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THE HISTORY of INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY-1984

INTRODUCTION

The theme of this study is the development of industrial sociology in Turkey during the 1940-80 period. The study aims to examine the main trends of thought, and the researches carried on in this field. The scope of our subject includes various aspects industrial problems: The individual and collective behaviour of workers, labour organizations, the rapid industrialization and the social changes in the structure of society, the development of labour force and occupational distribution of labour among various sectors are only some of the many issues involved in this field.

We are faced with scope of interrelated subjects, but in order to show the general development scene in this field certain studies have been selected to represent the general trends in researches. The major criterion used in selecting the studies and works was to bring together original reports of studies related to migration and urbanization and their effects on industrial development, the development of labour force, and the Turkish industrial relations system. These four topics have vital importance for the industrialization of Turkey, and the most complex problems are found in these processes. Another reason in choosing studies carried on these social issues is that they reflect the development of Turkish labour class and its role, rights and its political and economic activities.



Much of the studies in this field are based on documentary evidence, but there have been some researches in which workers have been observed and questioned by interviews and questionnaire. Our primary concern with these studies at this point is with their impact upon the subsequent development of Turkish industrial sociology.

The organization of our study is as follows:

The first chapter attempts to provide the reader with the basic profile of industrial sociology in Turkey and some general trends in the development of this field.

The second chapter which deals with the researches and studies is an attempt to portray the contributions of authors to the development of industrial sociology in Turkey. These studies are examined chronologically. The same chapter also includes theoretical approaches which provide a comparative base for studies in this field. The five sections in this chapter deal with the problems of 1) Labour turnover, 2) Migration, 3) Automation, 4) Industrial Relations and 5) Industrialization.

The final chapter deals with some developments in each of the Five Year Development Plans related to the above problems placed previously in the second chapter.

With the exception of the introductory and concluding chapters, the various sections of our study will be based on the results of original research in the field of industrial sociology.

CHAPTER I

This chapter attempts to provide a brief outline of the development of Turkish industrial sociology and of foreign influence, especially American and German, on this development. In this chapter, the available sources from the 1940's to the 1980's are utilized. Furthermore the description of the survey and presentation will take place in order to give the reader more detailed information about the development of industrial Sociology in Turkey.

In Turkey the history of industrial sociology dates back to approximately more than fifty years. During the 1930's foreign and Turkish scientists began to give lectures on the Sociology of Economics and Social Policy in Istanbul University at the Faculty of Economics. (1)

"Labour-management relations gained an importance during this period and G. Kessler, one of the German scientists, invited to teach in Istanbul University at the Faculty of Economics" ²

At the beginning the German and American text books on industrial sociology were the primary source of information in this sphere. Many books and articles of German and American sociologists were translated into Turkish which aimed to present the fundamentals of industrial sociology in Turkey.

1- Lütü Erişçi - The History of Sociology in Turkey (Türkiye'de Sosyolojinin Tarihçesi) İ.Ü.İkt.Fak.Der.1965

2- Oğuz Arı - The History of Sociology in Turkey

The first translation was realized by N.Berkes form Grass in 1939 and was followed by "Sociology" form Von Wiese in 1937, and by "Social Politics" form Kessler in 1945. ³

In addition to the German Influence in the first period, American sociologists also had an impact on this development. ⁴ Turkish scientists were attracted to the Human Relations approach which focused upon relations among individuals in the factory. As a result of this concern the works of American sociologists such as Miller, Windmüller, Dunlop, Meyer, Roetlisberger, Myers were translated during the 1950-60's period. There is a remarkable consistency in the kinds of material included in these books. The human factor in industry gained an importance around the middle of the present century after the famous experiments conducted by G.Elton Mayo and his associates at the Hawthorne plants of the Western Company in Chicago. These books were concerned with the social and human aspects of the working situation. Elton Mayo and his men took for granted the values of their society and sought to improve on them through collaboration between management and labour and through the "Human Relations" approach.

Especially in the middle of the fifties and sixties there has been a concern with management problems. Social scientists were interested in existing problems caused by economic developments in a period of transition effected by social change.

3- M.Tezcan - The Bibliography of Sociology.

4- H.Z.Ölken - The studies and Teaching of Sociology in the world and in Turkey (Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Sosyoloji Öğretimi ve Araştırmaları), Türk Sos.Cem.Yay.1956, İst.

Within this context, industrial sociology gained importance in general and industrial relations began to draw the attention of many economists, lawyers and sociologists. "Industrial Sociology in United States" from F.Miller, "The Sociology of Work" from H.Meyer, "Management and Worker" from Roetlisberger and Dickson, "Human Relations in Industry" from F.Miller, "The System of Industrial Relations" from J.Windmüller were all translated into Turkish during this period.

Articles and researches of foreign sociologists concerning such issues as labour problems, productivity, human relations in organizations were published in periodicals of Istanbul University such as Lectures in Social Policy, Journal of Economics, and Journal of Sociology.

"After 1940, Industrial Sociology had become firmly established in Turkish Universities" ⁵

From 1940 to the middle of the fifties the need to collect data on society had great appeal for sociologists. Much of the earlier research had been based on documentary evidence rather than systematic empirical research.

Early studies of G.Kessler on miners in Karabük had influenced directly or indirectly a number of other major contributors to the field of industrial sociology. Not all of these people would have called themselves industrial sociologists. But their concerns had been more broadly sociological. The works of American sociologists on human relations also influenced a number of scientists who were concerned with industrial relations in Turkey.

This was so, partly because of rapid social changes in society after the 1950's and partly because of increasing contact with the American social scientists.⁶ Especially in the sixties there was an effort to realize systematic social research which was based on studying special social events among Turkish social scientists. The administered surveys in line with the American social science methodology. Surveys had a wide basis of application and implementation which were based on a particular method including questionnaires, sampling, statistical average.⁷ The rapid advances that occurred during the 1950-60 period in economic development there emerged "scientists" who became increasingly preoccupied with finding solutions to specific problems that accompanied industrialization. Lack of skilled workers, high rate of labour turnover, migration and semi-committed workers appeared to have vital importance. The absence of the right to strike, the weakness of unions, prevailing individual bargaining also created many problems in the industrial sphere.⁸ The social aspects of development became the focus of interest in this period.

Among the effects resulting from the impact of industry on society were the changes in social forms-the new state defined by urbanization and industrialization. "The magnitude of the

6- M.Kıray - Social Changes and Social Sciences in The Development of Social Researches in Turkey, (Sosyal Değişme ve Sosyal Bilimler -Türkiye'de Sosyal Araştırmaların Gelişmesi, Ank.1971 Hac.Üni.Ya D.11)

7- O.Arı - The History of Sociology in Turkey

8- O.Tuna - Collective Agreement, Strike and Lock-Out Practices in Turkey, 1969, 1st.

resulting rural-urban migration over the last 40 years is illustrated by the fact that although Turkey's population increased by 130 percent during this period, Istanbul-Ankara and Izmir expanded by 230 percent".⁹ As a consequence of migratory movements the majority of the labour force in large industrial cities were unskilled and agricultural. The skilled workers in these cities were trained to work accurately on individual design and the workers were managed by reliance upon the traditions of master-servant relationship. In small-scale production each individual owned his own tools and was responsible for their care. Whereas in modern industry the worker must adapt his sense of accuracy to the requirements of standardization which is determined by work performance. Under the conditions of factory production the fundamental habits of thought and social behaviour must change. Their performance depended on accuracy, the careful treatment of tools and machinery and their willingness to comply with the general rules as well as specific orders.

Central to this transformation are the relations of managers and the managed. Many economists, sociologists, lawyers turned their attention to the problems of industrial organization and labour management especially after the 1950's.

9- Demir Demirgil - Labour - Management Relations in Turkey, 1969, 1st.

I

CURRENT TRENDS in INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

Industrial Sociology has existed as a distinct field only slightly more than thirty years in Turkey. The field is still evolving and the major issues of today are quite different from those of the 1940's. There has been a substantial shift in the focus of interest. Therefore some general trends in the development of the field will contain more detailed analysis of specific directions of change by means of classification of studies in this field.

The concerns of the early researches were for the most part oriented towards establishing social policies. The question of how to improve the working conditions of industrial workers was the issue of a substantial proportion of the studies conducted. There were many new social problems that accompanied industrialization and urbanization. After the middle of the sixties sociologists moved from the abstract to the concrete; from the analysis of work situations to the individual behavior of workers. The human factor in organizations gained importance

10- This trend can also be seen in the earlier years of Industrial Sociology in Western countries. J.Eldridge indicated that, there is a tendency in the European and American industrial sociology to move from its traditional concern for social organization to the individual behavior i.e., the role level. There is remarkable consistency in the kinds of material included in western industrial

Parellel to trends in western Industrial Sociology, studies in Turkey included analysis of the impact of industrial capitalism, with a scientific mode of inquiry into human behavior. There were some studies directed toward the solution of specific problems, such as housing problems of workers, commitment to industrial work, labour organizations and its roles and functions.

Studies were being conducted in various organizations and factories by economists and social politicians. Most people who professed to study labour problems and industrial relations in Turkey consisted of members of almost every branch of social sciences. Each looked at labour problems from his special point of view : economists attempted to analyze the components of wages and the concept of bargaining power; sociologists attempted to explain negotiations in terms of the application by institutions of power in the conflict over the allocation of limited resources or consensus situations; social politicians also investigated the problems which could be called the traditional core concerns of Industrial Sociology.

----- sociology texts. All these texts include sections on the work group, on the structure of industrial bureaucracy and on union-management relations. This tendency in the west has been primarily the result of the increasing influence and popularity of social psychology. In this context, social psychology is the source for much data on the social adjustment of the employee.

J.Eldridge - Sociology of Industrial Life, London, 1971

W.Faunce - Readings in Industrial Sociology. Appleten - Century Crafts 1967.

In Turkey a common attribute of industrialism as a way of life provides the major theme in this area of Sociology because rapid industrialization occurring in developing countries provides a unique opportunity for the study of social change and of the effects of the shift from agricultural to an industrial economic base. Opposition between modern and traditional ways of life manifest itself also in the ambivalent behaviour of workers in the factory as well as in the behaviour of those who are placed at the critical key points within social change. This duality and even discordance is manifest not only in group life and institutions but in its totality. One can easily perceive the coexistence of the two sets of norms and values within the society.

In this context "the effect of industry on the workers studied by many scientists is to make them "modern" through the process of factory life itself."¹¹ Thus the structure of labour force and labour turn over problem was investigated preliminarily by Pınar (1944); Tuna (1950, 1951); Özeken (1955); Zaim (1956); Fındıkoğlu (1955); Ekin (1960); Arı (1973, 1974).

The problems of adjustment of migrants to the industrial work and life were other aspects of the same problem studied by Arı and Tütengil (1968, 1968_a); Abadan (1964, 1966); Tuna (1966, 1966_a); Dereli (1967); Yasa and Bozkurt (1974); Unat and Keleş (1975). Socio-economic problems and the problems of adjustment of handicraftsmen and artisans in the works of Ergil (1975) and in the work conducted

11- A.Inkeles - Quoted in G.Pascal, Fundamentals of Industrial Sociology p.268-269, McGraw Hill, 1972

by the State Planning Organization, (1975). The growing number of white collar wage earners¹² was the focus of interest in recent studies by Tuna (1974); Tuna and Ekin (1970); Bozkurt (1980). The study of the industrialization process is the other area within industrial sociology in which much research has taken place. This research has focused primarily upon small scale industries and their relative weight in the economic development of Turkey.

There is a direct and continuous line of development from some of the earlier to some of the more recent sociological concern with industrial phenomenon.¹³ Industrialization has been the central change to be examined and explained in all studies.

During the 1940's and 1950's when industrial sociology was in the process of emerging as a separate field, a number of major industrial unions were just being organized. Thus there had been relatively few studies of trade union structure and of union-management relations. After the 1950's union organizational drive provided good research setting for industrial relations specialists and sociologists interested in social movements and social conflict. Some of them were concerned with trade unions as a social movement. Another concern with unions stemmed from an interest in their potential effect upon the wage level, collective agreement productivity and so on.

12- O.Tuna - The New Problems in Social Politics related to the Technological Development (Teknolojik Gelişmenin Sosyal Siyaset Getirdiği Yeni Meseleler) Sos.Siy.Kon., cilt XVI.s.253

13- Existing definitions of Industrial Sociology include the same subject; Miller and Form describe the field as being "concerned broadly with the study of industrial society and also with

The growth in the number of industrial sociological studies has not been distributed evenly among all aspects of industrial life. For example studies of formal organizations were made more often in manufacturing industries, whereas there were hardly any studies on hospitals, on military units like in the United States. Working on the analysis of general characteristics bureaucracy in organizations, there have been relatively few sociologists until very recently.

It can be suggested that a general trend in Turkish Industrial Sociology has been a greater specialization and a narrowing of interests.

In the beginning, Industrial Sociology was based on some studies and concerns in particular areas such as labour problems concerning the conditions of work, absenteeism, labour-turnover. However, the use of systematic research methods permitted more elaborate data analysis after the 1960's. Furthermore, the development of more adequate theoretical perspectives have encouraged the change from limited research to a specific problem with the development of industrial relations system. There has been an increase in interest dealing with the structure and functioning or effects of trade unions, collective bargaining and labour movement

13- the analysis of the social organization of work". The definition of Moore considers the field as follows: Industrial Sociology is concerned with the application or development of the principles of sociology relevant to the industrial mode of production and the industrial way of life.

O. Miller and W.H. Form - Industrial Sociology, Harper - Row, Pub. 1964

There are many approaches to labour problems and equally varied conclusions as a consequence of this increasing interest.

Generally, the relationship between industrialization and social change provides the major theme for many studies in industrial sociology. These aim to show how the shift in the economic base of society from agriculture to manufacturing induces an accelerated rate of social change and an increasingly high level of differentiation of social structure. Industry and technology in the changing nature of society have caused the mobility of workers. Labourers must be free from traditional bonds and such mobility necessarily creates tensions and readjustment.

CHAPTER II

Successive parts of this chapter will deal with the classification of the studies which can be included in the field of Industrial Sociology. Our primary concern with these studies at this point is with their impact upon the subsequent development of this field. Classification of studies in industrial sociology provides detailed and methodological approaches in the researches, on articles and on general comments on industrial problems.

In general we can classify two main categories. There is first a descriptive category which is largely concerned with general descriptions of institutions, such as trade unions or collective bargaining. The aim of such works has been to present facts on the assumption that facts speak for themselves, but they represent the view of authors within the framework of a basic consensus in societies. This category represents the most common approach to the study of industrial relations system. The generalized picture will depict reality as mainly static in this type of studies. This view can be carried into the collection, selection and interpretation of data and through this process will arrive at conclusions. In the studies of industrial relations the theoretical base of this will be explained in proceeding sections of this chapter.

The second category is concerned with empirical, problem-centered studies. These are two sorts and have a different theoretical framework. They are of much less significance than general descriptive studies, and in the main have been concerned

with issues arising out of industrial work. A number of problem-centered studies have been published by the Department of Social Politics of Istanbul University.

The majority of published works, have been written within the static paradigm which assumes that the structure of society has basic consensus qualities. In this sense that static analysis is a rationalization of what exists in the industrial sphere. Most people who intended to make a study of industrial problems have adopted the conventional static approach.

Another theoretical approach sees industrial problems and relations within a dynamic conflict situation. The conflict which arises out of the primary market relationship is permanent and unalterable so long as the structure of society remains unaltered.

While the conventional sociologists and economists assume that systems have homeostatic qualities to ensure the maintenance of organic unity, others assume that there are structural conflict-making qualities; in this way industrial phenomena and problems are an index of conflict and are a permanent feature of a capitalistic system.

There has been so much sociological treatment of the theme that the notion of conflict is different now. There is another way, of avoiding conflict in industrial sphere. There appears to be little conflict that is institutionalized or built into the system. From this point of view some institutions for conflict regulation are established and conflict is repressed but it is not eliminated

We have thus tried to illustrate some of the studies which sociologists have conceptualized in the notion of integration. This has taken us away from the question of what the empirical data tell us about these aspects of theories. One can see a very different basis for social integration. In their various ways conventional and radical social scientists have sought to bring a new awareness of what is going on in industrial societies.

These two theoretical approaches can be easily seen in the study of industrial relations. The majority of works (Tuna, 1951, 1962, 1969, 1974, 1976; Sayman, 1954; Oğuzman, 1964; Fındıkoğlu, 1951; Tunçomağ, 1971, 1971_a, 1981; Talas, 1964, 1967; Zaim, 1960, 1962) have been written within the dominant (conventional) paradigm. Most people who are concerned with the study of problems in that field know only the conventional static approach. Because the static paradigm generally provides the framework for common-sense interpretations.

There are some other groups of studies which are presented as an alternative to the dominant static approach. These works (Sülker, 1968; Sencer, 1968; Erginsoy, 1968; Işıklı, 1967, 1972; Dereli, 1968; Ünsal, 1963) see industrial relations occurring within a dynamic conflict situation and these relations keep changing and are capable of qualitative changes. This approach is based on a dynamic conception of industrial reality, which is explained in the context of a given power structure. Industry consists of a hierarchy of social relationships which together constitute industrial relations. They arise out of the prime economic relationship in society which is the buying and selling of labour power.

Industrialism still represents the direction of change in Turkey and there is still wide spread interest in the study of industrial problems. The growth in the number of industrial sociological studies has been distributed among the various areas. The major criterion used in selecting the studies included in this study is to bring them together in five groups constituting the core of the field. Most of the authors of these studies can not call themselves industrial sociologists but their work can be referred to in terms of industrial sociology.

The first group is concerned with labour turnover problem and the studies made in this subject. The studies of the second group focus mainly on the problems of migrant workers in large cities and in foreign countries. Studies of the third group have been made on specific problems of automation and on sociological characteristics of white collar workers.

The studies of the fourth group include various analysis industrial relations system in Turkey.

Finally, the studies of the fifth group deal with the social and economic aspects of industrial development.

THE STUDIES of LABOUR TURNOVER PROBLEMS of TURKISH INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

In this section labour turnover problems and its sociological dimensions termed as commitment and integration are discussed with reference the specific surveys which were conducted in various sectors of Turkish economy.

Özeken (1960), Fındıkoğlu (1955), Zaim (1956), Ekin (1960) Tuna (1966), Arı (1973, 1974) they all argue that for industrialization to succeed, Turkey needs to develop an industrial labour force from a population largely rural and for the most part minimally educated and unaccustomed to industrial modes. Two elements can be seen in the labour turnover problem; 1) Commitment to industrial conditions, discipline and work habits, 2) Learning a skill, process or operation associated with an occupation.

The first is defined (Kerr etal, 1960) as the process whereby workers become committed to industrial employment as a way of life, becoming dependent upon industry as a source of income. The second, the skill-learning element consists of training efforts undertaken by the firm or by the government to teach the worker a particular skill required for an occupation.

A group of studies investigated the labour turnover with the purpose of reducing its rate and increasing the productivity of the organization. Labor discipline is one of the key subjects in a capitalistic economy and it will be impossible to raise productivity at a high rate of labour turnover. Özeken (1950) Zaim (1956) Ekin (1960) attempted to give comparative figures on the private and the

public sector concerning the transition from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. In this context findings of these studies expressed the need for a group of skilled, committed and integrated industrial workers to maintain the pace of industrialization.

Arı (1973, 1974) dealt with the social psychological dimensions of the labour turnover problem. "This process is socio-psychological, since to a certain extent the frequency with which workers state, they changed jobs in the past is indicative of their commitment as well as indicative of the change they had to acquire skills"¹⁴

An example of the studies dealing with labour turnover is the work of N.Ekin which was published under the title of "Memleketimizde İşçi Devri Mevzuunda Yapılan Araştırmalar ve Neticeleri"¹⁵ He aimed to show that in the development of industrial work force, problems of labour turnover were very important. This development necessarily involves the acceptance of the new imperatives of the industrial work place. The new workers must conform to pace of work established by the dictates of new masters rather than by their own inclinations or traditional standards. This process is quite slow in Turkey. Ekin studies the rate of labour

14- O.Arı - Commitment and integration of Industrial labour force in Two Turkish Cities.

15- N.Ekin - The Studies on Labour Turnover in our Country and The Results (Memleketimizde İşçi Devri Mevzuunda yapılan araştırma ve ortaya koydukları neticeler) Sos.Siy.Kon.cilt 9-10-11

turnover in various enterprises by using the findings of some research and studies in this topic. He used three group sources for this aim; The reports of High Control Board of Prime Ministry, monographic researches concerning this problem, and the questionnaires of labour force of Konya, Istanbul and Ankara.

The first group sources included the figures of labour turnover rate in the factories of Sümerbank and minings of Etibank. All reports indicated that the labour turnover problem existed at a high rate in almost all the factories of Sümerbank and minings of Etibank during the 1940's and 50's. In the Etibank enterprises this rate was higher than the Sümerbank factories.

Ekin points out that in general the degree of labour turnover is related to the stage of industrial development in the very early stages of industrialization. High rates of turnover, absenteeism and low levels of skill prevailed in state enterprises. The wage differences between factories and industries were high which had an impact on labour mobility. The lack of social organization of workers had another cause. The unskilled and unpermanent workers did not have class consciousness and they constantly moved between different jobs in different sectors of the economy.

In Sümerbank factories the managers established a Social Service council and provided housing and other amenities to reduce turnover and absenteeism. In addition to the labour turnover, problems in full employment also emerged in state enterprises which increased the rate of labour turnover. The state enacted a new legislation concerning compulsory work during the 1940's in the mining sector. This legislation included the employment of soldiers and

prisoners who remained in mining only for a month. Statistical data on permanent workers in this sector showed little differences, they worked only for 1-2 months. Especially between 1940-47 compulsory work system was an important reason of high rate labour turnover but was not a unique reason. After the amendment of this legislation in 1947 the same rate was still observed in the reports of Etibank.

In the second group resources Ekin overviewed the results of monographic researches of Üzeken (1955) Zaim (1956); Tuna (1950, 1951); Fındıkoğlu (1955). Except the studies of Tuna and Fındıkoğlu they dealt with the same problem in the private sector. Fındıkoğlu emphasized the social aspects of the problem which required an adjustment to all the institutional aspects of urban living and industrial employment. Tuna was concerned with the labour turnover in small-scale industries.

Further on these researches will be examined in detail; therefore we selected some of the results which were pointed out by Ekin.

Labour turnover rates show differences among the private and the public sector in the textile industry. As industrialization proceeds, labour turnover rate has been declining in the public sector. N.Ekin refers to indicate that in the study of Fındıkoğlu the workers of Defterdar factory were relatively permanent and relatively more committed. For private sector the average rate of labour turnover reached 72,5 percent in textile factories during the 1950-55 period.

The labour turnover rate also showed differences between small scale and large scale industries. In Tuna's studies the emphasis was on small scale industries and he pointed out that artisans and apprentices constantly moved between different jobs in Istanbul. Because of unstable conditions in small scale industries and wage differentials between small-scale and large-scale industries, the mobility of workers in these enterprises is generally high.

The labour force questionnaires made by the state employment services were also used by Ekin with the purpose of providing information about labour force development in the Karadeniz region, in Istanbul, and in Konya.

In the Karadeniz region there was a large group qualified as seasonal workers who migrate only temporarily to the industrial areas. Seasonal employment and its effect on the labour turnover rate was important (% 108). In Konya region the same effect was strikingly much lower (% 7) but sectorial mobility was at a high level. In the textile and the manufacturing sector the labour turnover rate has a declining trend in opposition to the construction industry where it is dependent upon climatic variations and shows seasonal fluctuations.

In the region of Istanbul results indicate that service, manufacturing and construction sectors had a high rate of labour turnover; transportation and commercial sectors had a relatively lower rate. Finally N.Ekin paid attention to the development of labour force in advanced capitalistic countries. He gave some figures on turnover rates in these countries in order to provide a comparative picture. He suggested that Turkey must use the adv.

and experiences of developed countries which possessed longer familiarity with industrialization. In order to find appropriate solutions to reduce the rate of labour turnover we must use the methods and institutions evolved by other industrial countries.

Ekin studied the labour turnover problem without regarding its reasons. After the 1950's, studies in this topic considered the social aspects of development of labour force related with industrialization, migration and urbanization. The growth of industrial labour force in Turkey is not merely a process of accepting the discipline of factory work but at the same time integration of workers to an urban way of life. Commitment alone is not sufficient to create effective industrial workers. Cultural factors such as religious and ethical valuations, the family system all have a bearing on commitment. The workers need to have specific skills and general industrial know-how.¹⁶ This means recognizing the importance of on the job training both at the technical and cultural levels.

In the earlier studies and articles of Özeke (1944, 1948, 1950, 1955)¹⁷ related to labour instability and efficiency, the high rate of instability among the coal miners was related to nostalgia. (Özeke 1950) His study was based on the reports of Etibank between

16- D.Demirgil - Labour Management Relations in Turkey, 1969.1st.

17- A.A.Özeke - An Essay on the History of Ereğli Coal Mining.

{Ereğli Kömür Havzası Tarihi Üstüne Bir Deneme} 1st.1944

A.A.Özeke - Economic Problems of Labour in Turkish Industry.

(Türk Sanayiinde İşçi Mevzuununun İktisadi Problemleri) 1.0.İkt.F

Yay.39-1st.1948

1940-1955's. The majority of workers in the mining sector were temporary. (Labour turnover rates in Güleman Crom Enterprise reached to 150-175 percent, in Ergani Copper Enterprise to 250 percent) The rates of permanent workers were only 5-8 percent in this sector. With the purpose of providing information on this issue, he used the rates of outflow and intake of workers in mining pits. Workers had not been employed for more than one month. In this way the workers remained in mining pits for a few month and then returned to their agricultural tasks. He also notes that in the mining sector there was a shortage of workers.

Özeken investigated the same in the textile industry in Istanbul and Adana. A survey was conducted in textile factories in Istanbul (Mensucat Sanayii, Yedikule İplik) and cotton, wheath, rice factories in Adana in 1949-1950.

He generally emphasized the need for a skilled, committed labour force in order to achieve and maintain a high degree of efficiency in undertakings. According to the survey results in certain industries such as textile, leather, iron and manufacturing the rate of labour turnover was relatively lower than in the mining sector. In Istanbul, for example, among Mensucat Textile workers in 1949 the rate of outflow was 73 percent, among Yedikule cotton workers in 1949 it was 59 percent. The results were obtained from the lists of outflow and intake rates of workers in these factories

17- A.A.Özeken - Coal Miners in Turkey (Türkiye'de Kömür İşçileri)
Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt.1.1950

A.A.Özeken - The Housing Problems of Workers in Turkish Industry
(Türk Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi.Sos.Siy.Cilt.3.1955)

Özeken states that in the transition from villages and towns to the industrial centers, the countryman can not easily be transformed into a factory worker possessing the outlook, the skills, the persistence and the occupational conscience that characterized industrial workers. According to him housing problems of workers gained an importance in the discussion of labour turnover problem. For the creation and maintenance of an adequate, stable and efficient labour force, living accommodations must be provided for families as well as workers, especially in the mining sector. This will be beneficial to persuade the migratory element to settle down to permanent employment.

According to Zaim, Turkey was faced with labour turnover problem in a number of industrial enterprises. He attempted to explain the causes of this problem and its impact on wages in textile sectors in his researches.¹⁸ Data on labour turnover are based on surveys conducted in 49 factories in the Istanbul textile sector. Sampling covered 51 percent of textile factories in Istanbul and 60 percent of workers were employed in these factories. Among the survey results mainly data on labour turnover rates will be covered. Accordingly, in 1953 the labour turnover rates were 72.5 percent; the lowest rate was 16 percent (Namık Pars Factory), the

18- S.Zaim - The Structure of Turkish Textile Industry and Wages. (Istanbul Mensucat Sanayii Bünyesi ve Ücretler) Ist, 1956
S.Zaim - Wages in Turkish Textile Industry. (Türk Mensucat Sanayiinde Ücretler) Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt 8.p.25

highest rate was 300 percent (Herko). Zaim observes a general declining trend in the public sector factories after 1946. He also notes that in the earlier stage of industrialization the problems of adequate, stable and efficient labour force was prevalent in Turkey. During 1946 and 1950 however the State Enterprises tried to find a solution to these difficulties and have succeeded in improving social welfare institutions in the enterprises managed by Sümerbank.

According to Zaim, there was another factor which obviously played a very important role in shaping the rates of labour turnover in textile industries. It was the low rates of pay which forced a large number of workers constantly to seek another work. Wage rates generally have lagged behind the increase in the cost of living and high rate of wages in some factories has caused to push workers to change their jobs. A group of studies have been made in Turkey on labour turnover examining how various factors, such as organized labour, level of education, position on the job, the branch of industry affected it. (Tuna, 1950, Fındıkoğlu 1955; Arı 1973, 1974)

The survey of Defterdar was the first example in Turkish industrial sociology which aimed to study Defterdar textile factory as a social institution.¹⁹ According to Fındıkoğlu, the aim in selecting Defterdar among several other factories in Eyüp was that it was the oldest and the most institutionalized factory in textile sector in Turkey. The workers of this factory possessed the same characteristics such as skill, persistence, efficiency and seemed to have class consciousness. Therefore they constituted a more

19- T.Fındıkoğlu - The Studies of Industrial Sociology in Turkey (Türkiye'de Sınai Sosyolojisi Araştırmaları, Defterdar Mensucat Meslek Dergisi) cilt.VII, 1954-1955

powerful social category than any other group of industrial worker in Turkey. In addition, he aimed to study how industrialization process affected the environment of Eyüp. Among the survey results we are concerned with the rates of labour turnover in Defterdar factory.

Research was based on questionnaires and case-type observations. Sampling was selected among factory workers by means of clustering method. Questionnaires administered to these 100 workers consisted of social background questions and questions concerning labour problems and relations between employee and employer.

Fındıkoğlu implied that there was little statistical information about industrial enterprises and labour class. Thus the information about workers in the factory was gathered from direct social background questions. He also used 1951 Industry and Manufacture Census and the statistics of the Ministry of Labour.

After summarizing the findings of the research we can formulate the general conclusion; The majority of workers surveyed were of rural origin and their desire to change jobs or to stay on job were investigated in relation to matters in labour turnover problem. They did not wish to change jobs. There was a high level of job satisfaction among them. In some cases being an industrial worker was inherited from the father who worked in the same factory. Fındıkoğlu concluded that the workers of Defterdar factory were relatively stable and permanent, and therefore labour turnover

rate was low. Fındıkoğlu observed that this trend depended on managerial policy of Sümerbank. It had shown a keen awareness of the importance of labour problems and had made many contributions to their solution such as social and hospital facilities.

The survey also included analysis of human relations in the factory. Labour organizations (trade-unions, cooperatives) and their activities, the participation of workers in these were observed. Fındıkoğlu saw the cooperatives as a means of creating a more powerful and more stable labour class. Consequently, powerful labour organization could diminish the rate of turnover. In Tuna's study of "Istanbul'da Küçük Sanayi ve Bugünkü Meseleleri,"²⁰ the relative weight of small scale industry in development is discussed. He also emphasizes the role of small scale industry on the problem of labour turnover.

Among the survey results we are concerned with labour turnover and related matters thus other survey results will be covered later.

Tuna states that the labour turnover rate in small scale industries in Istanbul is comparatively high. The contribution of small scale industry to employment and wages may be limited compared to large scale industries. These are not high wage industries and provide less stable conditions, therefore the mobility of workers is high. Tuna also notes that in small scale industries paternalistic

20- O.Tuna - The Small Scale Industries and Their Problems in Istanbul (Istanbul'da Küçük Sanayi ve Bugünkü Meseleleri) İst,1950,1.0.İkt.Fak.Neş.462

aspects of labour relations between employer and employee began to change, and the training efforts undertaken by employers to teach workers a particular skill was not realized as it was earlier. Many men were attracted by large scale industries because of these factors. From a sociological point of view occupational immobility and unbalanced age group with a high rate of labour turnover and absenteeism makes productivity low in small scale industries.

When all these researches were undertaken (between 1940-1955) the economic development of Turkey and the problems which accompanied it was different. In this earlier stage of industrialization the need for a skilled, committed and integrated labour force was great in order to maintain the pace of industrialization. Therefore the situation was investigated with the purpose of reducing the high rate labour turnover. Expectation from managerial attempts concerning social welfare facilities was common. But presently this type of solution was not sufficient. It was determined that the problem of integration in industrial work depended upon many factors in each stage of development.

Studies of O. Arı are concerned with these factors and the relationship between them are explained in his work.

Surveys in two Turkish cities (Istanbul-Ankara) on commitment and integration of industrial labour force were undertaken by O. Arı in 1973 and 1974.²¹ He dealt with the social psychological dimension of this problem and the desire to stay on job is utilized as an indicator of commitment and integration. Arı

also made a comparisons between small scale and large scale industries.

In Ankara the survey was in small and large scale industries selected from the list of industrial establishments. Lists of small scale enterprises were obtained from the State Social Insurance Agency. For large scale industrial enterprises the list was provided by the State Institute of Statistics. All large scale enterprises and 25 percent of the small scale enterprises were selected by random sampling. All semi-skilled workers were interviewed in these enterprises. Final sample is 899 workers in the various enterprises covered in the survey.

In Istanbul, a large scale of enterprises in the automotive and automotive auxiliary industries were sampled and a major workplace in the textile industry was also selected for making comparisons. Sampling was done from lists covering these three types of enterprises. Semi-skilled and skilled workers were selected in the enterprises covered by the interviewers and hence a quota sample was obtained. Final sample is 649 workers from these three enterprises (textiles, automotive and automotive auxiliary industries.)

- 21- O. Arı- The Studies on Permanent and Skilled Workers in Ankara (Ankara'da Yetenekli ve Devamlı İşçi Sorunlarının İncelenmesi) B.Ü.Sos.Bil.Der.Cilt 1,1973
- O. Arı- The Studies on Permanent and Skilled Workers in Istanbul (İstanbul'da Yetenekli, Devamlı İşçi Sorununun İncelenmesi) Sos.Bil.Derg.Cilt 11,1974

"Questionnaires administered in both cities were composed of questions pertaining to the subject matter of the questionnaire and social background questions²².

The relationship between position on the job and the desire to change jobs was investigated under conditions of rural, urban or small town background. A significant relationship was found between those of rural origin and the expression of a desire for mobility.

Other survey results indicated that there was a relationship between the opportunity to have acquired some skills and the desire to change jobs. The majority of workers did not wish to change jobs. Skilled workers were more likely to wish to do so in small-scale industry. Small scale industry provides less stable conditions and consequently the desire to change jobs may be generally more evident in small scale as compared to large scale industry. This results were obtained in the Ankara survey. In the Istanbul survey on the other hand the desire to move was established in a more definite way in large scale industry. Though there is a significant relationship between the branch of industry where the workers are employed and the desire to change jobs. For example in the automotive industry a great number of workers wish to change jobs whereas in textile industry this desire is not observed to the same extent.

22- O.Arı - Commitment and Integration of Industrial Labour Force in Two Turkish Cities, p.25

The desire for going to work in a foreign country and open up own work place had an influence on the workers' plans to change job in the automotive and automotive auxiliary industries.

There is also a relationship between the level of education and the desire to work in another country and open up one's own work place, especially if education is added to a special skill. In addition to these, the relationship between this tendency and trade-union membership is also investigated. Organized labour may lead to the formation of a more stable and more committed labour force. Especially among workers in large-scale industry, labour organization and collective bargaining supported the development of a stable labour force²³.

All these works related with labour turnover indicate that in Turkey industrial workers were in the transition phase. Despite the remarkable progress towards the solution of labour problems, in the transition occurring from predominantly agricultural labour to industrial labour, absenteeism and labour turnover are still prevalent. In addition to demographic movements, wage rates in an inflationary situation has caused labour instability.

Because of their being semi-committed workers, differences between life styles of various groups are increasing. In wage level in consumption patterns, in political and social consciousness and in patterns of behaviour there are signs of a yet incomplete transformation in being a group of industrial workers. They constit

23- O.Tuna - The Study on the Social and Economic Effects of Collective Agreements in Turkey. (Türkiye'de Toplu Sözleşmeleri Sosyo-Ekonomik Tesirleri Hakkında Bir Araştırma) İş Hukuku Konferansı, 1976, 1st.

a heterogenous social category. In the long run they will be permanent members of an urban life and industrial work force with the passage of time.

MIGRATION (External and Internal) and THE PROBLEMS of MIGRANTS

There are some empirical studies which focus upon the effects of migration movements upon the industrial development in Turkey.

It is known that after the 1950's migration from the countryside directed towards the large cities existed as an important phenomenon in the industrialization process. The transition of persons coming from agricultural occupations transferring to industrial and service occupations created some problems. As we mentioned earlier, labour mobility was one of them. In such circumstances, since there was no sufficient industrial development, unemployment was another important problem in the formation of a heterogeneous informal sector in the cities as a consequence of this situation.

Another problem emerges in connection with employment opportunities. Workers from various cities went abroad for work especially after the 1960's. Emigration seemed to appear as a solution to unemployment, labour migration to European countries included such skilled workers as supervisors and technicians in spite of an increasing need for skilled workers in Turkey.

Two theoretical approaches can be observed in the literature about migratory movement. The first assumes that migration to European countries relieved unemployment and

decreased social tension generated by the combination of high unemployment and rapid urbanization and also provided the sorely needed foreign currency. (Tuna, 1966) The process of modernization is defined in terms of urban growth and allocation of population from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector.

The second theoretical orientation emphasizes the center-periphery theory. Assymetrical interaction characterizes the relations between labour sending country and advanced industrial countries. Emigration was seen as a party solution to unemployment and this will not essentially change the nature of the center's domination over the periphery. Center nations gradually require higher levels of skilled work force whereas periphery nations continue to supply a surplus labour force (Abadan, 1964, Abadan and Keleş, 1975).

Since 1960 there has been an increase in the studies which were directed toward the development of labour force and its commitment problems within the internal and external migration context.

Two case studies about migration to the large cities and commitment problems of migrants were conducted by O.Arı and C.O. Tütengil in 1966-68²⁴⁻²⁵ (in Istanbul and in Adapazarı.)

24- O.Arı, C.O.Tütengil - Migration to Adapazarı and Integration to Working Life. (Adapazarı'na Göç ve Çalışma Hayatına İntibak Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt 7, 1968

25- O.Arı, C.O.Tütengil - Migration to Istanbul and Integration to Working Life. (Istanbul'a Göç ve Çalışma Hayatına İntibak Araştırması) İkt.Fak.Der.Cilt, 25-1966

Adapazarı survey was conducted in enterprises selected from the centers of Adapazarı, Serdivan and Erenler towns. From a total of 540 work places and 7000 workers, 25 percent of workers were selected from the State Social Insurance Agency. The final selection in the field was made by the interviewers with the criterion of being of rural origin. Questionnaires administered to 180 workers were composed of seven groups of questions which were concerned with the causes of migration movements such as the pull factors of cities, the push factors of villages, age, sex and educational level of migrant workers, relatives in cities and in work places (Gedik), the integration to work place and social environment.

Arı and Tütengil considered the social aspects of migration which had been created by the socio-economic factors. They called these the push factors of the countryside and the pull factors of cities. Wage differences between city and country contributed to the push and the provision of services and employment opportunities contributed to the pull of the cities. Arı and Tütengil also paid attention to other aspects of migration, mainly, that there was a tradition of single, relatively young and educated men migrating to the cities, working until they accumulated a certain amount of money, and then returning to their villages. This tradition was generally broken by persuading whole families to move to the city. In the Adapazarı survey we see that ties with the village and land remain strong.

Findings in this survey indicate that Gedik seems to be an unimportant phenomenon in the employment of migrant workers.

Relatives in cities can help the new comers as a general trend. There is no significant relationship between integration to the social environment and integration to the work place. But general the majority of the workers surveyed accepted the discipline of work; they did not wish to change jobs. The some general trends were found among workers with families working in the same work place and staying in Adapazarı. These can be indicative of the development of a labour-force.

In the Istanbul survey on the other hand the same results were obtained from the questionnaires with the exception of certain issues. This survey was realized among 961 workers. Questionnaires were composed of almost the same questions as the Adapazarı survey. On points of commitment of workers to the work place, ties with the villages and land, and changes in new social relations and environment, the authors found the same general trends. Relatives in cities played a relatively important role for providing some facilities to the new comer for employment in Istanbul.

These two studies aimed to show the effects of migration upon industrial development. Labour demanded in the manufacturing industry and the services is lower than the supply and fed each year by the growing population. Industrialization shows regional differences, and differences between cities. Cities where service and investments have been made and industry has been established draw more people from the villages and towns. In fact, the push from the land can create a discontented industrial labour force. The general conclusion of these two studies, like in many other

studies, shows that the majority of Turkish industrial labour force is semi-committed and the semi-committed worker is a man at the margin of two different ways of life. He works more or less regularly in industry but maintains his connections with the village. Ties with the country was being relatively broken in Marmara region which is more industrialized than the other regions of Turkey. The commitment process is slower and involves intricate factors for Turkish industrial workers. To accept the discipline of factory work and the conditions of urban living is slow, according to the findings of the two surveys.

In the Adapazarı survey the sample covered a little group which was not adequately representing the whole. This can effect the reliability of answers. The relationship between the commitment to social environment and the ties with the country can be seen in the land property of migrant workers but this point was not investigated in these two surveys.

The research of N. Abadan was concerned with the emigration to Germany and its problems.²⁶ She emphasized the dependency relationship between the manpower exporting country and the industrial countries. "To sum up the asymmetric interaction of Turkey as a manpower exporting country with a number of European industrial countries indicates the existence of an undeniable

26- N. Abadan - Turkish Workers in Western Germany and Their Problems (Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları)
D.P.T. Yay. 1964

degree of economic dependency. "She saw the emigration as a party solution to unemployment and this will not essentially change the nature of the center's domination over the periphery. External migration according to her reflected the transitional process affecting both agrarian and industrial societies. Her analysis is primarily concerned not only with reasons but the problems of workers who worked on large scale industrial undertakings. These problems arise from living and working in foreign industrial societies.

She obtained related data about workers from the Turkish Employment Agency, the German Emigration Office in Istanbul and the Statistics of Foreign Workers in Germany. Workers were (N:494) selected by cluster sampling from three regions in Germany; The first region was highly industrialized and 84.1 percent of the workers were covered. The second region included three cities (Hamburg-Berlin-Bremen) and 8.5 percent workers were covered. In the less industrialized third region 7.3 percent of workers were covered. The survey conducted in 80 enterprises selected from the three regions was mostly composed of social background questions and questions concerning workers' attitudes to industrial work, adjustment problems, and their hierarchical relations in the workplace and included the problems arising out in collective agreements. In addition to these, another group of questions were asked about their situations in Turkey before going abroad and what they planned to do upon returning to Turkey.

We are concerned with the results of this survey related to integration problems of workers. In general there was a high le

of job satisfaction except in the mining and food industries. This satisfaction showed differences according to the level of education conditions of work and wage rates. In different branches where workers had more than elementary school education, they wished to change jobs. Workers employed in low wage rates and in bad conditions of work wished to change jobs more.

The answers to the questions of labour problems indicated that occupational training, integration to society, defending of legislative rights and housing problems were the most important ones for migrant workers. Relations with German trade-unions were unsatisfactory; these unions had no interest for the problems of foreign workers.

Among workers which were interviewed in 80 enterprises labour rates were at a low level and workers still expressed a desire to remain in the job which may be taken as an indicative of commitment and possible integration. But intergration to society for migratory workers prevailed an urgency.

Abadan and Keleş studied the effects of the emigration of labour force on the economic development of Boğazlıyan town and on urbanization²⁷ in their recent studies. This research was designed to make a contribution to the theory about the impact of migratory

27- N.A.Unat, R.Keleş, R.Pennix, H.Urenselear, L.U.Velzen, Leyla Yenisay, Migration and Development (Göç ve Gelişme) 1975 Ank. Oni.İskan ve Şehircilik Entitüsü Yayını

labour within a region especially in relation to differentiation it may bring about in the socio-economic structure.

O.Tuna and N.Ekin's studies are concerned with migration and its problems from the point of view of the employment problem in Turkey²⁸. In the middle of the sixties and seventies the increase of emigration reached roughly 100.000 per year during 1968-72 to the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Netherland. Tuna and Ekin saw these movements as an alternative to the solution of the employment problem and the need to obtain hard currency. They also dealt with the problems of migrant workers arising from an adjustment to all institutional aspects of urban living and industrial work in a foreign country. The German industry was faced with many problems in the employment of foreign workers and their integration to the industrial society. Difficulties stemmed from differences in cultural background, education, skill of workers and attitudes of Germans to Turkish workers.

They also examined the institutions in Turkey and in Germany which provided some facilities for the integration of workers to the foreign country.

28- O.Tuna, N.Ekin - Study on the Demand and Supply of Labour in W.Germany and Turkey (F.Almanya ve Türkiye'nin Emek Arz ve Talebi Bakımından Tetkiki) Ist, 1966

O.Tuna, N.Ekin - Study on matters Concerned with Labour in Germany (F.Almanya'ya İşgücü Akımı ile ilgili Organlar ve Meseleleri) Ist, 1966

O.Tuna conducted research with the purpose of providing information about the causes of migration abroad and how migrant workers were employed in Turkey upon their return.²⁹

The East and Northeast Anatolian survey covered Erzurum-Gümüşhane-Trabzon-Giresun-Rize cities. Questionnaires were administered in totally five city centers, four towns and two villages. Questionnaires were composed of questions concerning unemployment in this region, the causes of migration abroad, the evaluation of of this movement and the employment problem of the return worker. He interviewed prominent people in villages towns and cities.

He states that in the north and northeast Anatolia unemployment was the main cause of emigration. The exhaustion of arable land, the practice of subdividing land evenly into economical small plots among all children was accelerated by the rapid increase in population. Employment opportunities in industry are very limited in this region. There is also disguised unemployment in agriculture. The problem of unemployment became serious through the rapid increase in the excess labor supply.

29- O.Tuna.A Study Concerning the labour Migration to Western Countries from East and Northeast Anatolia (Batı Memleketlerine İşgücü Akımı Yönünden Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Bölgelerinde Bir Araştırma) Sos.Siy.Kon.1966

The Reintegration of Returned Workers from abroad (Yurda Dönen İşçilerin Intibakı Sorunları) 1967, İst.

According to him, emigration appeared as a solution to internal migration but this event brought a new dimension to the nature of Turkish Industrial labour force. From this region unskilled workers went abroad side by side with skilled workers. The supply of skilled workers decreased in this region and in general in the Turkish economy.

He also examined the employment of the emigrated labour force returning to Turkey, and their commitment to society. He notes that the differences between the life styles of emigrants from this region and foreigners were quite clear. For those workers, there were contradictions between the conditions of being a worker and the way of life in an industrial society. Thus Tuna argues that they were faced with the problem of adopting to a foreign country with advanced industrial demands on work requirements, and that because they retained their traditional mode of life in the foreign country upon returning to home country they were faced with little readjustment problems.

Presently, since labour migration to European countries stopped because of changing market conditions, there has been an increase in the emigration of labour force from foreign country to Turkey. Thus problems of the return worker emerging in connection with new employment opportunities and readjustment of the workers and their children have a vital current interest. Scientists are considering the social aspects of this new phenomenon and the absorptive capacity of Turkey's economic structure in relation to a massive return of migrant workers.

A number of articles were published in periodicals related with external migration movement. (G.Kökdağ, 1966; Tuna, 1967; Dereli, 1967) There were also politicians concerned with the problems of migrant workers in foreign countries. (Ecevit, 1967; Pehlivanoglu, 1967)

These writers looked at the problems of labour in foreign countries from several points; some of them emphasized the social aspects of external migration; difficulties which arise out of living in a foreign country, such as learning the foreign language, education of children, housing problems, working conditions of female workers, their relations with Turkey. Some of them dealt with the employment procedure involved in entering a new job in a foreign country, accepting the work discipline of the factory, and absenteeism problems.

Emigration was studied from a different point of view by T.Dereli. The view points of employers about the causes of emigration was investigated. Employers explained the main causes of emigration and their own views of the effects of this movement in Turkish economy. The opportunities for employment in western countries attracted the Turkish workers, they said the wage differences between Turkey and these foreign countries was the other cause, according to them.

Except for Dereli's study, articles on this topic were based on observations and evaluations of their authors rather than on empirical data. 30.31.32.33.

- 30- G.Kökdağ - Problems of Turkish Workers in Foreign Countries (Dış Memleketlerde İşçilerimizle İlgili Meseleler) Sos.Siy.Kon. 1966.Cilt,17
- 31- O.Tuna - Foreign Workers in German Public Opinion and Through the Eyes of German Enterprise (Almanya'da Halk Efgarı, İşletmeler Gözü ile Yabancı İşçiler) Sos.Siy.Kon.1967
- 32- B.Ecevit - The Problems of Workers Abroad (Yurt Dışındaki İşçilerin Sorunları) Sos.Siy.Kon.1967
- 33- T.Dereli - The Behaviour of Turkish Employers Concerning the Labour Migration to External Countries (Türk İşverenlerinin Dış Ülkelere İşçi Akımı Karşısında Davranışları) 1967

AUTOMATION

There are some studies directed toward specific problems of automation. Recently the focus of sociological concern on white-collared workers had been either case studies or general descriptive studies. The important change in the character of labour force is the increasing proportion of employees in white-collar employment in Turkey. Administrative, technical and clerical staff constitute a large social category as a results of technological advancement.³⁴ White-collared workers are paid salaries by the month; not wages by the hour, day or week. White-collar workers in Turkey have an importance arising from the existence of bureaucratic tradition in Turkish society. Recently the large-scale support of formal education and of science and technology accompanies the development of bureaucratic administrative procedures. Despite its important place in the new profile of the society, information concerning the sociological characteristics of white-collar workers based upon empirical data is very little. The increase in the number of white-collared workers (people who work in offices) has attracted the attention of social policy experts and sociologists in Turkey. All of them interpret the white-collared workers as a

34- M.Gülmez - The Quantitative Evolution of Turkish State Employee (Türk Kamu Görevlilerinin Sayısal Evrimi), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, 1973, v.1, 3

reflection of a change in the level of technology and the immediate outcome of the new modern technology was the rise of a new educated class. This new managerial class, who has a growing importance in the new structure of the society, possess the technical and professional knowledge and skills. Their values and life-outlook differ considerably from the other groups of the society. Industry and education have shaken the traditional order of society and have substituted their own social hierarchy based on skill, profession and economic power.

In these studies this middle class seems to shape the future of modern society. A study of O.Tuna and N.Ekin is an example of this kind.³⁵ Their study is based on descriptive analysis of automation process in general. They are also concerned with the effects of the increasing employment of white-collar workers in western countries. They state that use of modern technology results in pervasive problems of automation at the administrative and technical level. In more industrialized societies, with the functional specialization of roles, social hierarchy is based on skill and profession in administrative units of organizations. In this sense they analyze the changing nature of labour force the largest proportion of which is employed in service industries of the advanced capitalist countries.

35- O.Tuna-N.Ekin - Automation and Social Problems (Otomasyon ve Sosyal Meseleleri) Ist, 1970

Tuna and Ekin had interest in issues related to unemployment as a consequence of automation adjustments to technological change, the alienation of workers, and the organization of non-manual workers. They imply that non-manual workers were less organized than manual workers in the earlier period of the 1950's.³⁶ Whereas non-manual workers who sell their labour were in the same conflict situation and in consequence were subject to pressures which caused them to take collective action. But some restrictions and conditions created this situation, i.e. non-manual workers were less organized. The necessary conditions included such factors as degree of political freedom and social class attitudes to trade-unions. The development of bureaucratic organization were not realized in the early period of industrialization of Turkey.

Economic pressures injected realism into the lives of non-manual workers and revealed that their social images as middle class were false ones. The most prevalent of these pressures has been inflation which has devalued the real incomes of these relatively fixed income employees. They established and extended trade-unions as the pressures on them increased; they understood that there was no other form of protection.

36- M.Kutal - The Legislation Framework of the Civil Servants' Unions and Their Problems in Turkey (Türkiye'de Memur Sendikacılığının Hukuki Çerçevesi ve Sorunları) İş Hukuku Kon. 1976, ist.

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The study of industrialization and automation process inevitably characterized the most advanced industrial nations. Whereas for Turkey automation and its concomitants appeared a very new phenomenon.³⁷ They stated that Turkey was at the beginning stage of technological advancement and was not faced with the problems accompanying automation. In recent studies, the rate of growth of this group rather than that of any other class including manual or blue-collar workers can be seen.³⁸ In 1955, while 13.3 percent of the active population was made up of wage earners, this rose to 18.8 in 1960, and to 27.6 in 1970.

In general, views concerning white-collared workers can be divided into two groups. The first is based on a Marxist approach and supports the thesis that the middle classes to which these employees also belong are becoming part of the social structure. Another approach which is directly opposed to Marxist views argues that this category has a specific position as a social class. Another view close to this one is that these new middle classes are not becoming proletarian; this category peculiar to the modern man is suffering from over-dependence and is thus reduced to anonymity and meaninglessness.³⁹ This view defended that a growing number of

37- O.Tuna - The New Problems in Social Politics Related to Technological Development (Teknolojik Gelişmenin Sosyal Siyasete Getirdiği Yeni Meseleler) Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt XVI

38- Ö.Bozkurt - A Sociological Approach to Public Bureaucracy and Some Conclusions, TODAİE Publications, 1980

39- Marcuse's Analysis Quoted from J.Eldridge, Sociology of Industrial Life. London, 1971

white-collared wage earners constitute the new middle class.

In all these views it is generally accepted that the organizational outcomes of the application of modern technology in the work and responsibility of management is greatly increased in proportion to that of the workers.^{40,41} Studies of O.Bozkurt on this topic were aimed to examine the sociological profile of a group formed by state employees in Turkey. He analyzed some characteristics of state employees from the point of view that being a state employee was a source of and a symbol for upward vertical mobility. Thus he was especially interested in how life as a state employee was conceived of and perceived by the employees their expectations from their professions, their levels of job satisfaction and their tendencies to give up their profession.

The percentage of Turkish state employees in respect to all wage earners is quite high. (In 1970, 15, 72 % of the 4.712.619 wage earners 962, 537 were state employees.)According to him the basic sociological profile of the state employees in Turkey may be described as follows; There is a young group of administrative population in Turkey. State employees constitute a group which has a higher level of education compared to the total population. A large part of this group comes from cities. When state employees

40- R.Bendix - Work and Authority in Industry

41- J.A.Merkle - The Tylor Strategy. Organizational Innovation and Class Structure. Berkeley Jou.of. Sociology, Volume XII

are analyzed from the point of view of social background, they are mostly children of state employees and that some come from traditional sections of the society. The mobility of state employees among institutions goes on throughout their professional lives. State employees are evaluating negatively the general conditions of their profession. It is observed that the level of job satisfaction is very high at the bottom and at the top of bureaucratic hierarchy. The tendency to leave the profession is quite strong among state employees. It thus becomes clear that there is generally a low level of job satisfaction and a strong tendency to leave the profession in the Turkish public administration.

It is possible to conclude from the findings of Bozkurt that the state employee's evaluation of his position in the hierarchical social strata is related to educational level, place of origin and age. Evaluating themselves from the point of view of class structure most of the state employees classified themselves as "middle class". It has been discovered that ideological social position evaluations were based not so much on material conditions as on variables which were sources of status such as level of education and work status as an employee.

According to Bozkurt public employees considered their interest to be similar to those of the middle class. All wage earners constitute one social category. These conclusions reflect the non-Marxist approach in the study of white collar workers of Bozkurt.

Nowadays non-manual workers are difficult to identify as a different category. Especially for state employees, their distinguishing characteristics such as working mentally, clothing in clean clothes, working in offices, living in exclusive urban areas and receiving relatively high incomes have all been altered in many cases by the impact of machinery and the changing demand for different types of skills. The spread of mechanization to non-manual employment has reduced the social distance between that and manual work.

STUDIES ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

This group of studies deal with various aspects of industrial relations. Some of them include analysis of structure functioning and effects of trade-unions and collective bargaining as a social institution. Others are concerned with the legislative aspects of industrial relations system.

Especially after 1960 there has been a substantial increase in the volume and the quality of this kind of work. The compulsory arbitration system was changed by the Constitution of 1961 which stressed democratic solving of employee-employer disputes. The right to make collective agreements and initiate and conduct a strike or lockout action have been stated in the new Collective Agreement, Strikes and Lockout Act of 1963.

Within this new industrial relations system, functions and structures of trade-unions, characteristics of collective bargaining and its effect on productivity, wage level, development of labour organizations, nature of employee-employer relationship were the main issues to study.

The majority of scientists in this sphere were economists, social policy experts and lawyers. Because of the absence of sociologists specializing in this field, many issues concerning development of industrial relations system were studied by social scientists from various disciplines. Each of them had been interested in labour problems from his special point of view but some also included a sociological perspective in their investigations.

Examples of people who made contributions to this type of studies are Fındıkoğlu (1951) Tuna (1951, 1956, 1961, 1962, 1968, 1969); Saymen (1953, 1954, 1955_a, 1962); Tunçomağ (1971, 1971_a, 1971_b); Oğuzman (1954, 1961, 1981); Talas (1964, 1967); M.Kutal (1965, 1968); G.Kutal (1968); Dereli (1965, 1968, 1968_a, 1968_b); Işıklı (1967, 1972); Ünsal; Ekin (1960, 1970, 1971); Zaim (1960, 1962).

Tuna tried to evaluate the right to strike in his earlier studies without regard to its effects on the national economy, trade-unions and employers. He studied the practices of strike between 1946-1950.⁴² He states that after the trade-union Act of 1947 occupational organizations could be formed freely for the purpose of protecting and representing the common interests of their members. But employees organizations could not reach a relatively strong position because of the limitations on their activities including strikes and political action.

He saw trade-unionism and strike action as a social as well as an industrial phenomenon.⁴³ The phenomenon of strike action must be accepted, according to Tuna, as an inevitable consequence of the existing economic system and a permanent feature of democratic countries. He also evaluated strike action as an alternative to industrial disputes. Tuna stressed the point that the right to strike provides a well-established union movement in Turkey.

42- O.Tuna - The Right to Strike and its Place and Importance in Industrial Disputes (Grev Hakkı, İş Mücadelelerinde Yeri ve Önemi) ist.195

43- O.Tuna - The Right to Strike and The Main Problems (Grev Hakkı ve Meseleleri) ist. 1962.

A powerful trade-unionism is seen as an institution which performs socially necessary and industrially useful functions for social and economic development in Turkey.

Furthermore collective bargaining and its social and economic effects have been studied by him.⁴⁴ Tuna analyzed in detail 907 collective bargaining practices which took place between 1963-1967. The research sample was selected from a total of 3634 collective bargaining cases in the lists of the Ministry of labour. These 907 collective bargaining cases had taken place in 454 enterprises and questionnaires were administered to the managers of these enterprises. Union leaders (139 persons) and workers (790 persons) were also interviewed at the enterprises.

Research findings were gathered into two groups. The first was related with the structure of trade-unions in Turkey and their views about the system of collective bargaining. Tuna states that the nucleus of collective bargaining is rooted at the local level in Turkey. Industry-wide bargaining which has been so prevalent in Western Europe could not materialize in Turkey for various reasons. The level of collective bargaining is to be determined by the presence of certain economic and social factors and each type of bargaining (Industrywide, regional and local) can be utilized

44- O.Tuna - A Study on the Social and Economic Effects of Collective Agreements in Turkey (Türkiye'de Toplu İş Sözleşmelerinin İktisadi ve Sosyal Tesisleri Hakkında Bir Araştırma) İst. 1976, İş Hukuku Konferansları

depending on the specific circumstances. Each type of agreement is likely to lead to sound economic (employment, wages) as well as social consequences for the Turkish industrial relations system.

The second group included the general evaluation of the collective bargaining system. In the system which existed before 1963, worker representatives would bring up the grievances which passed through stages of conciliation until a definite conciliation was reached. This was criticized and changed in two acts, No 274 and No 275. The conciliation process was far from being effectual in Turkey. Nevertheless conciliation boards performed certain functions; this meant that a large part of collective bargaining took place within these boards rather than between the parties themselves. The new collective agreement process let bargaining take place directly between trade-unions and managers.

The most important impact of collective bargaining according to Tuna was increasing the minimum level of pay. Providing the workers with employment security through collective agreements has been the major goal of Turkish unions. Collective bargaining is treated as an alternative to strikes as a means of settling disputes.⁴⁵ Tuna states that as the industrialization process developed more and more, unions and workers improved their chances of using their rights, and organized labour adjusted itself to the system within a short time. In that extent collective bargaining enhancing and enhanced by organized labour depends on the mutual bargaining power.

45- O.Tuna - Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lock out Practices in Turkey, 1969, 1st.

There are other studies of Tuna concerning the evaluation of trade-unions and social problems of economic development. Tuna^{46,47,48} comments in one or his articles that the unskilled labourers do not have class consciousness. They constantly move between different jobs in different sectors of the economy. Thus this may be a good reason why a majority of the Turkish workers have not been able to identify themselves with a common cause and join unions. The unions and the workers have often expected improvements to come from external sources rather than through their own efforts. Tuna states that Turkish unionism has been initiated "artificially" by the government; that is the unions have been organized from the top by the top government officials. The paternalistic attitude of the government has contributed much to the dependency of workers on the government. Tuna pointed out the important place of industrial democracy for Turkish industrial relations in many of his articles. He made a different contribution by using the social change framework to analyze a particular period (before 1963 and after) of industrial relations in some of his studies. Despite the fact that he was a social policy expert, his method of understanding tends to focus on social changes in the development process. By careful participant observation, comparative

- 46- O.Tuna - Unionism in Turkey and Our Unions (Türkiye'de Sendikacılık ve Sendikalarımız) Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt XX, p.255
- 47- O.Tuna - Evolution of Trade-Union, Social Problems of Economic Development. Ec.and Social Studies, Conference Board Ist, 1963
- 48- O.Tuna - Social Democracy Movements in Turkish Unionism (Türk Sendikacılığında Sosyal Demokrasi Hareketi) Sos.Siy.Kon.XXIV.p.

model and statistical analysis he described and explained causes and their linkage to particular effects of social institutions in the industrial sphere.

Tuna's contributions played an important role in the development of industrial sociology. Tuna and Findıkoğlu established a pattern of research in sociology of industry in Istanbul University, a concern that is still being followed in that sphere today.

Tuna also supported the establishment of the Institute of Work in the same University, which aimed to develop some courses in social policy. He also worked with G.Kessler to give lectures in industrial relations for the administrative personnel of Sümerbank.

Trade-unions and their roles, strike action and collective bargaining processes are interpreted by Tuna from a certain theoretical perspective. Within an organic unity, this paradigm assumes a basic consensus in societies which can only be temporarily broken. Changes have no impact on the structure of industrial relations. When unionism is interpreted in this way the essential activities of unions are concentrated only at challenging economic objectives. Separating conflict from trade-unionism, collective bargaining can be seen in an entirely different context i.e, as an alternative to strike as a means of settling disputes, because conflict can only exist as an aberration from the norm of consensus. Strike action is treated as a remedial phenomenon. If the causes of strikes are treated then the norm must prevail.

This static view of reality has provided the conceptual approach for the studies in industrial relations.⁴⁹ The studies concerning the legal aspects of the structure of collective bargaining, the general evolution of conciliation and arbitration in Turkish law, the legal aspects of strikes and lock-out practices, the historical development of labour laws were conducted within this dominant paradigm. The general trend can be seen in these studies; The state has the duty of regulating industrial relations system to keep consensus in the industrial sphere. Social peace is the main object of governments and this was realized through legislation. The majority of books and articles were written in this line. This category represents the most common approach to the study of industrial relations system in Turkey.

49- F.Saymen - Turkish Labour Law (Türk İş Hukuku) Ist, 1954

T. Esener - Labour Law (İş Hukuku) A.Ü. Hukuk Fak. Yay.

K. Tunçomağ - Turkish Labour Law (Türk İş Hukuku) Ist, 1971

K. Tunçomağ - The New Unions Act from the point of view of Constitutional Law (Anayasa Hukuku Açısından Yeni Sendikalar Kanunu) Ist. 1971

K. Oğuzman - Legal Aspects of Strike and Lock-Out; Systematic Analysis of Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lock-Out Law (Hukuki Yönden Grev ve Lokavt, Toplu İş Sözleşmesi) 1964, Ist

K. Oğuzman - The New Regulations on the Employer-Employee Relations (İşçi-İşveren İlişkilerinde Yeni Düzenlemeler) İzmir, II. İktisat Kong. 1951

The studies of T.Dereli also dealt with the development of Turkish trade-unionism.⁵⁰ He studied the structure of trade-unions, their activities, leadership position in Turkish trade-unions and their position in collective bargaining procedure. He saw trade-unions as a dynamic social movement; not as a work place phenomenon concerned only with wages, hours, and conditions of work.

Dereli focused attention on the centralization trend in Turkish trade-unionism. He pointed out that Türk-İş decided to centralize the structure of Turkish trade-unionism, which had remained effective only at local levels especially after the 1961 Constitution.⁵¹ He also states the "union inflation" in Turkish practice, that is, numerous unions competing each other at various levels existed side by side, and this impaired the unity and strength of Turkish trade-unionism.

Z.Fındıkoğlu in his earlier study is concerned with the structure and functions of trade-unions.⁵² He studied 28 trade-unions in the region of Izmir by using statistical information.

50- T.Dereli - The Development of Turkish Trade-Unionism, Ist. 1966

51- T.Dereli - The Centralization Trend and its Consequences in Turkish Unionism (Türk Sendikacılığında Merkezileşme Temayülü ve Muhtemel Neticeleri) Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt.XVII, 1966

52- Z.Fındıkoğlu - Some Observations about Trade-Unions in Izmir (Izmir İşçi Sendikaları Hakkında Bazı Müşahadeler) Sos.Siy. Kon.Cilt, 4. 1951

which was obtained from the Regional Labour Office. With the purpose of providing information about some problems of unions, he interviewed the labour leaders of 28 trade-unions.

He is concerned especially with political functions of unions and he stated that it was not essential for unions to engage in politics and to concentrate their efforts on influencing certain political parties. Izmir unions generally supported the supraparty policy, and he saw this policy as an ideal philosophy for trade-unions. According to him unions must concern only with negotiating contracts and the protection of workers and be involved in improving conditions of work and obtaining high wages.

He also emphasized the training of workers at technical, social and cultural levels by the unions. The training activities therefore might give a greater meaning to the role of a union leader depending on his intellectual ability. The unions would have a technical staff in which professionals such as lawyers and economists ought to be employed. They are employed only in two trade-unions in Izmir. Membership participation seemed to be of vital importance for unions but in reality membership participation was at a lower level in these 28 unions.

Fındıkoğlu studied union functions within the conventional static approach and saw that trade-unionism was an industrial phenomenon. Its functions were not examined in the context of their whole environments with the primary economic, social and political forces in society arising as a consequence of the interaction between them.

The notion of union as an industrial phenomenon is to treat trade-unionism like any other organization. Unions are concerned only with wages, hours, conditions and training of workers. Trade-unions can acquire aims which are legitimate within the context of the existing order. They have limited aims, and these are pursued through institutionalized practices. This conflict situation in the economy creates the need for employees to combine to protect themselves. Trade-unions have structural determinants in general for him.

Dereli argues that unions have become one of the significant power sources in Turkey in a relatively short time span. There has been a phenomenal growth in the number of unions in Turkey after 1960. Whereas the present role of unions are limited because of the lack of a well-established union movement in Turkey. There can be a causal relationship between the lack of skilled labour and the lag in the development of a well-established union movement.

He saw Turkish trade-unionism as a business oriented organization as in the United States, rather than being an organization which is conscious of national economy goals along with its collective bargaining function. He also notes that there was another pressure group movement aimed at furthering the narrow class interest which was applied to Disk unions.

Dereli is also concerned with the leadership position of Turkish unions which have been occupied mostly by persons of

blue-collar origin.⁵³ The lack of skilled labour had an impact on union leaders who were mostly intellectuals. After 1963 when white-collared workers were entitled to form and join unions, intellectuals have not aspired to leadership positions of unions.

According to Dereli, during the pre 1963 period when most union officials were not professional leaders paid by their unions, there was a considerable amount of democracy in Turkish unions. Through the 1960's such oligarchical tendencies have been more prevalent in unions. This situation affected negatively the membership participation and interest in union administration. Union democracy has been concerned with the structural forms of trade unions. Compared with national-industrial unions, federations seemed to have a more flexible and democratic structure and possessed a greater degree of autonomy as opposed to the rather dependent position of the branches of the former. But some of these national-industrial unions have certain kind of democratic structure, thus if certain measures are taken national-industrial unions can be made more democratic than the "federations" in the Turkish legal system.

Trade-unions were generally an accepted phenomenon in Turkey after the 1960's. The history of trade-unionism which has been repeated in a succession of books and articles was written by soci.

53- T.Dereli - The role of Intellectuals on Labour Movements in Developing Countries (Gelişmekte olan Ülkelerin İşçi Hareketlerinde Entellektüellerin Rolü) Sos.Siy.Kon.Cilt XXI

policy experts. (Kutal (1965), G.Kutal (1977), Talas (1967), Tuna (1950), Işıklı (1972).) They all have generalized about the effects of the 1961 Constitution on the development of Turkish trade-unionism. After that time trade-unions became stronger because they were more extensively organized. The protective function of unions meant more than simply the economic demands; the essential activities of unions were concentrated on politics after the 1960's.

The experts all argued that unions have substantial positive effect on productivity, wages and employment. Another effect of Unionism as Tuna suggested earlier (1950) is that, it produces a different kind of man; the worker under a union contract is freed from the danger of arbitrary treatment by the employer and it increases the worker's sense of participation in economic and political affairs which can influence events not only in factory but in society at large. It also opens up to industrial workers additional possibilities of class consciousness. Among these studies Işıklı's work had an importance from the point of view of industrial sociology.⁵⁴ He is concerned with trade-unions as social institutions which are in the transition phase of being integrated into society. He tried to analyze unions by using the macro approach.

Işıklı examined the political function of unions in Turkey by comparing them with American and European labour movements.

54- A.Işıklı - Unionism and Politics (Sendikacılık ve Siyaset)
A.Ü.Siy.Bil.Yay.334, 1972.

He states that the function and organization of labour organizations in Turkey have been influenced by the American trade-union movement. During the sixties, Turkish Confederation of Labour's (Türk-İş) supraparty policy reflects this influence. In the seventies another confederation of labour (Disk) concentrated its efforts on militant policies based on the ideology of opposition and challenge to management, appealing to the solidarity of all workers.

According to Işıklı unions necessarily shifted their activities to other areas such as exerting influence through politics. In this way unions were able to exert political influence and, could be influenced by political parties.

Işıklı points out that political action for the majority of unions in Turkey has been directed towards immediate goals involving working-class welfare. But some unions have radical transition policies for the existing institutional structure in society.

The integration of unions into society has proceeded in capitalistic countries, like in England and in the United States. The essential meaning of this integration is that unions carry no revolutionary significance for the established political order. In this meaning the integration of unions into society has not been realized in Turkey. Especially after the seventies the unions had to fight first for their legal existence and then for certain rights. There are other groups of studies concerning the same subject depending upon another theoretical approach (Sülker, 1968; Sencer 1968; Erginsoy 1968, 1971; Onsal 1963). These studies focus mainly

on the historical development of the labouring class in Turkey. These studies include detailed surveys of the labour movement with emphasis on the growth of labour organizations and their activities and the attitude of governments toward them.

The theoretical approach of these studies sees industrial relations occurring within a dynamic conflict situation which is permanent so long as the structure of the society remains unaltered. This means that it is subject to pressures both from within and without which can lead to social change. Within this framework this approach presents an alternative to the static, conventional approach. Thus, since these studies are based on the view that reality is dynamic, this inevitably affects the interpretation of labour problems and industrial relations.

In this group of studies the conflict seems to arise out of the primary market relationship. Sellers of labour-power enter the labour market in order to subsist; so the price of labour is a vital subsistence matter for them. On the other hand, the buyers enter the market because they own the means of production and the price is an important cost factor which has to be minimized in order to make production profitable. These two interests are irreconcilable. The conflict described above is caused by the structure of the society which is in turn derived from the social relations, to the means of production.

In Sencer's⁵⁵ and Sülker's⁵⁶ studies, trade-unionism is seen as a social phenomenon. They challenge the property relations and all the prerogatives which go with the ownership of the means of production; not simply the exercise of control over labour power in industry. Trade-unions thus are not confined to the work place. The conflict situation creates the need for employees to combine to protect themselves. The essential activities of unions for Sencer and Sülker must not be confined to economic demands; trade-unionism is interpreted as a dynamic social movement. Ünal and Erginsoy also refer to the same argument. In these studies strike action is seen as an index of conflict and is a permanent feature of a capitalistic system. Strike action is treated not as a method for settling disputes between employers and employees but as an institutionalized form of conflict. Collective bargaining can never be abstracted from the power struggle in society.

In Sülker's studies collective bargaining system was criticized. The labour law related to collective bargaining is restrictive and sometimes oppressive. The involvement of government

55- O.Sencer - The Birth and Structure of Labouring Class in Turkey (Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfının Doğuşu ve Yapısı) Habera Kit., Ist.1968

56- K.Sülker - Labour Movement in Turkey in 100 Questions (100 Soruda Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketleri) Gerçek Yay., 1968

in industrial relations is seen as a means to contain trade-unions. The ideology of the industrial relations system in Turkey has a close relationship to the ideology of capitalism. Because of the restrictions and limitations in this system, unions become a part of the process of transformation of capitalism, and governments represent the interests which want to preserve the system.

One can see the effects of adopting this approach rather than another in analyzing industrial relations. Within this framework industrial relations is generated and perpetuated by the existence of contradictions at every level and in all its aspects. Relatively little work has been done in this direction of the use of such a model in Turkey.

THE STUDY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

The study of the industrialization process is the other area within Industrial Sociology in Turkey in which research activities began to take place during the sixties. After this period (1950-1960) the rapid industrialization occurring in Turkey provides a unique opportunity for the study of social change generally and specifically of the effects of the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economic base.

Studies related with the social aspects of development have been conducted by Fındıkoğlu, (1962), Kurtkan (1963,1969); Tuna (1960), Ergil (1975), Arı (1978,1980) who made major contributions to the development of industrial sociology.

The work of G.Kessler in Karabük⁵⁷ concerned with the working conditions of miners has influenced directly a number of other sociologists whose work is in the same region. Fındıkoğlu studied the reason of population influx both before and after the establishment of Iron and Steel Works in Karabük⁵⁸. Iron and Steel Works was the concentration point in his research. He was concerned with the impact of Iron and Steel Works on the changing economic and social structure of Karabük. He attempted to show the shift

57- G.Kessler - The Working Conditions in Zonguldak and Karabük Mining (Zonguldak ve Karabük Madenlerinde Çalışma Şartları) İkt.Fak.Der.1948

58- Z.F. Fındıkoğlu - "Karabük" Fak.Mat.1962

in the economic base of Karabük from agriculture to manufacture after the establishment of this enterprise in 1937. Due to migration from villages and small towns to Karabük after that time the population vastly increased. Social change and social differentiation which accompanied industrialization resulted in pervasive problems of social integration (integration to society and integration to industrial work) in Karabük. Workers of the Iron and Steel Works contemplated spending a major part of their life shifting between agriculture and industry. The majority of them were not a permanent member of the enterprise. They were attracted to Iron and Steel works largely because of the opportunities provided, because of the high wages, because of the availability of housing and aspirations for a higher standard of living. According to Kessler's findings, like in many studies concerning labour problems, the most important aspect of the labour force here is characterized as being semi-committed. The managers of these enterprises were also mobile, remaining in factory for only a few years. This situation can be observed especially for technicians and supervisors and some skilled workers.

In his study, the Iron and Steel works was seen as a social institution which performed the function of achieving a settled industrial work force with the paternalistic and managerial policies of State Enterprises. Financing the training of employees, sharing the responsibility for educational and technical training, providing housing and educational facilities were some of their functions.

About the same industrial region another study supplied information from a different point of view.⁵⁹ A.Kurtkan was interested in the same industrial organizations (D.Ç.İ) which were vitally important for the small-scale industries concentrated in the production of iron. The problems of small-scale industries examined related to such matters as labour instability, productivity and human relations. She also analyzed the social conditions in the Iron and Steel Works and their impact on productivity.

Despite the vast production of Iron and Steel works the small-scale manufacturing still exists in Karabük. She pointed out the relative weight of small-scale industries in spite of some disadvantages such as the high rate of labour turnover, difficulties in obtaining credits, the low level of productivity, the absence of skilled workers, there spread in Karabük the use of⁶⁰ small machines and small engines in the manufacturing process. Within the industrialization process the general trend which increased the rate of transformation of small manufacture into industrial establishment was not realized in Karabük.

The same argument took place in another research of hers which was done in Adapazarı in 1965, Between 1950-1960,

59- A.Kurtkan - The Working Institution of Karabük and Social Conditions (Karabük'ün Çalışma Müessesesi ve Sosyal Şartları) İ.Ü.İkt.Fak.Yay.İst, 1963

60- A.Kurtkan - The Economic and Sociological Problems related to the Industrialization of Adapazarı (Adapazarı'nın Sanayileşmesi ile İlgili İktisadi ve Sosyolojik Meseleler) İst, 1969

industrialization began with the establishment of some large scale industries. Although Adapazari is characterized by small-scale industries, a majority of opportunities for employment were afforded by small-scale industry. In the early stages of industrialization in Adapazari the growth of industrial development from a small size to a more satisfactory dimension was slow.

In the Adapazari survey lists of small-scale enterprises employing less than ten workers (5.5 workers) were obtained from the lists of Industry and Commerce Chamber. Small-scale industries were 77.1 percent of the total of 174 enterprises according to the records of 1965. There were only 4 large-scale enterprises. Sampling was done from these two types of enterprises constituting a purposive sub-sample of a larger sample selected for an economic survey. 4 large-scale and 25 small-scale enterprises were randomly covered: Questions were concerned with the type of the firm, the problems of the enterprise related to financial matters (credit, interest), transportation difficulties, provision of raw materials, absenteeism and instabilities of workers. Attitudes of employers to the trade-unions were also asked.

Survey results indicated that the contribution of small-scale industry to employment was great. Also its contribution to production was important. This small-scale structure of economy remained undisturbed by the industrialization process. Especially when affecting deeply rooted institutions, social change takes place slowly. The transition from independent artisans and craftsmen to proletariat where the working man was permanently dispossessed of capital was not complete.

Small-scale industries did not reach the optimum size and they spreaded in Adapazarı using small machines and engines and employing a certain number of workers.

Current articles of O.Arı⁶¹ on the same subject, "Gelişen Ölkelerde Küçük Sanayi ve Sanayi İşçileri İlişkisi," was directed toward analyzing specific problems of small-scale and large-scale industries.

In these studies some general evaluations can be observed. In some industries such as steel-works, petroleum, some mining, automobile et.c.production had to be on a large scale. But in various other sectors, production was still confined traditionally. The small entrepreneur is common for example in wine, oil and food industries. Labour oriented industries are more common than capital intensive industries. Workers tend to concentrate at the large labour market where employment opportunities are numerous and diverse. Thus labour mobility among large-scale and small-scale industries is at a high level. Workers are attracted by the high wage of large industries. The role of skilled workers is different in these two industries. The division of labour and skill is limited in small-scale industry; consequently the need for skilled

61- O.Arı - The Relations of Small-Scale and Industrial Workers in Developing Countries (Gelişen Ölkelerde Küçük Sanayii ve Sanayii İşçileri İlişkisi) B.Ö.Sos.Bil.Der.3-1975

workers is relatively low. But modern industry requires more skilled and more stable workers. These factors also affect the productivity of small-scale industries. Transition to modern industry, a break from the traditional socio-economic institutions of the past can provide the integration and commitment of workers to the industrial way of life.

Arı also studied some problems of small-scale industries in his work which was published under the title of "Orta Büyüklükte bir Sanayi İş Yerinde Optimum Büyüklük Araştırması"⁶².

Small-scale enterprises employed less than ten workers and used the less, mechanical power than the large scale enterprises according to one of the definitions of Chambers of Trade and Industry in Turkey. In terms of international comparisons, this figure is below the optimum size of industries.

Arı conducted research in a textile factory in Istanbul which coincided with the above definition of the optimum size of a work place. He observed that limitations of credit opportunities and exporting, prevented textile factories to reach optimum size. Difficulties which were faced in the provision of raw material and market conditions also negatively effected the size of the factory.

62- R.Bademli - Small Scale Production in Turkey (Türkiye'de Küçük Üretim, Sanayide Küçük Üretim, Toplumsal ve Mekansal Boyutları) 1978, Ank.

Although there has been an increase in the amount of credit given, the contribution of small-scale industry to the economy may still remain limited. As for its contribution to production, it will become meaningful only if it is related to large-scale manufacturing.

Another empirical investigation into small-scale industries is the work of G.Ergil (1975). She dealt with the integration problems of artisans and the small manufacturer in the changing structure of economy. She tried to show some traditional occupations and workshops which continued to survive in society. Industrial technology results in the breakdown of traditional occupations in general but some of them did not disappear like in India and Japan. The general trend concerning the changing of small manufacturers and artisans into proletariat or capitalistic class was not realized in Turkey.⁶³ Small manufacturers continued to exist side by side with large-scale industry. The origin of the factory system in Turkey was not based on the capital investments of small-scale manufacturing. Because of the market conditions of Turkey the development of small-scale industry at large was not seen.

63- R.Bademli - Türkiye'de Küçük Üretim. p.24, 26

CHAPTER III

The various topics of the selected studies in my thesis also took place in the Five Year Plans as problems of the economic development of Turkey. The First and Second year Plans, (1963-67) and (1968-1972), reflect the considerable effort which has been going on in recent years to transform a predominantly agricultural economy into a modern industrial society based on manufacturing industries.

The philosophy underlying these endeavors is rooted in Atatürk's revolution which assigned a leading role to the state to achieve these goals by establishing new industries in the form of State Economic Enterprises.⁶⁴ After the 1940's tendencies towards a more liberal economic system have become stronger and private industry has been developing rapidly since the Etatist system has been limited. Links with the West has been increasing after the 1950's. The association with European economy, the predominantly Western orientation of Turkish trade, the increasing adoption of Western politics, economy and techniques provided a new period.⁶⁵ This new

64- Osman Okyar - "The Concept of Etatism". The Economic Journal V.70, March, 1965

65- O.Celal Sarç - The Development Strategies Since 1923 (1923'den bu yana Kalkınma Stratejileri) 2.izmir ikt.Kon., 1981

period was a reaction to Republican Party's philosophy of state intervention.

The detrimental effects on the economy of a rapidly growing population from 18,8 million in 1945 (the increase accelerated from 2,2 percent in 1945 to 2,9 percent in 1955-60) to 31 million in 1965 began to be recognized increasingly during the period of the First Plan.⁶⁶ Active population by sector in 1961 is as follows; in agriculture, 9 800 000; in industry, 118000, in the service sector 1 157 000. Industrial labour force was relatively small (12 percent) in this period.⁶⁷

The urban population has been increasing faster, about 30 percent of the total population in 1965, compared with 18,5 percent in 1950. This migration was an important shift in employment. As Turkey moved toward industrialization it was expected that some part of the rural labour-force would be pushed or pulled towards the growing industrial cities. Urban population increased but the ties with the village and the land remained strong. The development of the Turkish labour-force which accepted the discipline of factory work and the conditions of urban living was much slower than the initial recruitment of enough workers to the cities for employment opportunities. Unemployment has remained

66- The Second Five Year Development Plan (2. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1968-72, D.P.T.Yay.P.47-52)

67- First Five Year Development Plan (1963-67) Ank. 1963, p.398

heavy in the First Plan. About 9.5 percent of an estimated urban labour force of 4.2 million was unemployed in 1967.

Though the industrial labour force increased by a mass rural-urban movement, the problems of migratory agricultural workers was concentrated on industrial and urban employment. The level of skills in the Turkish labour force therefore was low. During the 1963-67 period 1.258.000 workers were unskilled, 657.000 workers were skilled in the service and industry sector.⁶⁸ The shortage of skilled labour has been recognized as an important problem to maintain the industrialization process. Educational institutions were considered to be the major source of supply for skilled labour. In addition to educational institutions, the potentialities of training in industry was another source of supply for the labour force.⁶⁹ Various on-the-job training programs were coordinated and State Economic Enterprises were designated for the training of personnel on a large scale for this aim.

The First Five Year Development Plan (1963-67) accorded the main emphasis to manufacturing and industry. As a result, the relative importance of agriculture has declined steadily (The average yearly growth of agricultural output between 1948 to 1968 was 2,8 percent), the reason for low priority to agriculture stems from the tendency to equate industrialization with modernization.

68- First Year Development Plan-Ank, 1963, p.399

69- First Five Year Development Plan, p.415

Despite the fact that industrial development was a major goal in Turkey economic planning, the great majority of the working population was still in agriculture (in 1967 there were 9.9 million working population in agriculture, and 3.8 million working population in non-agricultural sectors.)⁷⁰

Among the socio-economic processes which are associated with the industrialization efforts is the growth of urbanization and the gradual migration of rural persons into urban areas for the period covered by all the Five Year Development Plans. Urbanization was interpreted as indicative of rapid change in the structure of society from agricultural occupations transferring to industrial and service occupations.

The amount of labour organizations and their members for the period covered by the First Five Year Development Plan has been increased (in 1967 the number of workers as members of unions and federations is around 700.000). But there was no law organizing work conditions in agriculture and 1/6 of the workers employed outside of agriculture were members of unions. Strikes and collective agreements concluded since the beginning of the enforcement of laws 274 and 275 up to the end of 1967 were as follows; There were 3916 collective agreements covering 10609 places of work 6490 of which belonged to the private sector and

70- Second Five Year Development Plan (2. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı) p.129

4119 to the public sector.⁷¹ The statements in the First Five Year Plan imply that the impact of labour unions and their activities (strikes, collective bargaining) on the well-established industrial relations atmosphere were important. Unions exerted their bargaining power to achieve an adequate standard of living for members, and this was appropriate for the First Plan strategy which aimed to attain an adequate standard of living for the people and a fair distribution of income.⁷² Trade-unions were seen as necessary and useful institutions in the modernization processes of Turkey.

The First Five Year Development Plan brought a new concept of development, which was to provide as large a proportion of the population as possible with higher standards of living and with social security. The creation of wide employment opportunities, social mobility and social justice were the main objectives.

The nature of the problems were the same in the Second Five Year Plan. The problem of structural changes in the economy from the traditional, agricultural base towards the industrial remained the same. The human factor was seen as a great potential reservoir or a major impediment towards national progress, in the Second Five Year Plan.

71- 2 Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı p.140

72- 2 Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı p.138-139

Employment was still a most important problem to solve. About 9,5 percent of an estimated urban labour force of 4,2 million was unemployed in 1967. The disguised unemployment was not added to this figure. (In 1972, 113.000).⁷³

The magnitude corresponding to open and disguised unemployment in the Turkish economy is around one million for the period covered by the Second Five Year Development Plan. Therefore the First as well as the Second Five Year Plans both favor labour intensive techniques. The statements in First and Second Plan implied that with a rapidly increasing population, technological change with its labour saving bias is an undesirable factor with regard to the solution of the unemployment problem. The main problem is to utilize labour in the agricultural sector. But both the First and the Second Plans seemed to project choosing investments which in a long term perspective called for large-scale use of advanced technology and encouragement of technical possibilities and progress. This contradiction would seem to be an expression of the actual contradiction that exists in the relationships of Turkey with the world market.

Shortage of skilled labour has been recognized as an important obstacle for rapid industrialization (in 1972, unskilled labour constituted about 40 percent of the total labour force). Migration abroad during the Second Plan also affected these

73- 2. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, p.128-133

shortages (in 1964, 87 percent of workers who migrated abroad were skilled workers.⁷⁴

In the same period internal migration has been increased (in 1965 from 880 000 to 2.8 million in 1970-75). The effect of migration on urbanization reached 63 percent in the 1970's.

The increase in the rate of urban population was expected to reach 6-7 percent during the 1968-72 period (in 1965 this rate was 5.2 percent.) Among the effects of industry on Turkish society one of the most remarkable results is the change which may be observed in the way of life of the migratory worker. Traditional and modern values coexist and these appear to be derived from the character and concomitant demands of industrial technology. In a high rate of social and geographical mobility metropolitan areas exist as the basis of industrial life and the proliferation of industrial township was another immediate effect of the industrialization process in Turkey. In this sense the urbanization process was seen as the indicative of social development in society in the Second Five Year Plan. A vast range of problems and needs created by mass migration movements were stated in the Second Five Year Plan. The attainment of the employment objective was followed by the objective of raising the general standard of living. In order to prevent rapid industrialization the Second Plan was aimed to attain balanced interregional development. The Second Plan

indicated that migration movements widen the great differences existing between the developed and under-developed regions and the objective of planned development was to reduce these inequalities between regions.⁷⁵ For this aim industries were planned to be scattered not only in urban centers but also in rural areas. Emigration was evaluated as a solution to the unemployment problem in Turkey in the Second Five Year Plan. During 1967 and 1972, emigration abroad was expected to reach 150.000 workers and the majority of migrant workers were skilled. This view was in accordance with the assumption that migration relieved unemployment and decreased social tension generated by the combination of high unemployment and rapid urbanization. The disadvantages of migration for sending-countries related to the skilled elements were stated in the Second Five Year Plan. Training sufficient numbers of high level scientific and technical personnel required by Turkey's development was an important objective of the Plan. Because of this, a close relationship was aimed between manpower, education and employment; priority was given to raising the educational level of society and to training people to suit the particular requirements and conditions of Turkey.⁷⁶ In the Second Five Year Development Plan the views concerning the labour problems seem to be the same; the increase in the level of real wages, improving the conditions of work, providing social security for the majority

75- 2.Bes Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, p.264-269

76- 2.Bes Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, p.146

of workers. Their technical and cultural training has also been projected in the Second Five Year Plan. In order to solve the problems in the employee employer relations and to create the atmosphere of social peace in industrial relations the workers participation in union and administrative level was seen as a necessary condition. The unionization of state employees which were regulated by the 1965 law (the Union Act of State Employees) was implied in the Second Plan.

In The Third Year Development Plan some measures were taken on labour problems. The rate of white collared workers has been increased for the period of the Third Year Plan. The rate of these workers in the total working population was 20.6 percent in 1977 (compared with 15.5 percent in 1972.) ⁷⁷

Absence of an agricultural labour act to regulate the working conditions of the paid workers in the agricultural sector made it difficult for the workers to organize in this sector. Measures were taken on this subject in the Third Five Year Development Plan.

That the principle stated in the Third Five Year Development Plan as "legal minimum wages" could be used as a political instrument to maintain equal purchasing power for working people has been realized in 1974 by the determination of a nation-wide single minimum wage.

77- The Third Five Year Development Plan (III.Bes Yıllık Kalkınma Planı) D.P.T.Yay.No:1272, p.80

The Third Year Plan as well as the First and Second Year Plans seem to follow the same projections for the need of skilled labour. Workers have to be trained, organized, supervised and motivated to perform efficiently in the production process. Especially new migratory workers must be subjected to a new network of rules and controls, to adjust to a new industrial discipline quite unlike that of the agricultural field.

The number of unions kept increasing during the Third Year Plan (around 900) due partly to the competition of unions and partly to the lack of authority of a powerful unionism. The rate of union members was 13 percent in 1977. The number of workers covered by the collective agreements during the period of 1973-77 was around 1.4 million.⁷⁸

It has been calculated that 426 strikes occurred between 1972 and 1977 and approximately 85,000 workers participated in these strikes. The Third Plan implied that there had been a greater loss of work-days in Turkish economy as compared to strikes in Western countries. In the period of the Third Year Plan emigration abroad decreased especially after 1973 because of the changes in market conditions of Western countries. Whereas internal migration remained heavy in the same period (in 1960 the urban population was 7.3 million, in 1977, 19.5 million.) In the First and Second Plan the process of modernization was defined in terms of urban growth and

78- The Fourth Five Year Development Plan (4. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı) p.135-137

the reallocation of the population from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. In the Third Plan the problems of rapid urbanization and their negative effects on development was implied. Rapid urbanization has brought in new patterns of urban land distribution, location of industrial and business centres, housing problems of new comers to the cities, and the proliferation of industrial suburbs.⁷⁹

In the period of the Fourth Year Development Plan (1979-1983) a growing number of various issues were prevalent in society. Some important changes in the world conjecture (the increase in the price of petroleum) and their effect on exporting was clearly seen in Turkish economy. The primary aim of the Fourth Plan was to solve these problems and to secure a great increase in its income from its available resources in the long run. Unemployment was a phenomenon characteristic of the period covered by all the Development Plans. Turkey still had large agrarian populations in which there was persistent open and disguised unemployment. Population pressure i.e,unlimited supply of labour was the main cause of this problem. The agricultural labour remained the important aspect of unemployment.⁸⁰ The plan seemed to accept the need for skilled elements especially at the technical level. According to the Fourth Plan human resources could be upgraded for industrial employment by means of education, training,

79- 3. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, p.851-853

80- 4. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, Ank, 1979, p.335-336

motivation and adjusting to work discipline; labour productivity depended on the strength, intelligence, training and motivations of the worker.⁸¹ A balanced distribution of skilled elements between regions has been projected by the Fourth Plan.

In this period especially after 1980 industrial relations were redesigned. In the statements of the Fourth Five Year Plan it was implied that with these regulations social peace relations between employee and employer would be provided. Some limitations were put on collective agreement, strike and lockout practices. Collective bargaining procedures were realized under the control of High Board Arbitration Council.⁸² The minimum wage level was also determined by this council after 1981. In order to regulate the industrial relations system new legislation was prepared by means of amendments of law No's, 274-275 and 1475.

Between 1979-1983 migration abroad (to the Middle East countries) has been going on (in 1982 the number of migrants was 34,316 and 97 percent of them went to Libya, Saudi Arabia.) All of the migrant workers were single, skilled and male. In the period of the Fourth Five Year Plan, "the Council of Workers in Foreign Countries" was established for solving the various problems of

81- 4. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, 1983 programı, D.P.T.Yay.No.1886

4.Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, p.275-277

82- The 1983 Programm of The Fourth Five Year Development Plan

(4. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1983 Programı) D.P.T.Yay.No.1886

workers who were working in foreign countries. This Council was especially concerned with the integration problems of second generation of migrant workers in Western Europe.⁸³ It also deals with the absorbing capacity in Turkey for returned migrants.

The Fifth Five Year Development Plan (1985-1989) gives the main emphasis to the balance between industry and agriculture. The development efforts of Turkey are expected to extend to large numbers of people engaged in industrial activities and this will make it possible to decrease unemployment. The second important objective of the Fifth Plan is to reduce the existing inequalities between regions and to attain a balanced interregional development.⁸⁴ The same subject also took place in the Fourth Year Development Plan and the regional development policy for Southeast Anatolia was prepared and planned (the Project of South East Anatolia-G.A.P.)

Parallel to the developments in the economic and social structure of society, urbanization and the transition from agraria based to urban and industrial based structure is expected to continue during the period of the Fifth Five Year Development Plan. Estimated urban population is around 22.6 million (the rate of urbanization is estimated as 4.6 percent for each year.) The rural and urban population will be equal in 1989. In order to prevent the migration from rural areas to cities, development

83- Op.Cilt, p.341

84- The Fifth Five Year Development Plan (5. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı) Ank.Haz.1984; p.306

efforts which are based on industry will be extended to the agricultural regions and this will make it possible to raise the very low living and working standards of the agricultural population. Measures will be taken in this field with a view to preventing waste in the use of resources and manpower and encouraging the people with some credit facilities to establish industrial undertakings. The primary purpose of development will be to decrease the influence of inflation on wages. In the Fifth Five Year Development Plan, there is an emphasis on educational activities to create the skilled elements required for economic development. Educational institutions are regarded as the major means of training the various elements of the labour force as required.⁸⁵

During the period covered by the Fifth Plan (1984-1989) industrial relations will be regulated by the new legislations which were amended after 1982. The state created an overall system of regulations designed to prevent problems arising and to deal with various aspects of industrial relations. This paternalistic character of the labour codes were expected to preserve national unity and to serve national interests.

85. 5. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı p.14

CONCLUSION

It is possible to summarize the results of this research which is concerned with industrial sociology between 1940-1980. According to this summary the basic sociological profile of the industrial labour force and the industrial relations in Turkey may be described as follows;

The first point is that this group which comprises over two million individuals is not homogeneous sociologically. This group is comprised of workers of different social and geographical backgrounds. Studies in this matter indicated that the majority of the Turkish industrial labour force is semi-committed. Demirgil described that the semi-committed worker is a marginal man caught up among two ways of life. He works more or less regularly in industry, but maintains his connection with the land of village.⁸⁶ The economic development of Turkey as stated in the Plans, will be partly based on training to create effective industrial labour. The process of development of labour force which accepts the discipline of factory work and the conditions of urban living is much slower in Turkey than in other countries. Since the beginning of the development efforts, industrial cities were subjected to considerable pressure of the agricultural labour. This was accelerated by the rapid increase

86- D.Demirgil - Labour-Management Relations in Turkey, Economic Research Foundations, 1969, p.55

in population. Therefore the problems of rapid urbanization and unemployment became more and more serious throughout the Development Plans. In order to solve these problems, the opposite view seems to take place in Plan's strategies as the comparative desirability for use of the labour intensive or capital intensive techniques. The main problem is choosing investments in a long term perspective for the use of advanced technology but the population growth makes it very difficult to accept this. The protection of small-scale and artisanal manufacturing and the encouragement of handicrafts industries, appear as examples of concession to the unemployment problem. Emigration appeared as a solution to internal migration and unemployment since the 1960's. But this event brought up a new problem for the Turkish industrial labour force, such as adjustment to a foreign society and the problems of the return worker. Presently, labour migration is a tendency to go abroad especially to the Middle East countries. These two emigration movements decreased the supply of skilled elements and workers in Turkey.

As it can be seen from the results of studies concerning the legislative aspects of industrial relations system in Turkey the State has the duty of regulating work- life to harmonize the relationship between employee-employer. The historical process of labour laws present certain features.

Turkish labour legislation owed nothing to pressures from an organized labour movement, contrary to other countries where social rights have been obtained as a consequence of long struggles. After the Collective Bargaining on trade-union laws

were passed in 1963 (No: 275-274) labour became increasingly organized. This situation can also be observed in the figures of the Five Year Development Plans concerning unionized workers.

Since the beginning of the industrialization process, with the onset of each political period the new leaders brought new rules and regulations concerning industrial relations in Turkey. In 1938, 1947, 1963 and 1980, labour codes reflect the changes in the political system.

Consequently there are many approaches to labour problems and many useful works concerning labour problems were conducted in universities. But obviously more data is required for further investigations of labour problems in Turkey. An intensive examination of labour problems may help to ease the friction which emanates from advancement of technology, and as a consequence increase production. Secondly such an examination will have a political significance. It can show the trend in the distribution of power in a society. It can give an insight into the sources of the impetus for social change. Lastly it can show the institutional behaviour of men. Therefore research in sociology of industry can be of great use in Turkey where a policy programme of industrialization is being carried out.

87- G.Ekici - Evolution of Industrial Relations in Turkey, New York Uni. 1975

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