leave their members alone. Türk-İş tries to achieve gains within the limits of the law which will be adequate for the subsistence of the workers. The private sector gives DİSK members higher wages but the public sector gives Türk-İş members job security because the state cannot sack people easily" (*Metal-İş*).

g) "For me both DİSK and Türk-İş are the same. They only think about their own interests. They mislead the worker movement and both help the employers to exploit the workers. Real unionism is the one based on 'class syndicalism' where every worker is aware of what is going on. Real unions should get equal wages for the same jobs, improve the standard of living, try to eliminate the middle-men who really exploit us in consumption" (*Çimse-İş*).

h) "DİSK unions have more political power and they support each other so they get more increases. Türk-İş unions agree with the employers and sell the workers off" (*Maden-İş*).

i) "Though fragmentation is dividing us, my opinion is that the presence of two confederations is essential. Why? Because we need opposition in life. The organizations working for your interests like unions or political parties will tend to become lazy, negligent of members' interests and more importantly they will become dictators if they are left

uncontrolled, unchecked by an opposition. If there is opposition from another group, because they have to compete, they are bound to be more careful, they cannot cheat and cannot dominate. That is why the existence of both DİSK and Türk-İş is useful to the workers. So that we can see alternative policies and can decide to choose between them. In that case *both* had better be careful with workers' rights" (This statement belonged to a worker with twenty-three years of experience, from *Ana Tamirhane* but this conception was shared by ten other workers in different places and ages, though not exactly in the same words).

CONCLUSION

As observable from these statements the workers' views varied between instrumentalism, moralism, idealism or egalitarianism. They took their unions very seriously and had high expectations from them, especially in defending the economic demands of the workers. Unions were mainly the representative bodies between them and the managements. They represented workers' common interests in terms of wages and benefits. According to the workers this function was to a great extent accomplished by the unions at the workshop and at the national level, though they could do better if the union leaders worked harder for their

members, if governments and employers were more tolerant, if there was unity among the unions, if more political pressure could be used on governments and if the union leaders did not abuse their positions for their own political aims.

A majority valued unity and solidarity just as strongly. They saw sticking together, ***birbirine tutkunluk***, as an important asset which would also help to improve their most important common interests, wages. This was an expression with the understanding that nothing can be fulfilled unless they support each other as one body. This expression might be interpreted as a conception of the collective nature of industrial work by the workers. Accordingly, fragmentation between different unions was highly criticised and most said that the workers ought to unite under one union leadership if they wanted to be strong.

On the other hand, one of the most significant statements was the one which argued that the existence of two unions was a benefit not a loss for the workers. First, this statement indicated a well established, pluralist understanding of 'Democracy'. Dahrendorf, (1959), referred to such a phenomenon in industrial societies, claiming various political elites while competing for power and authority also checked

each other. Lipset et. all., (1956), took the view that the maintenance of democracy within unions largely depended on the existence of an organized opposition. Though DİSK and Türk-İş were two different organizations with a different leadership they were both competing to recruit the same clientele in the same political sphere. Second, the statement indicated an understanding by the workers that they hold the real power and choice of what to do over and above the unions. Thus, it would be up to the unions to satisfy their members who otherwise had the power to decide on other alternatives. This could also be a safeguard against the operation of the 'iron law' of Michels (1962) since it would set limits to the process of goal displacement by the leaders.

Many workers thought of training and arranging access to good medical treatment as secondary functions of the unions which, they agreed, were never fulfilled. Training, they thought, would help them in being able to understand and participate more in union affairs. This conception again has some theoretical implications. According to Marx, (1963) trade unions are organizing centres for collecting the workers, and for giving the workers an elementary class training. He, in his works, always referred to the idea that the trade unions are schools of solidarity. However this training would be done through the accomplishment of the immediate aims of

the trade unions which were limited to waging the day-to-day struggle against capital, as a means of defence against abuses. i.e., questions concerning wages, working conditions and hours. In the case of Bolu workers, the immediate aims included, most of all, security of job, health care for all the worker's family, retirement pensions, and so on. In fact basic social security and welfare issues were important for every section of Turkish society and so the workers were reflecting a common problem. By becoming a factory worker they were guaranteed a stable income but equally important for them was the opportunity to have free medical treatment and a retirement pension so that they did not have to go into hard agricultural work in their old age. The quality of service in workers' social insurance hospitals was very low. One major demand by the workers from their unions was to check hospital facilities, and also health hazards at work.

A few expected the unions to have a political role. These views could not be expressed openly at the time of my field work because of the current political movements of the late 1970s, and sensitivism created by widespread political violence. On the other hand, most workers, maybe under the influence of public opinion, did not want any form of extremism either in economic demands or in political pressure. On this issue, only guided by their own

experiences and common sense, they displayed a recognition that if they wanted to further their objectives, the unions had to use political pressure on the governments but at the same time they rejected the abuse of political power and commitment of unions to an established party. This was also repeated in their views on political parties. They did not approve of certain Türk-İş top executives who had entered Parliament as MPs from both the Justice Party (conservative) and Republican People's Party (social-democrat). They thought, there ought to be worker MPs in the parliament but as members of a workers party which would be different than all the established parties. On the other hand it seemed that the workers were not sure of the extent and nature of the political involvement of the unions.

One last point is that the evident instrumentalism and high interest in wage bargaining revealed in workers' statements could also make economism manifest. Lenin would have interpreted this as the sectarianism of the workers who have gained a 'trade union consciousness' through their spontaneous experiences. However, my informants' views of the wider issues of what the main economic and political groups in Turkish society were, what their relationships with these groups were, what kind of possibilities existed for themselves to change their conditions, (which I will turn to

now in the next chapter), indicated that the workers did not single themselves out as workers who should be given priority over and above the other impoverished groups of the society. Instead many of them were aware of the economic difficulties of other groups and said something should be done to bring welfare to all poorer sections of the society including the workers.

Footnotes

1. The concept 'labour aristocracy' is controversial. Lenin (1959, pp. 312) developed this notion when he argued that a "privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions of members of uncivilised nations". Hobsbawn (1964) used the concept for Britain in the mid- and late- 19th century to refer to the highly skilled and strongly unionised stratum of the working class that was economically, socially and politically allied to the middle class of the time. In the African debate, the wage-earners employed in large capital-intensive foreign private enterprises or in the public sector were defined as the labour aristocracts because of their high wages and because their interests coincided with the interests of the employers (Arrighi and Saul, 1970). However, later this thesis was rejected on the grounds that those wage-

earners were not different from the rest of the working class in terms of living conditions, residential amenities, risks in the labour markets and in their actions against the colonial or post-colonial regimes (See Waterman, 1975; Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975).

2. 'Sendika' in Turkish is a transliteration of the French word 'syndicat' and is used as a synonym for trade union.

3. Women workers, in Turkey in general and in Bolu in particular, were less interested, if at all, in union matters. None of the few women workers from my pilot research attended any meetings and if asked what they understood about a union and its main aims, they would reply by saying that they know nothing about them and that they were members just because others were. When they had a problem at work they would talk about it to a trusted male work-mate in their own department who would take it to the union committee members.

4. 'Social Contract' was the agreement to freeze the wages for at least three years after a substantial rise, signed between the trade unions and R.P.P. led coalition government. The then Prime Minister B. Ecevit's favourable reputation among the workers and the unions was a major

factor in this agreement. Ecevit's reputation was related to his efforts in drafting the 1963 Labour Code, when he was the Minister of Labour. This legislation gave the right to strike and put limits to lock-out, and made him acceptable to the labour leadership.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORKERS AND THEIR WORLD VIEWS

Introduction

The concept of 'class consciousness' has a broad historical-philosophical background in the literature, starting from Hegel and Marx. In the sociological tradition however this concept was used with a limited meaning to refer to individuals' identities, attitudes, beliefs and job satisfactions. The main aim was to achieve an operational definition which could be utilized in understanding collective aspects of human behaviour in the social class context. The utilization and meaning of the concept also changed emphasis among different sociological approaches. I want to give a few examples. For some the concept would indicate different levels of adaptation and commitment to an urban-industrial culture (Kerr et. al. 1960). Blauner (1964), as explained before, used this concept to refer to different levels of 'alienation' and job satisfaction. Lockwood (1966) created a typology of working class community namely traditional proletarian, deferential-proletarian and privatised workers. Then he analysed the different images of the class structure in each type of worker. Class consciousness was best treated in terms of degrees or stages. Giddens (1973) for example,

distinguished three levels of class consciousness: first, consciousness of class differentiation and common identity; second, recognition of class conflict and opposition of interests; and third, revolutionary class consciousness: which entails recognition of the possibility of a fundamental transformation of the social and economic order. It was claimed that the working class in industrialized countries had rather remained at the first or second of Giddens' levels. Mann (1973) also attempted to develop a similar scale of class consciousness with four stages.

The problems related to social consciousness came to the attention of thinkers at least two centuries ago when they started questioning the belief in the superiority of 'universal' knowledge over the 'particularistic' knowledge of individual experiences. This was due to Hegel, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who claimed to introduce a new concept of ***'individual and social consciousness'***. According to Meszaros, (1971), Hegel brought into social thinking the significance of human experience and a dialectical unity between the individual and social consciousness. If it was possible for social scientists to accept a 'historically developing social consciousness' and a dialectical interrelation between them, then every human act, a work of art or

literature, would all gain significance as the representations of minute moments of the social-historical development.

Marx was influenced by all these developments in historical and philosophical thinking before him and from the newly emerging working classes causing social upheavals, in parts of Europe. He constructed the concept of 'class consciousness' together with his theory of class. According to him "consciousness in all its forms which have a 'relatively' autonomous structure of their own, determine thus, in the form of 'reciprocity', the economic structures of society while they are also determined by the latter" (Meszaros, 1971: 87). Even if the importance of the 'material conditions of life' were more emphasised 'in the last analysis' he stressed the fact that economic factors could not account for social development by themselves.

Nevertheless, this emphasis on the last analysis brought many criticisms of determinism to Marx's understanding of class consciousness. In his early writings he suggested a development of class consciousness from spontaneous to conscious political action as the following quotation indicated: "Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The domination of capital has created for this mass a common situation,

common interests. This mass is already a class against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle, of which we have noted only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle" (Marx, 1963, pp. 173).

This progressive understanding of class consciousness by Marx later became the basis of research and theories of class, particularly about the working class. Scholars distinguished various levels and dimensions of class consciousness, then applied it for different social and historical locations. In fact the emphasis was diverted to assumptions and expectations of one to one correspondence between the economic structure and consciousness. Such studies simplified the complex process of 'individuals' awarenesses of themselves as agents in the making of history, but at the same time determined by their history', as explained by Marx.

In my research I wanted to give an account of workers' own experiences as they told them to me and from these I intended to make a sketchy view of their constructions of the realities they were living in. Help from the studies of class consciousness however will be very limited since it was

impossible to represent consciousness during one moment in a long-term historical process of class formation. At best, such an empirical study, could aim to present some limited experiences in a particular moment of social development. Instead depending totally on the views they have expressed I will try to sketch a world view among them from their views on various subjects.

Workers' views of certain experiences such as industrial conflict and action, social stratification, mobility, success, social and political order, 'knowledge' of general economic issues, and their aspirations were asked. However, before giving an account of their views, I will give their information networks and their access to media of mass communication.

I. KINDS AND MEANS OF INFORMATION

The range of information workers needed and obtained was a representation of the social structure they lived in. That is, on the one hand they had to follow the news about agriculture. For example, if they themselves, or other members of their families, owned land, the information about 'the areas allocated for sugar beet cultivation every year' could be very significant information. Or, even if they

did not use their land for cultivation, they would be interested to know if the State Electricity Department had any plans that year to include their villages within the electricity grid. Or, if there were plans for road construction near their land, which might end up with expropriation of their land, they would like to learn the names of members of the valuation committee in the Town Council in order to find some patrons who could persuade the committee to decide on a higher value. Such information needed urban contacts. In the village context they also wanted to know about deaths, marriages, births, young boys who wanted to come to town, if any of their fellow villagers had done successful business that year, and the like, in order not to loose touch with the village. For this information they would need fellow villagers with whom they could meet in the coffee houses or relatives who came for visits.

In relation to their present domain they would gather information about such topics as, how much their wages would increase through collective bargaining. Then they would like to learn more about their job environment; union affairs; if the management was planning new houses for the senior workers; which schools were best for the children; If anyone had heard about a cheap house in a decent neighbourhood; What the prices of food were in the

last market; To which doctor in town they should take their wives and children; Whose relative had bought a lorry lately and how much money he was making.

Such worries and information indicated that the workers placed their everyday living at the centre of attention. They were interested in the policies of various state departments and the Town Council, state hospital or the workers' hospital, schools, and other organizations around them, including their workplaces because these provided immediate advantages in their lives. The workers' informants on these issues were friends, work mates, shop owners, lorry drivers, and professionals like teachers, doctors, factory engineers, and so on. The workers met many of these informants in the coffee houses, shops, neighbourhoods, as explained in chp. 4.

On the national issues their information was gathered mainly from radio and television. However, newspaper readership (80%) came surprisingly high after television; many reported reading two newspapers. The newspapers, as I later learned, were not bought by the workers. Instead coffee houses also served as a medium for newspaper reading for the literate workers or other persons or the younger boys. The newspapers they preferred to read were mostly coloured ones, giving mostly light material.(1)

Another group of informants on general issues, for a group of young workers, consisted of young students at teacher training schools. Those workers who went to the students' or teachers' associations were very much affected by the ideas they heard from such informant leaders. Workers participated in their meetings, discussion groups and talked a great deal with these students about national issues which were reflected in their views on unions, strikes, and social stratification (see chp. 6).

In brief, two groups had strong ideological influences, or played the role of opinion leaders on the workers with whom they spent time together. One was the students who represented various tendencies on the left. The other was the shopkeepers, traders, small entrepreneurs who were supporters of the right wing Justice Party. On the other hand, the coffee houses, and neighbourhoods were public places for exchanging everyday information rather than strong ideological opinions.

II.PERCEPTIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AND ACTION

When I talked about industrial conflict all workers understood firstly 'the strike' and secondly 'work stoppages'. In Bolu factories such incidences of strong or frequent

industrial conflict were almost nil. A number of the workers (24%) had experienced strikes or slowdowns in their previous or present jobs, mainly during wage disputes. Half of them (52%) said the wage increases achieved at the end of these strikes were not as big as they had expected before the strike and that only a modest increase was achieved; (24%) were totally dissatisfied with the results emphasising that "the strike did not help and caused suffering only". Despite such negative experiences, all workers' opinions of strikes reflected that they accepted strikes. Some of their expressions were:

i. "The strike is not good for the workers or the country but it is done out of ***necessity*** to protect our rights" (66%)

ii. "It is our legitimate, natural right so it ***must be done***" (26%).

iii. "We should try to agree ***without strike action***" (8%).

So in general they favoured strike action, though the majority were aware that it made them some sort of ***deviants*** in the eyes of the public. My understanding of their statements was that they were aware it was a ***harmful act*** but they did it out of ***necessity***. This sounded like an apology to the public, or to the authorities who labelled such acts as criminal offences.

In my sample only two factories experienced conflict situations. One of them took place in the Forest Roads Maintenance Centre in 1971. As the unions have changed since, I could not find any written or official records of this strike and had to rely on workers' memories. The dispute arose during negotiations. The union's wage increase demand was refused. The union then applied to an industrial tribunal which granted the amount demanded. However, the management still refused to give the pay and proposed to pay 60% of the original demand. The union rejected this offer and called a strike to which everybody agreed. It lasted three months during which time the union could not support anybody financially so the workers who lived in the villages and had land were able to survive better than the ones who lived in town and suffered a lot and fell into great debt. An old worker from this workplace said that, "The union was weak and could not give us support. At the beginning they gave only one third of our normal wages but later this was cut as well. So we could not continue any longer and returned to work after receiving 65% of the original demand. It was a failure mainly because the union did not have the strength to resist more". This was the common attitude among those who said they had been in the workplace at the time. The union at the time was affiliated to Türk-İş. After this strike

and failure, many workers resigned and formed a separate union within the workplace and then affiliated to a DİSK union (chp. 6).

The second strike was in the Sümerbank chipboard factory in the same year, 1971. Again little information existed since the union here had also changed. The informants stressed the fact that this was an unofficial strike and the workers' attempt was unjustified. The reason they gave was that the workers wanted a pay increase before the two year period of the collective agreement was over. So the management was legally within its rights in not accepting their demands. The workers stayed out for almost ninety days, as they recalled, and then started work after receiving a small amount of money as a bonus to cope with the debts of the unpaid three months.

Apart from these reported strikes by the workers within my sample factories, I, personally witnessed one outside the sample. As I arrived in the town, the main issue was the Municipality workers' strike which had been going on about four months. All the streets were full of debris and everybody I met in the town was complaining of "the workers who refused to do their work and were acting ungratefully despite the fact that they were paid for the

job". This made me curious. I later found out from the picketing workers and their wives that the reasons were quite different. The Municipality workers had had a rise agreed one year ago. However the Municipality did not pay their increases and continued paying their original wages. The workers and the union protested and demanded their rights over a long period. The Municipality's response was "We are having financial difficulties. Wait and we will give you the whole amount of the increase later". One worker told me that this waiting was impossible for them as the cost of living was increasing all the time. So the union had decided to strike. All the workers said they suffered very badly during the strike. The union was DİSK affiliated and workers were paid from the strike funds up to half their original wages. Meanwhile, the Municipality employed some casual workers to carry out the public services, which was strongly opposed by the union and some small fights occured between the picketing workers and their replacements but the pickets could not prevent the replacements from working. The workers received their money one month after the strike had ended. The payments made were found to be lower than that expected by the workers. All this left an image of failure with the workers, which they also talked about to their friends in other factories. When I asked the sample workers their opinions of

the Municipality workers' strike, the ones who had friends among them said that "the strike did not achieve anything except suffering". However, when I talked to the striking workers myself, they told me that they had every reason to take strike action, even if the outcome was not as high as they expected. They all hoped the Municipality would make up the difference in the future.

Besides, they suffered from the hostility of the townspeople towards them, who blamed them for their discomfort. The workers defended their position by arguing that their money was cut unjustly and that their families suffered throughout the strike, listing different hardships. Some support came from kin and fellow workers in other factories but it was not sufficient. Even after the strike was over they still did not receive their money. In spite of all their suffering they were blamed and not the Municipality.

All these three different strike experiences in the town affected the workers' responses to the questions on strikes. Even if they had not experienced it themselves they heard about it from their friends in those factories or workplaces. So in general these strikes left some images with the workers. I will illustrate through some quotes some of the impressions these strikes made on the workers.

1. "The union must be strong if it is going to call a strike. Only if they are strong can they succeed. They can support their members more".

2. "The strikes usually end up in failures. There is no hope in making a strike. If possible the managements should give us a sensible rise every year, then there will not be such suffering and heartache".

3. "The unions should not employ uncompromising attitudes towards the employers. This annoys the employers and they become uncompromising as well".

4. "The continuation of work through the employment of casual workers should be strongly resisted by the union".

5. "We are afraid because the employer has the right to sack us all, apply a lock-out. Then what do we do?"

6. "We did not know what was going on. The union should give us information about the negotiations so that we know what we are doing. The union after all is our representative in this issue".

7. "We do not want to suffer like our friends, so such events must be avoided by both sides".

Among the reasons for strikes, employers' uncompromising attitudes were given as one, by a majority of workers (61%). The rest of the reasons mentioned were economic conditions (9%), trade unions' high demands (5%), and ignorance of the

workers about such matters as negotiations (2%). An interesting comment in their views of strike action was 'suffering', as an important consideration. Almost all mentioned suffering but for different parties. The party which suffered most was the workers themselves because they faced the loss of income, sackings, redundancy, fear of authorities, accusations from the public, and so on (46%). The next party who suffered most was the *memleket* (nation or country) (16%). This image was mainly connected to the nature of ownership of the state factories. Thus if they stopped work "it will mean denying an important state service to the public and also it will be a blow to our national wealth". Most of those workers believed that the work they did was very important for the economy, and for the public benefit. The employers suffered the least from such actions according to the workers (6%). Also there was a big group who mentioned that all three parties could suffer from strike action (31%).

Despite the possibility of suffering during a strike, if a strike was inevitable what would be the best and most fruitful way to go about it? To this question, the majority (61%) responded that the workers should stand until the end, until the achievement of an 'acceptable result' and insist on their demands. The acceptable result would be defined by

the workers as achieving at least 60 or 80 percent of their demands. On the other hand, there was another large group (30%) who thought the workers should not insist but look for ways of achieving a quick agreement. A small group (8%) emphasised that the workers should not insist until they received all their demands but agree to a much lower achievement. This kind of emphasis was given by those who had experienced the failures and suffering from extremely long-lasting strikes in the past.

The criteria for a successful strike result (different than an 'acceptable result') were also informative as Table 7.1 indicates below. The criteria, not surprisingly, indicated that, for the workers, material achievements (including wage increases) and the short duration of a strike were important. However, I found it interesting that some of my respondents, who had very little experience of strikes and high expectations of material gains, also considered gains made in keeping solidarity (20%) and solidarity training (9%) among the criteria for success. Maintaining solidarity was important for senior workers, some of whom had experienced the previous strikes in the factories. It was a reflection of previous experience, and possibly a beginning of an awareness in some of them that they could be effective in protection of their interests if they stood by each other.

Table 7.1
The Criteria of a Successful Strike Result

	Number**	%
If we achieve all our demands	38	33
If we achieve at least 60 or 80% of our demands	52	44
If we achieve at least half	3	2.5
If we achieve some increase no matter how small	15	13
Short strike	15	13
Long strike	1	.8
If the workers stick together	23	20
If the strike has some solidarity training*	10	9
If there are no sackings	3	2.5
Material gains not important*	3	2.5

* These two were specific criteria of young workers with student friends.
** Total number = 120

For the workers, the trade union and its performance during the strike was one of the important factors in influencing the failure or the success of a strike action. However, as the workers argued, the union could not carry out a successful strike without help from its members. Therefore both the workers and the union had some duties to perform for a successful strike. According to the workers strike action was considered successful if the union fulfilled at least one of the following criteria:

1. gave sufficient financial support for their families to survive (69%).

2. kept the workers united by preventing divisions or strike breakers (53%).

3. continued the negotiations with the employer without giving in to pressures (45%).

4. gave information about the strike, and the employer's offers; explained to the workers their chances of wage increases (45%).

5. was careful not to allow any damage to the workplace. It is the property of the state and the nation and nobody has the right to damage it. Also it would weaken the cause (33%).

6. calculated its demand rationally beforehand so that it would not waste time by unrealizable demands. Calculating means that the union must consider the situation of the country, enterprise, the cost of living, the nature of the workforce, and workers' earnings in other factories (13%).

These statements from workers inexperienced in industrial culture were striking in their realism, clear conceptions of the responsibilities involved in undertaking strike action and with their concern for the workplace and the machinery. Certainly they were different from the workers during the Luddite movement of the Industrial Revolution. Again one factor in their concern for their factories might be that these were state owned, and the workers had a great respect for the State and thus state enterprises, and for national advantage.(2)

Finally, the workers also mentioned some of their own responsibilities for successful strike action. They mostly mentioned three groups of criteria:

i. the workers themselves must keep their unity, solidarity, sticking together all through the strike (83%);

ii. the workers should act in an orderly, disciplined way, warn each other to prevent damage (56%);

iii. the workers should listen to their union, and fulfill the duties given by the union, like picketing, keeping their turn in the watch (36%).

Again the high ratings of solidarity and concern for the workplace were confirmed within their conceptions.

The inferences which might be drawn from these were that the majority were able to assess the effects of their collective acts. Most significantly they insisted on responsibility towards the State and the nation. Hence, a collective act should be practiced within certain limits which would not harm the national good. Secondly, the workers were very keen about collective action which they thought was their only, effective weapon for the achievement of their rights. However, they intended to use it in a disciplined way, by sticking together.

III. PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

For the purposes of this research, this was the most difficult topic. My main aim was to understand how they themselves would describe their society. On the other hand, this was the first time, as I have said, these workers were asked their opinions and ideas on such complicated topics. So they had great difficulties in thinking and putting their ideas into words. I asked opening questions to initiate their thinking, without using or giving away my own concepts, or vocabulary which reflected my own social background and values. Most of all without using the social science terminology of my university training.

In the Turkish language there are two words, *grup* (group, units) and *sınıf* (class, form, kind, sort, series), both used in everyday language mainly due to the effects of television. Therefore I would get by with such terms, but I would not be able to get all their 'meanings' which was my aim.(3) So I used a loose term like 'sort' (translated as *çeşit* in Turkish). The questions were formulated as "do you think people are the same or different from each other in any way?"; "What sorts of differences can you tell me about?; "How can you describe each of these differences?"; "Why do you think there are differences?", and so on.

They responded that the society they lived in was divided into many 'different sorts of people'. A common statement from the workers clearly described this: "The people cannot be equal. Of course we are all equal in front of God but unfortunately in life there are many different people". Then they used a wide range of criteria to distinguish these different people. The criteria ranged from political and ideological differences to income or to faith or to morality. Some workers would use a few of them together and gave more than one classification. In fact 83 percent used two or more (up to seven) criteria to explain their understanding of differences between people. It was not simply a classification based on economic models. And it was not possible to identify the clear boundaries of the workers' models as they had diverse social perspectives and more than one model. Therefore I can only report some dominant themes in their evaluations which in my judgement reflect closely the complexity of their ideas.

Their models of existing social inequalities were very complex ones and reflected many facets and contrasts of their semi-industrialized social, economic and political experiences. In deciding on their criteria the workers were influenced by the rising opportunities for self-employment created by the import-substituting strategy of industrialization;

the high rates of migration to towns; the losses in agriculture; the lack of social security for low income groups; on the other hand, the vast opportunities for speculators, traders and wholesale merchants whose 'undeserved' high profits from hoarding were in the news everyday; the significance of the family; changing cultural elements and their own dilemmas trying to survive in the new urban culture; the importance of an educated elite; frustrations of state employees due to low pay and unsatisfactory job prospects; their own relatively secure but lowly paid jobs compared with highly paid but insecure jobs; fear of failure and envy for the successes of kin and friends who ventured into self-employment. This list is only a fraction of the richness of the elements the workers considered. Thus this richness implies that a study of imagery was far more complex than a single research project, in a limited time, could handle.

Table 7.2. below shows the distribution of the criteria by which they distinguished the groups in society. These reveal five sets of criteria. The first set of differences refer to material differences, mentioned roughly by an average of 48 percent. This group covers two criteria. One is income, referring to differences in wages, salaries, and other cash earnings. The other is "owning money and possessions",

including houses, money cash whether invested or not, land, inherited or purchased. The second set, consisted of four 'social' elements, namely 'way of life', 'education', 'occupational prestige', 'differences due to patron-client relations'. These were mentioned by between 19 and 26 percent of the workers. Way of life means a person's living standard, lifestyle, clothing, and leisure activities. Occupational prestige involved the workers' own ideas about important divisions between occupations. Patron-client relationships were a ubiquitous fact of life. Thus, the workers said that an individual needs to know influential persons in important places. Then he/she would have an easy life and all his/her problems would be solved before other people's. Education also created big differences. They would say, "Whether you are educated or not makes a difference. 'Educated' people are not like us. They know how to behave, how to dress, can get good, clean jobs. Also they are treated better in the society. Look, if I go to a state department dressed the way I am, they will not even look at me, they will not listen to me. We need a tie and a suit. Whereas 'educated' persons will be accepted easily because they look neat and they know how to speak to them". This set of social criteria reflected in part their entry into and difficulties within the urban society. They realized they had to adapt to the urban

way of behaving, dressing, speaking, forming connections, and leisure.

Table 7.2
Criteria for Differences Between People

	Number	%
Income Differences	72	61
Owning Money and Possessions	66	56
Education	38	32
Occupational prestige	37	31
Differences in way of life	31	26
Differences in Justice	28	24
Differences from Patron-Client Relations	27	23
Ideological Differences	18	15
Differences in Morality	17	14
The Capitalist System Creates Differences*	16	13
Regional Differences	11	9.2
Differences of Faith	3	2.5

* This was a specific response mentioned by the young workers who had student friends.

The third set of differences were 'political' involving two elements, 'differences in justice' and 'the capitalist system'. By the first element, they meant different treatments in front of the law. Though the law is the same for everybody the treatment will be different if a worker goes to the court and an educated or a wealthy person goes to the court. In fact, they said, some persons can get away with anything. The workers who mentioned this showed a kind of mistrust of the way the law was practised, perhaps due to their unhappy previous experiences. The second element was

specificallly told by ideologically motivated young workers where they meant, "the basis of all inequalities comes from the capitalist system and its institutions". The fourth set of differences were 'moralistic' involving the elements of 'faith' and 'morality', mentioned by a rather small group of workers. The first one, 'faith' referred to differences of belief in God. The second referred to differences between the new and old, traditional moral values and norms and the clash between them. For example, the workers who mentioned such criteria observed a division of the whole society into "the ones who have morality and the ones who have not" or as "the ones who believe in religion and the ones who do not". The final and the last criteria was regional, referring to people who came from different regions in Turkey. There was a slight connotation of ethnic differences in this criteria though not put definitely, perhaps due to the fear of such issues in Turkey or due to absence of acute ethnic differences in Bolu.

When I asked them to name different sorts of people with reference to the criteria above, the groups in Table 7.3 were mentioned. To investigate the question of differences further I asked them which of the criteria of differences they specificly used when naming different sorts of people. The answers to this question are shown in Table 7.4. When

asked specifically the workers' use of previous criteria of differences became more refined and clustered.

Table 7.3
Different Sorts of People

Names	Number	%
Zengin, normal, fakir,	39	33
Zengin, fakir	25	21
Bosses, peasants, *esnaf**, shop-keepers, workers, state employees	16	13
Factory owner, merchants, *esnaf*, shop-keepers, workers, employees, peasants	14	12
Plenty of income; middle income; low income	6	5
Plenty of possessions, wealth, money; self-sufficient; depending on others	10	8
Workers; peasants; *esnaf*; employees	1	.8
Earned income through work; unearned income	2	2
Exploiters; exploited**	5	4

Total number = 120
**esnaf*= local artisans
***Specifically by the young workers with student connections.

I invited the workers to think who they saw as different from themselves and to name some. In response they relied on their direct experiences and their personal relations with other people. The naming was represented in their own words, in the everyday language, though plainly influenced by the media. Thus in some of their criteria and namings they could use terms which they did not normally use at home, perhaps because they were talking to an *eğitimli* (educated) person. I, in fact, asked them to define terms other than occupational ones. According to this *zengin* (rich)

was used to refer to a rather wide variety of people, those having a lot of money and/possessions, particularly owning a large or small factory, merchants, professionals, large farmers, *esnaf* (local artisans), restaurant-owners, hotel owners, big shop owners, timber merchants, lorry owners, managers in the state factories and workplaces, "people who make undeserved profits", bankers, land speculators, and contractors. They also gave the names of some local businessmen, factory or mine owners, hotel owners. An interesting point was that almost none at this stage made any references to politicians or mentioned any connection of the 'rich' with political decisions. So the term in their conceptualizations mainly referred to money and possessions without any political connotations.

Normal was a common, local term for middle or medium. They would define ***normal*** as people who manage on their own, self-sufficient, enough income to get through the month, people who could provide a decent education to their children; who had a house; workers, skilled workers, state employees, the ones who could survive without luxury, the people who lived on their own labour, lorry owners, small agricultural producers, (without differentiating between large or small land owners) and *esnaf* (local artisans).

In both of these categories some with modest resources like *esnaf,* and lorry owners, were included. This might indicate that they were either unaware of the difference between small local artisans and the really large bankers, industrialists, so on. Or, they were responding to the question with reference to their experiences and social distances in their immediate surroundings. Hence, if the worker felt himself at a distance from the *esnaf* and lorry owners, he would put them among *zengin,* (the rich). He would put them among the *normal* if he felt his socio-economic situation was close to such groups.

Table 7.4
The Criteria used to Name Different People

	Number	%
Income	35	29
Material possessions	50	42
Occupational prestige	8	7
Earned income through work; unearned income	8	7
Justice*	7	6
System*	7	6

Total number = 120

* Both criteria consistently mentioned by a small number of workers.

The term *fakir* (the poor) referred to people who did not have an income, who were not self-sufficient but had to depend on others, who could not do or buy what they wanted; the unemployed, unskilled workers, low wage workers, landless peasants or peasants with very little or

infertile land, the disabled, old, widows, orphans, ill, ignorant, the homeless and those who pay rent. Some workers who lived in nearby villages also named people who lived in towns, who had to pay for everything and only depended on wages as the poor.

The workers in a small town like Bolu knew a lot about the private lives and the work of the local businessmen, contractors, factory owners, merchants, traders, shop-keepers. Through their informal networks they learned about the consumption patterns, lifestyles, and economic power of the 'rich'. The other groups, including the workers themselves, however, were living in different conditions. For the workers who had migrated from the villages of Bolu, there were big discrepancies between village and town life. In Bolu, large land ownership or capitalist farming was not common so the migrant worker had not experienced such big differences in living conditions, whereas in a town which had just started to industrialise they met a competetive labour market, the commoditization of housing, food, and other basic consumption needs, and impersonality of relations in and out of work. The workers came largely from small peasant backgrounds where they were their own bosses. So they were also resentful of the fact that they had to work in someone else's factory. On the other hand, they were

grateful to have found a regularly paid job, and to have brought their family to town. They were aware of their children's opportunities to get higher education. So they hoped that future prospects would be brighter. Various models of success were continuously talked about. Some hoped to become self-employed through opening a shop or buying a lorry or a taxi. Some hoped that their children would be able to get an education and good jobs, and would look after them and the rest of the family.

The openness of divergent lifestyles affected the workers greatly. These kinds of influences and reference groups were behind their evaluations of themselves and other groups above them or below them. One worker said, "Some people earn money while they sit and though they do not work hard they live in luxury. Others, like myself, have to work hard all the time to be able to buy food and the most basic things until the end of the month". Residential segregation was also increasing at the time of the research though not very fast. The differences between the neighbourhoods, houses, luxury cars, were so obvious that the workers felt 'relative deprivation' strongly when they compared themselves with those who made the most of a semi-industrialized economy, speculative opportunities, and

inflationary tendencies. Comparing themselves with them, workers thought that they were *fakir* (the poor).

At the other end of the scale there were all the other groups who suffered from the consequences of insufficient industry, infertile land and decreasing agricultural productivity, high unemployment, lack of major social securities, and lack of labour rights in the 'informal' sector. When the workers compared themselves with such groups they were grateful, and considered themselves *normal*, thinking that at least they had a regular income to rely on.

IV. PERCEPTIONS OF MOBILITY

From the above evaluations it should not be a suprise that the workers saw themselves in both groups, as *normal* and as *fakir*. The ratios of the ones who saw themselves as *fakir* in the society was higher (60%) than the ones who saw themselves as *normal* (39%). I asked them the reasons why they thought of themselves as *fakir* or *normal* or any other. Their responses also confirmed my interpretations of their references or comparisons to other groups. Thus one major criteria they used to distinguish themselves was "because they worked for a wage" (70%). Then some said that they were *normal* "because they were self-sufficient and

maintained their family without help from anybody" (16%). A further group said that they should be considered as *fakir* because "they had very low wages and incomes" (11%).

How did the workers see their future prospects? To this question the majority responded with an uncertainty regarding their future. The ones who said that they could not see any possibility of being able to make a move to any other group, were much higher (70%) than the ones who said they might make a move one day (30%). They were considering their possibilities within their own realities and experiences. So if they classified the social differences into two, naming only *zengin* and *fakir,* then those workers would consider upward mobility into a rich group as utopian. On the other hand, those who mentioned occupations like artisans, shop-keepers, and the like as the upper group, instead of using the term *zengin,* would report their chances of moving into one of these groups as more likely. The workers who thought that they might make an upward move one day, mentioned three possible routes. One route, which 22 of them thought possible, was to become a self-employed person, in his own workshop, grocery, restaurant, and so on. This could be achieved when they retired and received a lump sum as their retirement pension. A second route, which 6 of them mentioned, was

to work hard, doing second jobs and saving a lot, which might help them to move into one of the groups above them. The third route was only mentioned by three workers who thought that if they provided higher education for their children, then their children would be able to get good jobs and would look after them.

So the majority of responses indicated to me that the workers were uncertain about their future, could not see much prospects in their work but were satisfied because this was the best they could find as regular employment. Most of them kept their hopes for the future and their eyes open not to miss any opportunity though they reported that their expectations were low.

V. PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS

The notion *Başarılı* (successful or 'getting ahead') was a difficult term for me and my respondents. It sounded very formal. The media usage of the term was overdosed with emphasis on education, money or wealth. So I decided to make up a story about two factory workers and ask the workers their opinions about the achievements of these two workers. (The whole formulation of the case can be seen in the interview schedule p.380). Both of the workers in the

story started from the same point but one of them was able to improve his position after he inherited a lump sum. The workers' evaluations for both of them were asked. In coding such an open-ended question I decided to distinguish the positive and negative points made by the workers about both workers in the story. Table 7.5 gives an evaluation of the workers.

Table 7.5
Evaluations of the Positive and Negative Points in Achievements of Two Workers

	POSITIVE			NEGATIVE		
	Personality	*Talih**	External	Personality	*Talih*	External
A	57	1	15	-	1	46
B	15	3	11	16	5	70

Total Number = 120

**Talih* = luck or chance

According to Table 7.5, the first worker, A was the one who had inherited the money. B referred to the other worker who stayed in the factory all his life. The sample workers evaluated the positive and the negative points in the achievements of both A and B using multi-criteria. I identified these into three major groups. The 'personality' criteria was used to refer to A and B's self initiated, personal abilities. *Talih* (luck) was a criteria to refer to fate, meaning powers which cannot be controlled. 'External'

referred to some other factors which were also outside the control of the individual.

An analysis of the criteria indicated that the workers gave A more positive points, usually attributed to his personality. This meant that, though he inherited the money, it was due to his own efforts that he took this opportunity. Otherwise if he had not used his initiative the money would mean nothing. He might as well have lost it in gambling. So he was considered *başarılı* in as much as he put some effort into expanding his inheritance. His highest negative point was external which meant that he achieved his success by means of external help, not specifically initiated by his own ability. It was the success of the person who left him the inheritance in the first place. Since he did not do much to deserve such an opportunity he was considered 'unsuccessful' to some extent.

An analysis of B indicated that he was given high negative points mainly attributed to his external opportunities. The workers said that, "B did not have anybody to leave him an inheritance and this he could not totally control. If he had the same opportunity he would do the same and improve his position". On the other hand, a small number of workers gave negative points to B, attributed to his

personality. This was because "B did not do his best during his working years. If he had found a second job he would have improved his position as well". So by the majority B was accepted as 'unsuccessful'. Positive points for B were attributed mainly to his personality. Those who gave this response would say for B, "it was not at all his fault that he stayed in the factory until retirement. Without external help nobody could improve their conditions. After working in the factory eight hours (and if one's job is a heavy one) there would not be any strength left to work in a second job". In terms of these workers B was found ***başarılı*** on the grounds that he was an 'honest' worker who did the only thing he could do.

As evident from such analysis the issue of success involved very complex criteria and evaluations from the workers. Such ambigious and sometimes moralistic views of success were common in their other comments on success. On their definitions of a 'successful person' personality attribution would again come at the top. 75 workers from the sample defined a successful person as "a good person who is honest, reliable, and cares for others". The same element also was found by Dubetsky, (1976) in his analysis of factory workers in *İstanbul*. He said that *Dürüstlük* (honesty) was a basic concept both among the employers and the

workers in small factories. A worker who is honest was bound to be successful, as he was told by the workers.

Apart from honesty 42 workers said "a successful person is one who has improved his position through his own labour, his own work". This was perhaps a reflection of the success and prestige attributed to the hard work of small industrial entrepreneurs and workshop owners in the informal sector. Apart from that, 28 workers named money or possessions and 25 workers named self-sufficiency.

In the occupational definitions of success one interesting point was that all occupations mentioned involved effort. Becoming rich and wealthy was acceptable as long as it involved hard work. Otherwise having a lot of money did not necessarily make a person successful. The occupations of successful relatives or friends were: worker (19 workers), small agricultural producer (9), small workshop and artisan (22), lorry owner (13), timber factory owner (13), professionals (13). In choosing those occupations among their networks the workers used several criteria. 79 workers spoke of a person who worked hard and deserved whatever he had achieved, 44 of good morals and a person who did not live in luxury and 25 of a self-sufficient person who managed to provide a good education for his children.

VI. FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE WORKERS

VI.a. Aspirations related to Children

In Turkey the importance of education, especially higher education, has become increasingly recognised. This can be seen from the increasing numbers of secondary, vocational and teachers' training schools in every province, and in Bolu.

The workers' aspirations related to their children were in line with this national tendency. They did not distinguish between the boys and the girls which were to be expected in a traditional Islamic culture. When asked "If you had the means which one of your children would you send for education?" 85 percent replied that they would like to send both sons and daughters. The rest said they would rather send sons because they would be the bread winners.

81 % of the workers wanted higher education for their sons. When asked about the likelihood of providing education for their children, 80 percent said that they would certainly be able to give their sons the opportunity of high education because by that time their own financial position would

become stronger. With the daughters also the higher education was the main expectation from 72 workers.

What kind of a job would they like their sons to have? The responses to this question indicated that the workers gave importance to a social status in which their sons should not become workers like themselves. Instead some of them would like to see their sons in "clean, secure jobs with high pay" which they said was possible in the state sector (36%); some others wanted their sons to become professionals who would have their own businesses, like opening a private practice in medicine (40%). Some did not see higher education necessary. 16% of the workers wanted their sons to graduate from a vocational school, practice for some time in the informal sector and then open their own workshops. Among the rest, 8 percent mentioned their sons could become secondary school teachers, not as something they would particularly want because of low pay and low status in the society, but because this was all they could afford. When asked about the future occupations for their daughters, none of the workers mentioned factory jobs for the girls. The occupations considered for the girls were to become state employees (31%), own job (36%), secondary school teachers (19%), bank clerks (15%) and housewives (15%).

As can be seen from above, for both the sons and the daughters the majority of the workers wanted 'own job' which they argued will give freedom and independence to their sons and daughters. However, the workers also used some different criteria concerning the jobs they expected for their sons and daughters. For their sons, they said the jobs should bring high income and status in the society and that they should be 'beneficial to the nation'. For their daughters, they mentioned that those jobs were the best they could afford for their daughters, and also that since the girls will get married there was no need for further investment. The considerations of benefit to the nation, high income, high status were not mentioned for the daughters. In fact majority of the workers said they would like their daughters to have education as well but because of limited resources they could only afford the local schools, like teachers' training schools or some vocational schools for daughters.

VI.b. Aspirations Related to Self-Employment

In previous sections I have given an account of the range of other urban groups in Bolu (chp.4 and 2). Worker's views on stratification, mobility, success, and future aspirations should be considered in view of the fact that those groups played a predominant role as reference groups for the

workers. Also important was their previous (or still continuing) experiences as small agricultural producers where their incomes and living standards were low. A third effective factor was their insecurity and fear from unstable economic conditions, and so they wished to guarantee their future lives and obtain a prosperous old age.

When asked to compare being a wage worker in a factory and a small agricultural producer, the workers were hesitant. An interesting outcome of this comparison was that urban born and younger workers recognised better financial prospects in the villages than in industrial wage-work. This might be an affect of the nostalgic parents talking positively about their early days in their villages. Apart from this, 45 workers preferred industrial wage work, mainly for the social security it provided to the individual and for higher incomes. 43 preferred being a small agricultural producer. Those mainly referred to better financial possibilities if land holding was large enough. Also the independent nature of the work was found attractive. 32 workers mentioned advantages and disadvantages for both and they could not make a clear choice in between. The reasons for workers' preferences of both spheres were given separately in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6
Reasons for Preferring Agricultural Producer or Industrial Wage-Work, %

Reasons*	Agriculture	Industry
It is easy work	-	14
Independent, own work	31	--
More financial possibilities	61	27
Social security	3	42
Regular job and income	-	2
Social living and consumption is better	-	5
People's relations are better, closer	3	-

* Multiple responses were given.

As the Table made evident, the industrial jobs were mainly demanded because they provided social security. The financial possibilities were little but the job was easier as the workers, especially the ones who knew the difficulties of agricultural work, said. Some elder workers said that in the agriculture "If you have large land it gives you 'sweet' profits. The possibilities of agriculture are more. You can do animal husbandry, poultry, potato or sugar-beet cultivation, even cultivating wheat makes you rich. The job may be difficult, especially in summer under the sun but compared to the profits it is not important". Then, why did none of them want to go back or invest in buying large lands in the villages rather than buying land or making houses in the town? The response to this was obvious. In Bolu there was not much possibility of large and fertile lands because of mountainous areas covered with forests.

Another attraction to village work was that it was independent. In their accounts, some relatively young workers said that, "in the village if you do not feel like going to work you do not go and there is nobody to force you". On the other hand, they were contradicted from some elder workers who argued that, "in agriculture you may be free most of the time but in times of harvest you can not even sleep for a month and you know you depend on it to survive. If you do not go to the field and care for it, it will not care for you". To attempt to interpret these mixed accounts is difficult. One possible interpretation might be that the workers were protesting in disguise to their loss of independence and initiatives in controlling their production, product and their labour power, and to the fact of working for a wage for someone else. On the other hand, they considered themselves as lucky compared to many others waiting in the 'reserve army of labour', and the people without social security or the skills and ability to work. Social practices can affect the individuals in different ways and their calculations and solutions would indicate a rich variety which the social sciences found difficult to understand.

In relation to their preferences to the job they were employed at the time of the research, only 27 workers

wanted to change their particular jobs within their own factory. The main reason for this was the other jobs they wanted were easier and more comfortable. For example, packing workers in the cement factory or workers in the impregnation unit of the Karacasu factory, all wanted to change to jobs with better, healthier conditions. The workers who expressed high demands for a job outside their own factory, (55) said they wanted these jobs because of higher income (40 out of 55) or because 'there would not be any bosses on top who could order them around' (15 out of 55). The kinds of jobs they aspired for were: "to have a place of my own -my own shop, my own workshop, my own lorry- (28 workers); "another job in the state sector but this time an office job, like office cleaners, tea-makers, porters, in the state departments, state hospital, etc. (6 workers); "a job in a private sector factory, where the pay is much more" (5 workers); "to open a poultry farm or animal husbandry" (5 workers); "trading in a small shop, pedlar, a distributer of some factory finished goods in my shop" (11 workers).

These figures again showed the high aspirations towards becoming self-employed. I have already suggested a number of factors, reference groups, identities, influences from their networks, fear of insecurity in an inflationary economy, past

experience, and an increasing emphasis in the mass media and among people on ***köşe dönme***.(4) Besides these, I offer two further interpretations. First, as many other studies in Third World have argued, these workers were carrying still a rural ideology towards the requirements of industrial work and culture, and could not commit themselves yet to such a culture. Loyalty to their rural links was still predominant in their networks, identities, aspirations, and they had a traditional attachment to land (Arı, 1974; Elkan, 1960; Grillo, 1974; Kapferer, 1972; Kerr, 1960; Morris, 1973; Peil, 1972). So their aspirations were oriented towards becoming free at the earliest opportunity, though it did not necessarily mean going back to agriculture. My second interpretation is that they were also protesting to the changing of their class positions with the development of capitalist relations of production in agriculture and industry in Turkey in much the same way as the factory workers during the Industrial Revolution. Thus they were in a process of proletarianization due to the difficulties they faced in agriculture in securing their subsistence under increasing commodity exchange and market expansion which then forced them to join the urban proletariat (Lenin, 1964). They knew that they did not have much opporutinites left in agriculture, and they were trying to resist to be turned into proletarians through employing new strategies of survival. However, other studies reported

that such a resistance was not successful in other Third World contexts where the newly proletarianized workers increasingly stabilized their positions as wage workers instead of returning to the days of becoming their own bosses again (Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975). Also in studies on 'informal sector' this prospect of becoming self-employed was found to be an unstable position, as indicated by the high rates of turnover in the numbers of small establishments, due to limited capital accumulation, limited knowledge of the market conditions and therefore limited potential to compete with the big capital (Sandbrook and Cohen, 1975). In Bolu this was a common knowledge among the workers that many of such attempts actually fail. However those failures were attributed to personality factors mainly. Thus "he failed because of gambling too much."; "He did not work hard enough, slept all day."; "He was not successful because he was not honest. A person who is honest and works hard is always successful" and many other comments like that showed that the workers knew about the possibilities of a failure but believed that they themselves would be different and successful.

VII. DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL CULTURE

In the analysis of this topic, the studies of Third World labour mainly emphasised the existence of labour organizations and the militancy of the collective action, meaning strike action, to be able to explain the level of the class-consciousness among the newly emergent proletariat. Thus the existence of trade unions, their independence from the control of the governments and private entrepreneurs, workers' support to such organizations, and then the actual existence of highly militant strikes in wage disputes were considered to be strong indicators of a class conscious proletariat. Usually their findings came to the same conclusion that a 'revolutionary political consciousness' as such was absent among those workers. Among such studies only Cohen, 1982, referred to the fact that only looking for strikes as indicators of a political consciousness was a very limited view of the Third World proletariat. In fact he argued that researchers should be aware of the wide range of the possible indicators of consciousness among the working classes of the Third World. He suggested to look for a different political culture with many hidden (latent) forms of protest rather than only looking for the open forms like strike action. He argued the need to understand the different conditions of a different political culture with

different traditions, and not to miss or neglect the political significance of any protest action.

In my sample there were not many strikes, or open forms of protests as Cohen would call it. In my previous chapter I have given an account of the workers' views of trade unions which emphasised that the workers saw the importance of wage negotiations and maintaining solidarity and unity of the workers as main functions of unions. My interpretation was that this showed an awareness of the workers about the traditional roles of the trade unions as their main means to defend their basic economic rights, and to go one more step, they also were aware of the need of staying together and acting as a collectivity. Many said that "one individual is nothing but several of them together means a lot". One worker even demonstrated his opinion to me by giving me a whole bunch of matches and asked me to break them. As I could not, he told me that was what he meant by unity. If, he said, "it was only one or two matches you could have broken them easily, but you cannot break a lot of them". May be, following Cohen's argument, such views of Bolu workers were an incipient form of political awareness. Their perceptions of strike action also supported their views of unions and solidarity. The political

implications of those views could not be missed despite the absence of open, militant working class action.

Nevertheless my data showed differences from other studies. In line with my data I turned to understanding different features or traditions of a political culture among the newly emerged factory workers. Due to the limited time period of the research, however, I was only able to ask their views on different issues and then think about the possible interpretations in the absence of any comparative material from other regions in Turkey.

I wanted to learn how did they saw the State and the nation which was frequently mentioned in their views on trade unions and strike action. What was their perceptions of the 'political' differences among the people (which they did not mention before when asked about the differences among the people.)? Here I defined political in the sense of power relations between different groups in the society and political participation as manifested by the voting behaviour.

I wanted to include as many dimensions as possible to get a view of their opinions related to the political issues. The responses on various issues from decision-making to evaluation of existing political parties to national economic

questions might give us an approximate picture of the frame of mind of the workers within the political culture.

VII.a. Views on Political Parties

The political participation was high though not with consistent or committed motives. Thus the workers said they did not vote in every election but when asked particularly for the 1978 election, they said they voted "because it was a national duty", or "the friend was going for voting and he gave me a lift" or "that year there was pressure from friends". However 98 of them said they voted in the 1978 elections which led to a coalition government between the social-democrat Republican People's Party and the religious National Salvation Party. To the question "which party you have voted?" I was expecting very little response. This was a highly sensitive subject in Turkey at that time. Surprisingly, 80 told me which parties they voted for. In fact the main aim for asking such a question was not for learning their party loyalties which was insignificant information for my purposes. The question was rather intended to measure their reactions to such a risky subject. A high response rate showed that the workers were able to express their ideas on political issues openly without fear. I took it as an indicator of the level of belief in one's democratic rights although

party politics was a notorious concept in Turkey at the time, because of ostensibly motivated political fighting and killing.

Their reasons for voting for that particular party in the 1978 election were mainly clustered around the statement "because I believe that this party will do good to the nation" (47%). Considering the rest of the responses from Table 7.7. indicated to me that the non-political factors effective in their voting behaviour like "the family tradition" or "pressures from friends" were very low. Instead their responses revealed a high expectation from the political parties, a consideration of the performances of the parties, an evaluation of the benefits the workers have gained in the past from different governments, and an open minded attitude towards trying new parties. All these proved that my own expectations that workers in a small town with strong rural links would lack interest in and knowledge of national policies were wrong.

Table 7.8 also gave us more confirmation that the workers considered the national issues equally important. Leaving aside the demand for reduction of the cost of living, which was very understandable in a high inflation economy, and the demand for the political anarchy to stop, the rest of the

expectations were mainly related to national problems. So for the workers the problems had a more general meaning rather than referring to their own problems. The high emphasis on "to bring independence from foreign dominance over our national economy" was a major media message of that time, mainly by the government authorities. The other two, "to advance industrialization" and "to nationalize the major industries" were also common images at the time especially with the oil crisis and shortages of basic undurable consumption goods.

Table 7.7
Reasons for the Voting Behaviour

Reasons*	No
Because I believed that this party will do good to the nation	53
I considered its past performances	29
I have seen that they give better rights, make better legislation for the workers and the peasants	24
Friends' pressures and influences on me	22
The family tradition	20
I liked its leader	13
I wanted to see what this party could do	13

* Multiple reasons given.

Table 7.8
"What do you expect if a party of your own choice comes to power?"

Expectations	No
To reduce the cost of living	57
To stop the political anarchy	44
To advance industrialization	44
To take decisions which are beneficial to the workers	40
To bring independence from foreign dominance over our national economy	27
To nationalize the major industries	26
To prevent extreme profits	17
To prevent the corruption prevaling among the government officials or top civil servant	10

In their evaluations of the two largest parties of the time, namely the social-democrat Republican People's Party and the conservative Justice Party, the criteria they used also signified the importance of the media images once more. In relation to R.P.P., only 26 of the respondents found this party as successful, and their explanations of the success or failure of this party were: it was successful in its efforts abroad, among the Europeans especially, and honest in trying to do its best for the people and the nation (26%). On the other hand, the economic difficulties, shortages of basic consumption goods, were due to the pressures on the government from outside powers and the 'capital owners' within the country (44%). Or some, who were critical of the social democrat policy of this party because they found it leftist, would say, the ideology and economic approach of this party is different which was why this party was unsuccessful (70%). In relation to the Justice Party, who won the next election in 1979, 25 workers who found this party successful made comments like: Justice Party was successful in the internal affairs, (58%), and they were considerate about the peasants, (61%), and there were plenty of consumption goods in their time, (68%). They were negative to R.P.P. because of shortages mainly and to the Justice Party because of past failures of this party. One very important image builder was the television more than any

other means of mass media and another was their own everyday practices which influenced their explanations.

To understand their images of distribution of power in the society, I asked them who, they thought were giving the national decisions, and passing laws which will affect all of us living in this society. An obvious reply by the majority of the workers (78%) was "the Government" because it was elected to do so. However also a large group (67%) said that "the rich" could affect the decisions because they were "the rich with a lot of money". They said "the decisions would be more significant for the people with money. So whoever benefits from those decisions and laws, would like to control the decisions. In that case "the rich" could have influence on the governments". Other major influential groups mentioned were foreign countries (13%), trade unions (13%), merchants (10%), and the opposition parties(5%). Those groups mentioned could be influential on decisions due to reasons such as legitimacy of power in decision making; to have a lot of money; to derive the largest benefits from such decisions; dependency on foreign countries; the support of the workers (mentioned for the trade unions). On the other hand, "would they suggest any group or groups which should have more power in the decisions?". They said almost unanimously that "the legitimate power to give such

national decisions belongs to the government". However some workers mentioned that the government should listen to the demands of some other people like for example the voters (20%) or the peasants (26%) or the state employees (20%) or the trade unions (40%). Though they all said that it would be unlikely any of these could be effective some said that "forming organizations like trade unions help people to raise their voices" (21%). Some others said that "if some workers or the peasants could enter the parliament as MPs then they might raise the issues there for such groups" (28%).

My interpretations of these statements were that the workers had a clear vision of the power structure in the society. Thus they were aware of the fact that certain groups in the society, mainly 'the rich' had more power in influencing the way the governments were running the country. On the other hand they recognised that some other groups, namely the workers, the state employees and the peasants did not have any effect on such national decisions. One important outcome was their strong belief in the mechanisms of the parliamentary democracy. Thus they insisted on the legitimacy of an elected government. However the workers' responses also emphasised the possibility of making workers and peasants more effective in the decision making process through electing worker or peasant MPs to the parliament.

This way they argued, the decisions could be more democratic.

VIII. VIEWS ON GENERAL ISSUES

I was also interested to investigate workers' knowledge of general topics such as unemployment, self-management practices, the relation between wage increases and price increases, their solutions to the problems of industrialization and their evaluations of the existing labour code.

One of these topics was the relation between wage increases and price increases. A majority rejected the widespread idea that wages should be frozen first to stop the price increases. According to the workers the major factor which caused prices to rise was "outside powers and the dependence of our economy on foreign money" (53%). Secondly, they said the merchants and wholesalers who increased the prices of their goods without any control were influential (38 %). Shortages of raw materials also affected price rises (37%). Additionally, some claimed that shortages of basic consumption goods led into higher profits for some (20%). A few argued that the government should control such undeserved profits (15%). All these multiple reasons in fact

reflected parts of the economic realities they were experiencing .everyday.

Unemployment and its causes they mainly explained by the lack of industrial enterprises. This was related to backward industrialization and dependency on foreign industries. Some said also that the people were lazy and did not want to work although there were many opportunities around. Some suggested that the retirement age was very high. The only possible solution they could see was that the private sector should make investments for new workplaces. They did not see the state as a leader in industry anymore. Also there should be a greater development of heavy industry to create new jobs, which an idea was a major slogan of the National Salvation Party at the time.

On the issue of self-management, (which was a little known subject in Turkey so I had to explain the idea in some detail) the workers in general terms liked the idea of a common factory committee where the workers would also have a say in the management of production. Though some of them were hesitant arguing that the workers would not have the knowledge necessary to decide what is worth producing and how to sell.

Finally 70% of them said that the existing labour code was unsatisfactory. They wanted more responsibility placed on the employers for workplace safety and workers' health, a shorter time to retirement, longer holidays and most important of all they wanted the rights of employers to dismiss employees to be limited. These demands reflected their dilemmas. They wanted early retirement in order to enter into self-employment quickly with the lump sum pension. They wanted more holidays to be able to go to their villages during harvest time. They wanted higher job security because unfair sackings in private factories were common. Health, as I mentioned in chp.3, was a major problem. So the workers were able to bring many well informed arguments and suggestions from their everyday experiences and observations.

Conclusion

As mentioned in the previous sections these comments on social structure were the most difficult part of the interviews. My problem was twofold. On the one hand I wanted to get the information from the respondents in their own words and ways of thinking; and in this I succeeded. I had to try to direct them without giving them my own ideas or values. It was with this in mind that I structured

the interview schedule. So in those most difficult attitude questions, first the questions were directed very generally. Then using their replies I would go on to ask them to explain what they meant. What were their reasons for their answers? I and the worker continued on the same topic until he could not think of anything more to say. This gave me long versions of their opinions about a topic, in a mixed form which was very difficult to sort out. The coding of these responses to form some major tendencies of attitudes or perceptions was a painstaking job, especially with my concern about neither missing any information nor misrepresenting them. So I decided to give the responses mostly in the form of statements from the workers themselves. The content and variety of the responses was much more interesting than the actual mathematical distributions of them. I have given percentages and the numbers only to give an idea of the responses. For the purposes of my study and interest I found it more interesting and surprising that the workers' responses could be so rich. As I said before the reality of life around the workers was so complex, it would be impossible to try to formulate models of their perceptions'.

As far as the statements were concerned I was only able to give my own interpretations of the workers' perceptions or

explanations of the society around them, the variety of meanings they could bring to their relationships at work, out of work and also about the work itself.

Footnotes

1. Newspaper circulation in Turkey was low.

2. Etatist ideology had established itself very strongly in the minds of the people.

3. The vocabulary of words for "kind, sort, class, set, group" in all languages is messy; and it was made clear in the literature but no consistent usage has been achieved. There is no way we can translate these words from one language to another without loss and confusion, because no two languages correspond exactly. Therefore I chose to give the Turkish words together with the English translation for the key and difficult words in the discussion and elsewhere.

4. Literally meaning to turn corners; metaphorically it was used to refer to people who suddenly acquired some money, a higher living standard through some kind of unaccounted activity, possibly including the meanings of 'cunning ways of

making money', 'opportunism', 'highly ambitious', 'a person who used his/her brain', etc.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an attempt to understand the conditions of a newly emerging group of wage workers in a small town in Turkey. Some aspects of their experiences during the process of becoming a wage worker were analysed within the context of a semi-industrialized economy and at a time of political disturbances in Turkey.

As I mentioned in the **Introduction,** my task involved tackling three connected problems. In the first two of my problems, I tried to raise some questions about the concept of social class and its understanding in Western social science and in studies on the Third World. However this thesis was in no way a theoretical attempt to argue the strengths and the weaknesses of the concept of social class which would be beyond the aims and limits of the thesis.

The formation of a working class as a social force is a major debate in Third World studies. In this debate, mainly the effects of the rural links of workers, their adjustment into a new culture, the formation of trade unions and the forms of protest movements were considered. The main aim was to argue that "a working class as a social force, had

developed in those countries under the conditions of dependent or semi-industrialized economies". The level of development of labour organizations, and the militancy during strikes were taken as indicators which showed that the proletariat of these countries also carried class characteristics and therefore should be regarded as an emergent working class.

Such application of the concept of social class was to reduce its meaning to certain properties, rather mechanical and categorical, that is if a particular collectivity of individuals showed some definite features, then they could be labeled as a class; otherwise not. For example, if they had not lost their access to some means of production then they could not qualify as a 'working class' as such.

I have argued that classes developed through the historical processes which take place under different conditions in every social formation. It is a historical process so we cannot stop the process at one point in time, look at the predominant features and determine whether it has become a class or not. The unadmitted misconception is that if the proletariat does not develop and show the same characteristics as the Western working class then they cannot qualify as a 'working class'. These views have increasingly

proven to be misdirected due to misunderstanding of the fact that the conditions of industrialization under peripherial capitalist development is as different as the various cultures, histories and traditions. As I understand it, the wage workers of these countries have developed themselves into a social class as such within their own class practices, through different historical experiences and in their own right. So in Bolu as well, the formation of a working class had already been taking place in its own right through developing its own culture, traditions and history in relation to other social groups in the society, whether we recognised it or not.

In relation to my third problem I intended to give a factual account of the conditions of the wage workers, their perceptions of their own experiences and other groups in the society, and to work out some influences on their way of thinking and conceptualizations of social and political realities. I avoided classifying workers into simple categories and distinct models because I found no such models. Instead there was a complex and imprecise reflection in their minds of these realities. So I decided to give their accounts as they themselves formulated them in statements, with their own words and meanings and giving my own interpretations separately.

Bolu factory workers were first generation workers with strong rural links. Even for the second generation workers the significance of the rural links has not decreased. The rural links were retained first as a means of subsidy to low wages in industry, second as a means of social and cultural security in that if they could not succeed in town, if something went unexpectedly wrong, and when they felt the need to relax in a world they knew only too well as compared to the complexities of urban relations, then they would have somewhere to go back to from time to time. Briefly, the rural link was maintained as a moral and material security. On the other hand, the rural and urban were not two entirely different worlds but merged into one another through complex relationships and dependencies. Thus urban incomes could be invested in agriculture as much as the rural incomes were invested in buying urban land and property for future security. So for most of the workers rural and urban links were interdependent. They were not peasants undertaking wage work but established wage earners who were trapped between the low wages and high costs of living in towns with increasing dependence on the commodity market for their basic consumption. So to look for subsidiary incomes in cash or in kind was the inevitable link between rural and urban. These rural subsidies were given on a reciprocal basis. In return the

wage worker who had permanent position in town played host to newcomers. They provided accommodation and help until the new migrant also got a job. The existence of rural subsidies and flowing numbers of newcomers turned into a disadvantage for the workers in keeping their wages low and to the barest level of subsistence.

In relation to the objective experiences of workers at work, they first of all experienced the conditions of being turned into a collective labourer within the technical division of labour prevailing in the factories and workplaces. The work processes greatly differed from each other. The differences of status between the manual and non-manual workers affected their identities and job satisfaction. Thus, the workers would have liked to have office jobs because they were 'clean', had higher status in the society, and were better paid. This also influenced their aspirations for their children. The majority wanted jobs in the civil service for their children. An eight hour working day was too big a change according to some of them, especially for the ones from rural backgrounds. They resented the eight hour working day, working for someone else, under someone's orders, and in shifts. The shift work especially was unbearable for most because it ruined their social relations and family life which were very important in their lives.

In the factories and in the maintenance centres the relationships resembled the small workshop relations. The *usta* and *ustabaşı* were two influential figures on whose authority, knowhow and respected status work discipline and control were built. The managers had very little to do with work and quality control. The *usta* was the teacher as well, on whom job training depended. This was the basis of *paternalist* forms of control in the workplaces between the employers and the employees.

Bolu factory workers have established the basis of their *objective existence*. I have argued that the indicators of their objective existence were: being reduced to wage work; their participation in collective labour; the decomposition of their previous skills and their new roles within the technical and social division of labour; and the way they were exposed to the risks and competition in the labour market. On the other hand, some still had some control over their means of production in agriculture, though as I have argued this did not reduce their objective existence as wage labourers but rather enforced the establishment of their existence as wage workers under the increasing pressures for survival in the urban sphere and confronted with the difficulties of the labour markets.

To escape from these pressures of wage labour they mostly aspired to self-employment which could also help to improve their future prospects. In a society where such opportunities and actual life stories of the people who succeeded were common, it was very understandable that they aspired to such occupations. However very few could actually realize this dream.

Their attitudes towards labour organizations and collective action were very favourable. However they were greatly sensitive towards such concepts as 'extremism', 'leftism', 'nation', and the 'State'. Solidarity and unity were greatly valued. Thus they were against fragmentation within the labour organizations. On the other hand, most of them understood the main function of the unions as working for their immediate advantages.

The struggle on a political arena was expected from some worker and peasant MPs who, if they could be elected to parliament, would be able to help to change the social and economic suffering of the workers. Trade unions were also needed to raise the workers' demands. However their effects on the governments, or employers were not very high. Collective action therefore was a 'must', an 'essential weapon' for the workers, to be able to get what they deserved from

the employers who were otherwise reluctant to agree to the workers' demands. Collective action was not to be taken to its extreme level however, because it would be against the benefits of the nation and the state. Such were the reflections of the populist and the reformist tendencies in Turkish society.

Compared with other groups in their society, the workers saw themselves as underprivileged and less successful than people "with power and money". An inflationary economy was the consequence of dependence on foreign aid, and on the uncontrolled, profit oriented wholesalers and merchants who also caused the shortages of consumption goods. So the basic economic inequalities were between the people who worked with honesty, with their own labour and managed to become self-sufficient, to give their children a decent education, namely the workers, small workshop owners, peasants, lorry drivers, and the people who were not honest, earned 'undeserved money' through speculation, without making any effort, namely the merchants, wholesalers, distributers. Political inequality was again related to money. The people with a lot of money would try to influence the governments. This should not be allowed and more workers, peasants, and the *memurs* should have a say in the governments.

All these summarize the major elements in the workers' images of their society. They reflected all the shortcomings and the opportunities existing in semi-industrialized economy. The workers' views of alternative life chances affected their models of the future. They compared themselves to the groups below them and above them with many complex criteria and past experiences. So to understand the workers' images means to understand all the shortcomings in a capitalist semi-industrial economy and society and an unstable political life. In the meantime these workers were learning to labour, living through an urban-industrial culture and contributing to the creation of their own history.

APPENDIX - I

On 1.9.1978, at the time of the research:

£ 1 = 2.25 $ = 47 Turkish Liras (TL)

APPENDIX - II
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. a. Present address of the respondent.
   b. Past address of the respondent.
   c. How long have you been residing at your present address?
2. a. Occupation (as named by the respondent)
   b. Exactly what do you have to do in your job? (respondent's own detailed description)
3. a. How long have you been working in your present job?
   b. Have you worked in the same job since you started here?

      Yes No

      If yes:
   c. What other jobs have you done?
4. a. How did you learn your job?
      - Vocational School
      - In the workplace
      - A short course
      - No need to learn
      - By working with my father
      - Other
      - No answer

   b. How long did it take?
5. What job has your father done most of his life? (Probe skilled, unskilled factory worker, self-employed, state employee (memur), farmer, merchant, etc. and in every detail)
6. Can you give the details of the job/s you had before?

Dates	Jobs	Detailed description	Earnings	Why Left

7. a. Age
   b. Birthplace
   c. Marital status
      - Married
      - Married, children
      - Divorced
      - Widowed
      - Single

      If the birthplace was not Bolu:
8. a. When did you come to Bolu?
   b. From where?
   c. Why?
      - Family reasons
      - To find a job
      - My job was here
      - Education
      - Other
      - No answer

9. a. How many of your close kin live in Bolu?
   b. Do you have relatives working in this workplace?
   c. Did you get any help from anybody (kin or non-kin) when you found the job? (the details of recruitment)
10. a. How often do you see your relatives? (the frequency and which kin)
   b. For what reasons do you see your kin?
   c. When you are in difficulty and/or need help who is the first person you go to?
11. How many people live in your household?
   Kinship Sex Age Education Jobs Earnings
   Total no. of household members:
12. a. Have you ever engaged in agricultural work?
   Yes No
   If yes:
   b. When?
   c. Where?
   d. What did you do?
   e. Why did you leave?
   f. What did you earn?
   g. How would you compare being a wage worker in a factory and being a small agricultural producer?
13. a. Do you own land?
   Yes No
   If yes:
   b. How much?
   c. How do you use this land?
   d. Are there any earnings from this land?
14. a. Does any member of your household own land?
   Yes No
   If yes:
   b. What is your kinship relation?
   c. What is the size of this land?
   d. Does this person have some income from this land?
   How much?
15. Do you, yourself have any relations with agriculture today?
16. a. Have you ever been unemployed?
   Yes No
   If yes:
   b. How did you live at that time?
17. Can you tell me reasons why you have chosen this job?
   (Multiple answers possible)
18. Have you ever thought about working in another job?
   a. Outside this workplace?
   b. Within the workplace?

c. What is the reason for prefering a job outside this workplace?

19. a. Do you have a second job?

Yes No

If yes:

b. What do you earn from this second job?

20. a. Do you own or rent your house?

If rented:

b. How much rent do you pay?

c. How many rooms does it have?

21. a. Could you tell me your monthly wage?

Tell bonus and overtime payments seperately.

b. How much do you spend monthly for food? for clothing?

c. How much of it do you spend for your other needs? (school expenses, heating, medicine, leisure, instalments)

d. Can you save any money?

22. Which of the following do you have in your house?

a. Running water
b. Electricity
c. Stove
d. Bathroom in the house
e. Refrigerator
f. Washing machine
g. Television
h. Radio
J. Tape recorder
k. Carpet
l. Table, chairs, bedstead
b. Car

23. a. To change the subject a little, what do you think about the social insurance scheme today in this country? Do you think it gives adequate service, needs improvement or is no use at all?

b. What reasons do you have to think like that?

24. a. Are you a union member?

b. Which union?

c. Have you ever held a union post?

Yes No

If yes:

d. What kind of post?

25. If there are union meetings in the workplace do you attend them?

26. Why do you think the unions exist at all? Do you think we need unions? Why? (Multiple answers possible)

27. a. Are you satisfied with the work of your workplace union? What are your reasons?
    b. Are you happy with your local unions in Bolu? What do you know about them? Can you give details about the particular local unions you know or have heard about?
    c. What do you know and think about the national unions, trade unionism in Turkey in general? What are your reasons?
28. a. To whom do you go to when you have a problem in the workplace?
    b. Who do you think is most influential in putting your demands to the employers or managers?
    c. Can you find the opportunity to see and talk to your union representatives in or out of work?
    d. Can you find the opportunity to meet and talk to the top union representatives, from the central office in Ankara?
29. What do you think the most important functions of the unions are? Can you rank them, or put them in order of significance?
30. a. Have you experienced any slow-down, strike, or any other industrial action at work, in your past or present workplaces?
    If yes:
    b. In which job?
    c. What were the reasons for such action?
    d. How long did it last?
    e. What was the outcome?
    f. Were you satisfied with the outcome?
31. What do you think about such disagreements?
32. a. What do you think the duty/ies of the union representatives should be in the case of an action?
    b. Can you describe to me what 'a successful strike' means to you?
    c. What do you think are the essential ingredients which affect 'the success' of a strike?
33. a. Are you a member of any organization, association, club or local in Bolu or elsewhere?

    Yes No

    If yes:
    b. What kind of associations?
    c. Do you attend the meetings, pay subscription fees to these associations?

34. a. Could you tell me the details about the three persons you meet most, out of work?
(The following are to be asked seperately for each of the persons whom the respondents meet out of work?)

b. Occupations: I. (from the closest to less close)
ii.
iii.

c. Relationship to the respondent: i.
(kin, neighbour, school friend, ii.
same village, work mate) iii.

d. How frequently do you see each other? i.
ii.
iii.

e. Where do you meet generally? i.
ii.
iii.

35. a. What do you do in your leisure time? How do you spend this time? (multiple answers)

b. The friend you are usually together with in the workplace, what is his job?

36. a. How do you follow what is going on in Bolu? In Turkey?

b. Which newspaper do you read? (Even if he does not buy one, which ones he sees here and there?)
Now, we are going to change the question to a somewhat different context:

37. a. According to the last census there are 45 million people living in this country we live in. How would you see these people? How would you describe them to me? Can you see any differences between them?

Yes No

If yes:

b. Can you tell me in which ways they are different as much as you can think of? (Some help might be given at this point if the respondent has said yes, there are differences, but he hesitates to continue. Such as, look around yourself and tell me what sorts of people you can see?)

38. Thinking about those differences you have just mentioned, can you tell me which different sorts of people there are that you can think off?

39. a. Now, can you describe different sorts of people in detail?
What are their most important, observable characteristics? Who are they? What sort of people? What do they do for a living?

b. When you consider yourself as a member of this community as well, which of the above kinds of people do you see yourself similar to?

40. a. Do you think you might have a chance now or in the future to change your place among those sorts of people? With whom do you want to be together?

b. Do you think it will be possible for you to change your place towards the people you want to be with? How?

41. Suppose you had grown up children, what occupations would you like them to enter to earn a living?

42. a. What are the occupations you would want for your son?

b. What are the occupations you would want for your daughter?

43. Do you think your children will have the opportunity to enter the occupation you want them to enter?

a. Your son? Yes No

b. Why?

c. Your daughter? Yes No

d. Why?

44. Now, I would like to hear how you feel about this situation I am going to tell you about. Two men, lets call them Mr. A and Mr. B, both started earning their living as workers in the same factory. They had similar jobs and earned the same amount of money. They were both around thirty years of age. Then, Mr. A inherited some property and cash from his father. So he left the factory job, bought two big lorries and started in the transporting business. Later he opened a car service station in the industrial site of Bolu. He was also able to send his children to higher schools, bought a car, moved to a modern flat and had a comfortable life style. Mr. B still continued with his work in the factory, his son immediately started working as an apprentice in a workshop after secondary school. Mr. B still lived in the same old house and at the end of each month he tried to make ends meet. Now, what would you think? Do you think Mr. A was a successful man in life? Did he deserve what he got or not? What about Mr. B, do you think he was a survivor? Did he deserve what he got? What could have been his options?

45. a. Whom do you think is a successful person in life? Can you describe what kind of characteristics such a person should have?

b. Can you give me an example from among your friends, neighbours or anyone you know, as successful?

46. a. Both prices and incomes have gone up during the last years. As a result are you:
    - Better off
    - Worse off
    - Much the same
    - other
    - Do not know

    b. Why do you think this?

    c. How about other people living around you? For example, are there any particular people who have done badly in the last years?

    d. And are there any people who have done especially well?

47. a. Again a change of subject. What sorts of people in Turkey have the most power or are influential on decisions which would affect everybody in the country?

    b. Why do you think that?

    c. From the groups I will tell you below, which ones are the most effective in making decisions? Can you tell the most effective, then the second most and the third and so on:
        i. The voters
        ii. Professionals like doctors, lawyers, engineers, and the like
        iii. The government and the politicians
        iv. Trade unions
        v. Big businessmen
        vi. State employees
        vii. I cannot answer

    To be asked to the ones who put big businessmen and trade unions into first or second most effective place;

    d. Big businessmen: Do you know or recall and can tell me any major event which indicated to you that they are the most effective among these groups?

    e. Trade unions: Do you know or recall and can tell me any major event which indicated to you that they are the most effective among these groups?

48. a. According to you who, which sorts of people, should be effective in making decisions which would affect everybody?

    b. How can they be effective?

49. a. Did you vote in the last election? Yes No

    b. Can you tell me which political party you voted for?

c. Did you vote for the same party in the previous election/s?

d. What made you decide to vote for this party in the last election?

e. Can you tell me what sorts of things you would you like to happen if the party you vote for, came to power/ or if they are already in power? What would you like this party to achive?

50. a. Would you like to work in the state or in the private sector?

b. Why?

51. Do you think the workers should have a say in how production is organized? How the goods are marketed?

52. Do you think the workers should be given a share from the profits in addition to their wages and bonuses?

53. a. In this country there is a common view claiming that prices increase because of the high wage increases the workers get through collective agreements. They also say that these high gains are a big burden on the economy. Do you agree or disagree with such views? Do you think as well that prices increase because of wage increases?

b. Also do you think that the freezing of wage increases would stop the price increases?

54. a. As you know we have a big problem of unemployment in this country. Can you tell me the reasons for this that you can think of?

b. What kind of solution/s can you suggest?

55. Do you think a person who works hard and is honest in his/her job, can always make an upward move in his/her life?

56. a. Are you content with the existing Labour Code?

Yes No

If No:

b. What kind of changes do you think might be useful?

If yes:

c. With what aspects you are most content?

Evaluation of the Interview

1. The name and address of the respondent, if he agrees to give it;
2. The date of the interview;
3. How long was the interview period?
4. Was there any interference from other persons?
5. Was the interview cut for any reason?
6. Was there anybody present in the room during the interview?
7. The place of the interview in the workplace;
8. The evaluation of the respondent's cooperation by the interviewer;
9. Any other comments;

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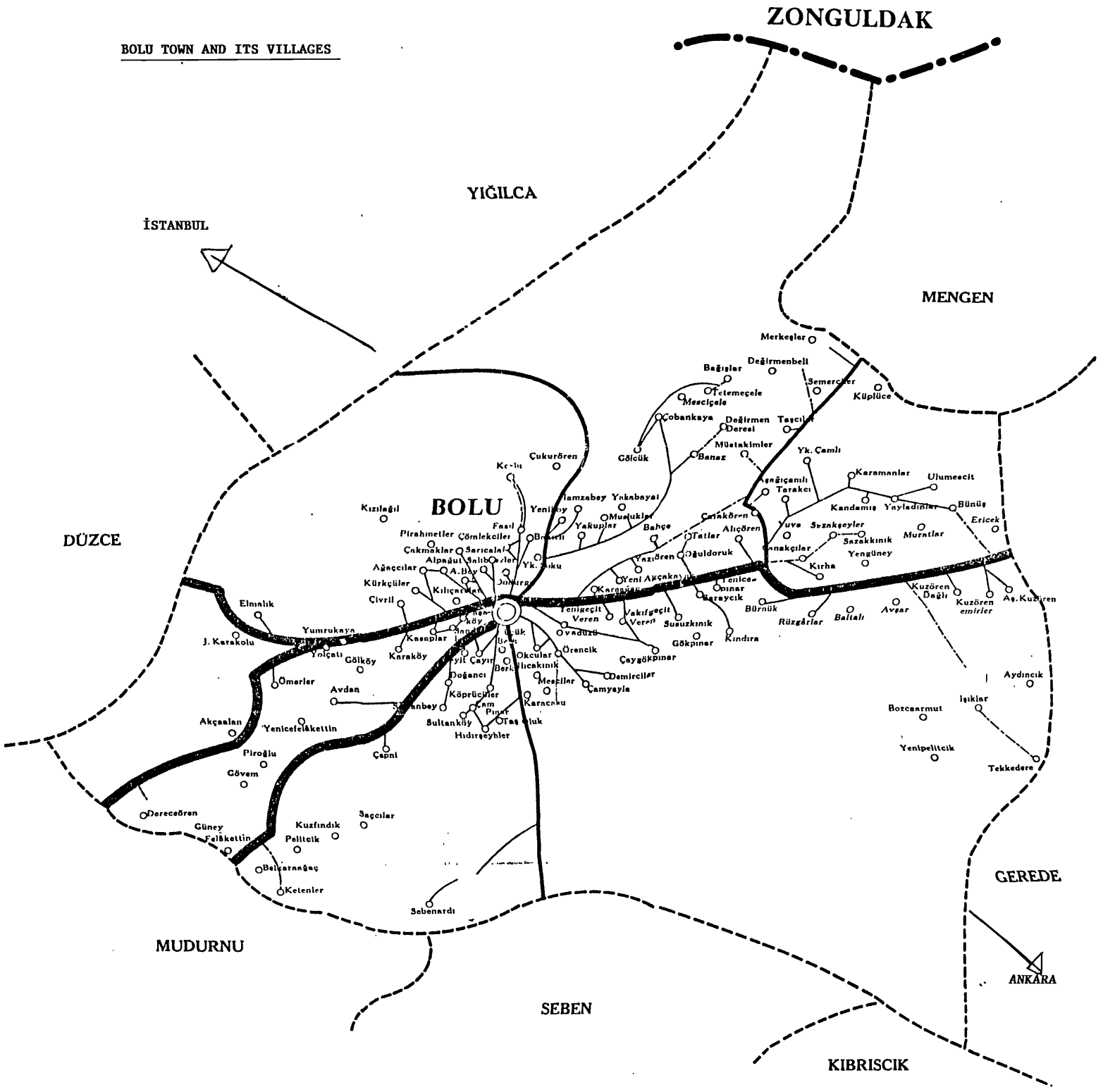
BOLU TOWN AND ITS VILLAGES