

**ANTI-PRIVATIZATION STRUGGLES and WORKING-CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESS**

THE CASE OF ALIAGA PETKİM

**A THESIS PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY
ÇETİN YILMAZ**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
SOCIOLOGY**

SEPTEMBER 2014

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ABSTRACT

ANTI-PRIVATIZATION STRUGGLES and WORKING-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

THE CASE OF ALIAGA PETKIM

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September, 2014, 229 pages

This dissertation analyzes the impacts of anti-privatization struggles on the formation of working-class consciousness in Turkey. Workers who carried out a very long struggle from the beginning of the 2000s to 2008 against privatization in Aliğa Petkim were selected as a sample group. The study reveals out that workers who participated to collective actions against privatization have higher class consciousness when comparing with relatively younger workers who were hired after privatization. Collective actions against privatization has enabled the development of oppositional class consciousness, sense of injustice and solidarity among workers. However, it is hard to argue that this class consciousness has reached a desire for the establishment of an alternative social order.

Key Words: Working-class Consciousness, Privatization, Anti-Privatization Struggles, Collective Action, Unionization.

ÖZ

ÖZELLEŞTİRME KARŞITI MÜCADELELER VE İŞÇİ SINIFI BİLİNCİ ALİAĞA PETKİM ÖRNEĞİ

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September 2014, 229, sayfa

Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de özelleştirme karşıtı mücadelenin işçi sınıfı bilinci üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Çalışmanın örneklem grubu olarak, 2000’li yıllarından başından 2008’e kadar özelleştirmeye karşı çok uzun bir mücadele yürüten işçiler seçilmiştir. Bu çalışma, özelleştirme karşıtı kolektif mücadeleye katılan işçilerin, özelleştirme sonrası işe giren görece daha genç işçiler ile karşılaştırıldığında, sınıfsal bilinçlerinin daha yüksek olduğunu tespit etmektedir. Özelleştirmeye karşı yürütülen kolektif mücadeleler işçilerin; sınıfsal karşıtlık bilincinin, toplumsal adaletsizlik hissini ve sınıfsal dayanışma bilincinin gelişmesini sağlamıştır. Fakat bu sınıfsal bilincin, alternatif bir toplumsal düzen kurma isteğine ulaştığını iddia etmek mümkün değildir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İşçi Sınıfı Bilinci, Özelleştirme, Özelleştirme Karşıtı Mücadele, Kolektif Eylem, Sendikalaşma.

To My Father

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would never have been able to finish my dissertation without the guidance of my committee members and support from my family and wife.

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör for her intellectual guidance, advice, criticism, encouragements, patience and insight throughout the research.

I would also like to express great appreciation Prof. Dr. Nadir Suğur for his commitments, suggestions and endless support.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç for her commitments and comments.

I would also like to express my great appreciaiton to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal Coşkun for his invaluable constructive criticism, and friendly advice.

I would like to thank to Assist. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Topal for his comments and advice during the research.

I would also like to thank my parents. They were always supporting me and encouraging me with their best wishes.

I wishes also to express my deepest respect and honour to my wife, Müge Yılmaz, and my daughter Derin and my son Deniz for their patience.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HUIPS	: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
TURSTAT	: Turkish Statistical Institute
RTPMPA	: Republic of Turkey Prima Ministry Privatization Administration
TRMLSS	: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Labor and Social Security
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Aim of the Dissertation

This dissertation addresses the class consciousness of workers who are working in Petkim which was privatized in 2008. It is the biggest petro-chemical enterprise of Turkey and its privatization process has spread over a very long time. Workers in this long period of time carried out a very strong struggle against privatization. For this reason, the basic argument of the dissertation is that the prolonged class struggle against privatization has provided the development class consciousness among these workers.

As Lebowitz (2003: 179) argued capitalism produces class struggle on the part of the worker. Following Lebowitz's suggestion I argue that due to neo-liberal policies, which have been dominant all over the world since the beginnings of 1980s, privatization has become the most important issue in the class struggle between working-class and bourgeoisie. Despite workers, who were the participants of this study, failed in their struggle against privatization, the struggle itself has important impacts on the formation of class consciousness of workers. In this respect, this study attempts to explore and understand the effects of class struggle carried out by workers against privatization on the formation of class consciousness of workers.

The workers who involved in this research are one of the most important actors of anti-privatization struggles in Turkey. They do not only struggle against privatization of their own enterprises but also has supported other anti-privatization struggles. Their union, Petrol-Is, has played a vital role in this regard. While most of the unions failed grasping the aim and scope of privatization, Petrol-Is conceived privatization as a neo-liberal assault against working class and has carried out lots of collective actions.

At this point I would like to explain why I choose such a subject. The most important reason behind carrying out of such a research is the lack of sufficient academic interests on working class consciousness in Turkey. It is generally argued in Marxist debates in Turkey that due to the insufficient objective conditions it is not possible to study class consciousness in Turkey. As Coşkun (2013) argued these Marxist thesis based on the premise that the underdevelopment of capitalism in Turkey prevents workers to become aware of their class interests especially due to their existing rural ties. However, it is necessary to indicate that this study refuses these pre-acceptances. I consider that such conception is closely related with “teleological Marxism”. Under the hegemony of ‘teleological Marxism’ workers can be a topic of social researches only they have ‘a true class consciousness’ (Bayat, 1994). As Margaret Somers argued that studies of class formation in Middle Eastern societies are “rooted in an *epistemology of absence*”;

Rather than seeking to explain the presence of radically varying dispositions and practices, they have concentrated disproportionately on explaining the absence of expected outcome, namely the emergence of revolutionary class consciousness among the Western working class... Why is that the standard problem to be explained in class analysis is how to explain not what is or has been empirically present, but rather the failure of people to behave correctly according to (Marxian) theoretical prediction (cited in Lockman, 1994: xix).

However, as Thompson (1966: 10) argued “consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in *just* the same way.” In this regard, I expect that this study will be a small contribution to social science literature on working class consciousness in Turkey.

The second reason behind choosing such a subject is my belief that class struggle is still an important indicator for the comprehension of contemporary social relations. It is generally asserted in the literature that membership of a social class has no longer influences the formation of individuals’ identity, cultural practices and future expectations. However, this study suggests that class belongings and class struggle are still the most important factors behind the formation of modern society. Regarding of social, political and economic changes in Turkey, I assume that social classes do not

lose its importance, on the contrary, class struggle still continuous in through the all spheres of social life.

As can be shown throughout the thesis, workers in this study do not far from identifying their class interests as it is supposed in the literature. Vast majority of the workers attending this research are well aware of the fact that their class interests are in contradiction with their employers. Besides, they are quite conscious of that working class has to struggle together towards their class interests at national and international levels.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

In this study, working class consciousness will be examined from a Marxist perspective. In Marxist studies of class consciousness, working class consciousness is discussed in relation with workers' positions in production relations. However it is an economic reductionism to claim that their class consciousness are developed directly due to workers' position in production relations. In this study class consciousness is conceived as a process developed through class struggle. As Thompson (1966) argued classes are formed only within the class struggle. Social classes are not a 'category' or a 'structure' but they are social actors composed in a process struggling with opposite classes, separated and reformed again and again.

Capitalism has imposed working class the class struggle from the very beginning. In this regard Marx (1976: 724) argued that "the capitalist process of production, therefore, seen as a total, connected process, i.e. a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus-value, but it also produces and reproduces the capital-relation itself; on the one hand the capitalist, on the other the wage-laborer." However these struggles do not transcend the capital/wage-labor relations. As Lebowitz (2003: 179) argued "daily struggles within capitalism are entirely compatible with the continued hegemony of capital. Nevertheless, a critical *qualitative*¹ development (inherent in the concept of the production of the worker) takes place in the course of such struggles."

¹ Emphasis belongs to Lebowitz.

In this regard, Thompson (1966) argued that priority of Marxist class analysis is not classes but class struggle. Capitalist social relations is grounded on exploitation relations based upon to seizure of surplus value produced by workers in production process. This antagonistic character of production relations is the most important factor behind class struggle. These struggles can occur both in workplace scale and far beyond this scale. According to Tilly (cited in Fantasia, 1995: 18) workers can only notice their interests and their opponents through these struggles. The awareness of class interests before class struggle is rarely seen in history.

In academic milieu it is generally assume that class struggle only possible by consciousness individuals. However, Marshall (1983: 272) argued that “an overemphasis on class imagery at the expense of class action can perhaps be attributed to the widely held belief among academic observers that it is somehow necessary for men and women to encompass society intellectually before they can attempt to change it. This premise is not confirmed by the history of class action on either a revolutionary or on a more modest scale.”

In this thesis, I will discuss the privatization in terms of class struggle between working class and capitalist classes. This dissertation takes a position that privatization is a neo-liberal strategy against the economic, social and political acquisition of working class. Privatization imposed by ‘structural adjustment programs’ ‘recommended’ by World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the beginnings of 1980s. However in Turkey most important steps have been taken since 2000s. Due to this reason, labor movement mostly struggle against privatization since the beginnings of 2000s.

In the study I follow Ira Katznelson’s (1986) “class formation” analysis. Katznelson’s (1986) “class formation” analysis is composed of four levels. *The first level of class formation* is structural analysis of capitalist economy. In this structural level class has no direct or unmediated phenomenological referents that are class in this level remains as an “experience-distant” analytical concept. *The second level of class formation* is interested in issues such as separation of household from workplace, the changing of the living environment, urbanization etc. which are not directly connected to production process but effect the material basis of class

formation and class consciousness. *At third level*, classes are formed groups, sharing dispositions. At this level class “is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly, or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and ultimately, the definition cannot only be made in the medium of time –that is, action and reaction, change and conflict. *The final level* comprises the organized action of working class against capitalist exploitation relations. This research focuses on third and fourth level of working class formation in Turkey.

1.3. The Research Questions and Methodology

As I stated before the thesis aims at studying the impacts of anti-privatization struggles on the formation of working class consciousness. However, the notion of ‘class consciousness’, far from being simple has a tortuous of its own in which sociological and metaphysical themes are freely intermingled (Lockwood, 1958: 13). For this reason in order to overcome these difficulties I use qualitative and quantitative methodologies together in the study. In order to explore general tendencies among the workers, I used a questionnaire in which workers attitudes about privatization, unionization, collective action experience examined. This questionnaire was applied to 315 workers out of 2000 workers by random sampling design. The qualitative data process consists of participatory observation and interviews. The participatory observation mostly carried out in public housing where most of the participants are living, at coffeehouses, and in local of the union. Besides, I also conducted in-depth interviews with 31 workers. The field work was finished in three months; being June 2013 and August 2013.

There are few academic research about working class consciousness in Turkey. At that point, class consciousness of Petkim workers give some important implications about class struggle and collective action on the formation of class consciousness. Besides, this research provides significant emirical evidence about the impacts of unionization on class consciousness.

The study is limited with the workers who are working in Petkim. The other workers who are members of Petrol-Is Aliğa Branch or workers who are retired form Petkim are not included in the study.

As I mentioned above the main issue of the study is how anti-privatization struggle influenced the working class formation of workers in Petkim. The central assumption of the study is that: participation to anti-privatization collective actions provide workers to comprehend their class interests. Besides, I also discuss some other questions;

- 1) What are the implications of participating to anti-privatization struggles on the formation of working class consciousness? How do they conceptualize worker? What do workers think of being a “worker”? What do they think about their children being a worker in the future?
- 2) What do the workers think about working in Petkim? What are they mostly complain about working life? What kind of enterprise do they want to work?
- 3) What are the attitudes of workers about privatization of Petkim? What are their attitudes about privatization in general? If privatization of the factory changes employment relations; what do the workers think about that?
- 4) What are their attitudes regarding unionization? Do they think that being a member of a union have positive impacts or not in working life? What do they think about unions in Turkey and what are their attitudes about Petrol-Is? Do they eager to participate collective actions or not? What kind of collective actions do workers participate?

Reason Why Petkim was Chosen as a Case

As I mentioned above the main aim of the thesis is to understand and explore the formation of class consciousness among workers who are working in Petkim. There are several reasons for the selecting these workers. Petkim was a ‘state-owned’ company which was included in the privatization process in 1987. However, privatization attempts of the enterprise has raised with the coming of Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power in 2002 and enterprise was privatized in 2008.

Although there were some tenders before that time in 2003 and 2005, the enterprise has not been privatized until 2008.

During this long period of privatization process workers of the enterprise have carried out lots of collective actions against privatization under the leadership of their union Petol-Is (see Appendix A). These collective actions have important implications on the formation of working class consciousness. Besides, Petrol-Is not only struggle against the privatization of Petkim at that period but also some other enterprises such as Poas, Tüpras, Petlas, Igsaş, where Petrol-Is was the authorized union, also under the scope of privatization. Petrol-Is was organized very influential campaigns against these privatization attacks. However workers did not achieve to stop any of the privatizations.

The second reason of the selection of workers who are working at Petkim is to understand the impacts of unionization on working class consciousness. Petrol-Is is one of the most contentious unions in Turk-Is. Thus, workers who are working in Petkim will provide us important evidence about the influence of contentious union tradition on working class consciousness and development of class solidarity among the workers.

1.4. The Plan of the Dissertation

The thesis is composed of nine chapters including introduction and conclusion. In the second part of the study, conception of working class consciousness in Marxist tradition will be discussed. Also in this part, I will explore how working class consciousness operationalized in social science researches and which factors are mostly influential on the formation of working class consciousness.

In the third chapter, formation of working class in Turkey will be examined in terms of its historical process. Also in this part, the reasons of increased insecurity in employment relations due to neoliberal policies, the decline of union membership density, privatization and its impacts on working class will be evaluated.

The fourth chapter explores the research methodology. In this part, I will discuss why I choose to use qualitative and quantitative methodology together.

The fifth chapter deals with the socio-demographic features of workers involved in the field research. In this chapter, I will discuss workers education background, urbanization experiences, income levels and their father's socio-economic background.

In the sixth chapter, everyday life practices of workers will be elaborated. I assume that everyday life has important effects on class consciousness and development of solidarity among workers.

In the seventh chapter, the meaning of working in formal sector for workers will be emphasized. Due to neo-liberal policies public employment has lost its significance and flexible, precarious employment relation become widespread. So, working in formal sector become so important in order to guarantee your life.

In the eight chapter, class consciousness of workers will be examined in the frame of class identity, class opposition, class totality and sense of establishing a more egalitarian social order. Also in this part, attitudes of workers regarding privatization, unionization and collective action will be elaborated.

The ninth chapter involves discussions. In this part, empirical evidences will be interpreted with the thesis conceptualization and the findings will be associated with further research questions.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS MARXIST CONCEPTION OF WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

2.1 Introduction

In this part of the study I will explore Marxist conception of ‘working class consciousness’. Firstly, I will discuss the definition of the term in Marxist tradition through Lukasc’s, Gramsci’s and Thompson’s writings. Secondly, I will examine the reason behind the decline in the interest of working class consciousness in social research. Although it has been observed that the research in class identity has increased especially after 1990s, it has a very limited impact and the concept never gain its former importance again. Thirdly, I will explore how working class consciousness is operationalized in social science research. And finally, I will discuss factors effecting the formation of working class consciousness.

2.2. Marxist Definition of Class Consciousness

A Marxist class consciousness study has to begin with the most cited distinction of Marx’s: ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’. Marx first used these terms in *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Marx defined the terms as follows:

Economic conditions had in the first place transformed the mass of the people into workers. The domination of capital created the common situation and common interests of this class. Thus this mass is already a class in relation to capital, but not yet a class for itself. In the struggle, of which we have only indicated a few phases, this mass unites and forms itself into a class for itself. The interests which it defends become class interests (cited in Bottomore, 1971: 53).

The distinction between ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’ corresponds to the distinction between ‘class structure’ and ‘class formation’ in Marxist literature. “In classical Marxism, the relationship between class structure and class formation was generally assumed as unproblematic... The transformation of the working class from

class-in-itself (a class determined structurally) into a class-for-itself (a class engaged in collective struggle) may not have been a smooth and untroubled process, but it was an inevitable one” (Wright, 1998: 28-29). For this reason it will be useful to discuss ‘class structure’ and ‘class formation’ in Marxist literature.

According to Wright (1985: 9-10) class structure refers to; “the structure of social relations into which individuals (or in some cases, families) enter which determine their class interests... class structure defines a set of empty places or positions filled by individuals or families. This implies that with respect to class structures we can talk about ‘vacant’ positions (positions which are not currently filled by actual people), about an ‘absolute surplus population’ (an excess of people with respect to places within the class structure), and ‘incumbents’ of class positions (people actually located within a given class structure). While this does not imply that class structure exists independently of people, it does mean that it exists independently of the specific people who occupy specific positions.”

On the other hand class formation refers “to the formation of organized collectivities within that class structure on the basis of the interests shaped by that class structure. Class formation is a variable. A given type of class structure may be characterized by a range of possible types of class formation, varying in the extent and form of collective organization of classes. Class-based collectivities may be organized, disorganized or reorganized within a given class structure without there necessarily being any fundamental transformations of the class structure itself. If class structure is defined by social relations *between* classes, class formation is defined by social relations within classes, social relations which forge collectivities engaged in struggle” (Wright, 1985: 10). Thus, while class structure refers to the positions of individuals in the production relations, class formation is associated with organizing of social classes as collectivities.

In this regard, Ozugurlu (2005) argued that the distinction of ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’ has some contradictions. While ‘class-in-itself’ refers to objective class location and is identified with economic consciousness, ‘class-for-itself’ refers to a subjective position and is associated with political consciousness. The workers in objective positions (‘class-in-itself’) become into collective actors (class-for-itself)

by subjective (politic, ideological) interventions. This approach is so schematic and based on two assumptions: the objective class positions are external to class struggles and knowledge of class struggle is external to working class. The result is that positions of classes and the awareness of their class interest can only be associated externally (Ozugurlu, 2005: 32). It has to be mentioned that ‘class-in-itself’ is not an unconscious (*bilinçsiz*) existence or it is not a thing that become conscious existence after transition to ‘class-for-itself’. Because an economy out of the social relations is not possible (Öğütle and Çeğin, 2010: 64). In this regard, Coşkun (2013) argued that the distinction between ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’ is not a gradual process but rather it can be considered as an analytic distinction. We should careful while using ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’.

Before getting into the Marxist class consciousness research, I should briefly explore the main feature of Marxist class analysis. According to Wood (1996: 76) there are two way of thinking theoretically about class: either as a structural *location* and as a social *relation*. In the first approach, class treats as a form of stratification, a layer in a hierarchical structure, differentiated according to 'economic' criteria such as income, 'market chances' or occupation. In the second conception, class treats as a relation between appropriators and producers and surplus labor is pumped out direct producers. In Marxist class analysis social class is defined in relational terms. In this regard, Wright (1998b: 49-50) explore the general feature of Marxist class analysis under six item. “1. Class structure, impose limits on class formation, class consciousness and class struggle. 2. Class structures constitute the essential qualitative lines of social demarcation in the historical trajectories of social change. 3. The concept is a relational concept. 4. The social relations which define classes are intrinsically antagonistic rather than symmetrical. 5. The objective basis of these antagonistic interests is exploitation. 6. The fundamental basis of exploitation is to be found in the social relations of production.”

According to Marx, social classes corresponds to the objective positions in production relations and are in relation. However, in this relation who possed the means of production, appropriate the surplus value of the other. This exploitative relationship is expresses by Ste Croix (cited in Callinicos, 2004: 53) as follows;

Class (essentially a relationship) is the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation is embodied in social structure. By *exploitation* I mean the appropriation of part of the product of the labor of others... A *class* (a particular class) is a group of person in a community identified by their position in the whole system of social production, defined above all according to their relationship (primarily in terms of the degree of ownership or control) to the conditions of production (that is to say, the means and labor of production) and to other classes... The individuals constituting a given class may or may not be wholly or partly conscious of their own identity and common interests as a class, and may or may not feel antagonism towards members of other classes as such (cited in Callinicos, 2004: 53).

A Marxist class consciousness research should keep mind the exploitative relations in capitalist social order. According to Wright (1985: 242) there are two ways of studying class consciousness in Marxist tradition. Whereas the first theoreticians taken it as a counterfactual or imputed characteristic of classes as collective entities, for others it is understood as a concrete attribute of human individuals as members of classes. The first usage is represented with the usage of Lukacs. According to Lukacs (1971) only the proletariat has the capacity to comprehend the totality of the social order. Therefore, the recognition of inner relations of capitalist social order and true consciousness of proletariat are identical processes. Hence, proletariat which has the potential to grasp the totality of social relations in capitalist system is the anti-thesis of bourgeoisie.² Lukacs (1971: 51) defined class consciousness as follows:

Now class consciousness consists in fact of the appropriate and rational reactions “imputed” to a particular typical position in the process of production. This consciousness is, therefore, neither the sum, nor the average of what is thought or felt by the single individuals who make up the class. And yet the historically significant actions of the class as a whole are determined in the last resort by this consciousness and not by the thought of the individual-and these actions can be understood only by the reference to this consciousness (Lukacs, 1971: 51).

According to Wright (1985: 242) Lukacs defines class consciousness counterfactually: “it is what people as occupants of a particular location within the production process, would feel and believe if they were rational. In other words,

² Lukacs (1971) identifies proletarian class-consciousness with science, truth and theory and argued that only the working class have potential to grasp the social relations in capitalist social order (Eagleton, 1991).

Lukacs treat the proletariat as a collective subject endowed with consciousness in essentially the same way as individual subjects have beliefs and desires. However classes are not supra-individual persons but groups of agents with a shared position in the relations of production, which *may* form themselves into collectivities.” Besides, “by the notion of "ascribed class consciousness," Lukacs tends to rationalize the behavior of the working class: the proletariat would have developed if it had acted "rationally." This, of course, is teleology (Bayat, 1994: 174). Such conception of class consciousness understates the difficulties involves in subordinate classes actually becoming collectivities. Moreover, it mistakes the role played by class-consciousness in the process: it is not the ‘objective’ property of the class but rather a means by which the latter forms itself into a collectivities (Callinicos, 2004: 157).

In the second usage of the class consciousness, it is conceived “as a particular aspect of the concrete subjectivity of the human individuals... Such supra-individual entities, and in particular classes, do not have consciousness in the literal sense, since they are not the kind of entities which have minds, which think, weight alternatives, have preferences, etc.” (Wright, 1985: 243). Wright, prefer to use second usage of the term. Wright (1985: 27) argued that class structure imposes limits on class formation, class consciousness and class struggle. Wright’s conception about the relationships between class structure, class formation, class consciousness and class struggle is seen in the Figure 2.1.

Ogutle and Ceğin (2010: 41) argued that Wright do not consider the influence of class struggle on class consciousness and give analytic priority to class structure rather than class struggle. However, the main priority of Marxist class analysis is not social class but class struggle. It is true that class structure constitutes the conditions of class struggle because they contain conflicting interests and antagonistic contradictions. Class formation and class consciousness occurs at the end of this class struggle. Individuals experience their own situation in this struggle and expresses this experience through inherited cultural codes (Ozugurlu, 2002; 2005).

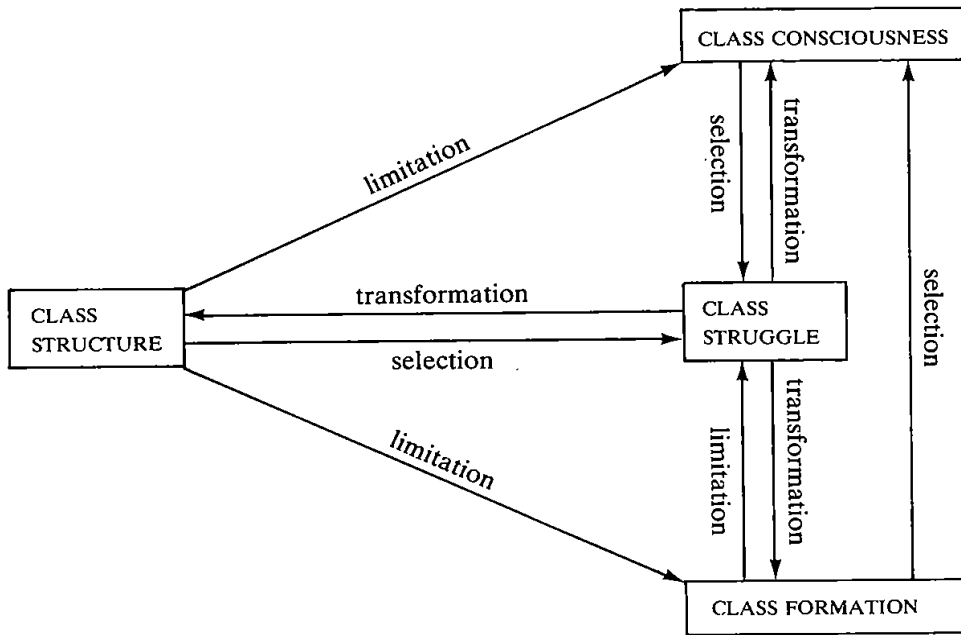


Figure 2.2. Model of Determination Linking Class Structure, Class Formation, Class Consciousness and Class Struggle (Wright, 1985: 30).

Individuals and social groups organized themselves as class collectivities in their struggles against other social groups. In this regard, Thompson (1995: 136) argued that;

Classes do not exist as separate entities, look around, find an enemy class, and then start to struggle. On the contrary, people find themselves in a society structured in determined ways, they experience exploitation, they identify points of antagonistic interests, they commence to struggle around these issues and in the process of struggling they discover themselves as classes, they come to know this discovery as class-consciousness. Class and class consciousness are always the last, not the first, stage in the real historical process.

In this regard, it can be asserted that Thompson followed Marx priority of class struggle over class consciousness. Marx (1998: 85) argued that “the separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors.” At this point Thompson’s concept ‘experience’ establishes a relationship between social being and social consciousness and mediates the

determination of consciousness by social being.³ According to Thompson (1966: 9-10);

The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born—or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not.

Thompsons' other important contribution to class consciousness study was his emphasis on class formation can only be comprehended in historically. Thompson (1966: 11) expressed the importance of historical process in class formations as follows:

If we stop history at a given point, then there are no classes but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experiences. But if we watch these men over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions. Class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition.

However, Thompson's class analysis were criticized by Anderson (1980) as being so 'voluntarist' and 'subjectivist'. Thompson, was criticized for neglecting the determining factor of structural relations on one's class position. Anderson's argument imply that for Thompson there is no class in the absence of class consciousness. However, the great strength of Thompson's argument is recognizing the operations of class in the absence of class consciousness. Although Thompson did not interested in production relations so much, accusing him with defining class by reference to or in terms of class consciousness is quite simply to miss the point (Wood, 1995). As it has been discussed above class relations, so to speak, exploitation is 'experienced' by individuals through production relations. Hence, the consciousness of individuals are determined by these objective relations. "Nevertheless, objective determinations do not impose themselves on blank and passive raw material but on active and conscious *historical* beings... In order to experience things in 'class ways' people must be 'objectively distributed' into class situations; but this is the beginning, not the end, of class formation. The crucial point

³ The concept of 'experience' has a vital importance in Thompson's class analysis. Because 'experience' remind social sciences that social events and phenomena are historical formations.

is that the main burden of a Marxist theory of class must be less on identifying class 'locations' than on explaining processes of class formation” (Wood, 1995: 80-81).

Class struggles which are determined in the framework of economic, political and ideological processes have autonomous effects on the formation of social classes. But these struggles at the same time provide the transformations of economic, political and ideological relations which determine the framework of class struggles. Class struggles are neither epiphenomenon of base (*altyapı*) nor they are free from all kinds of determinations (Przewoski, 1977). In this regard Marx (1972:10) argued that “men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.” Classes and class struggle may exist even where they do not involve ‘class consciousness and active political conflict’ (Callinicos, 2004).

I think it will be useful to discuss the emphasis of Marx, on *praxis*. Man, firstly a creature of need. Through praxis human being satisfy these needs and at the same time change the world and itself. Praxis refer to the unity of theory and practice. Thought or theory is consequence of action. In this sense, Marxism neither idealist nor materialist it is profoundly *historical*. The specificity of Marxism and its revolutionary and class character do not derive from materialist assumption but from its practical character; it goes beyond both materialism and idealism (Lefebvre, 1982). Therefore, the limited knowledge of individuals about the existing capitalist social relations is neither from their subjective inadequacy nor their false consciousness. But it is from the reality itself. As Marx (1998: 42) strikingly stated in *The German Ideology*, “consciousness [*das Bewusstsein*] can never be anything else than conscious being [*das bewusste Sein*], and the being of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their relations appear upside-down as in a *camera obscura*, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process.”

In this regard, Marx (1975: 182-3) argued that ‘theory can be realized in a people only insofar as it is the realization of the *needs* of that people’. Thus theory cannot be realized by injection to individuals from outside. While workers struggling against

capital develop new needs, an altered hierarchy of needs. “Even though the needs that they attempt to satisfy do not in themselves go beyond capital, the very process of struggle is one of producing new people, of transforming them into people with a new conception of themselves – as subjects capable of altering their world” (Lebowitz, 2003: 180).

In this regard it can be argued that Gramsci was the most important philosopher of praxis in Marxist tradition. Gramsci (1971) paved the way to study class consciousness beyond the distinction of ‘class-in-itself’ and ‘class-for-itself’. The well-known concepts ‘hegemony’ and ‘common sense’ has provided important opportunities for class consciousness researcher. While Gramsci was examining social classes he gave more importance to political struggles carried out by social classes instead of economic level. Hence, he concentrated on political sphere while he was elucidating the establishment of domination in modern societies.

Gramsci argued that domination in modern capitalist societies established through ‘hegemony’. By hegemony he referred to the primacy of ‘consent’ over ‘coercion’ in the establishment of domination relations.⁴ Hegemony at the same time refers to *intellectual and moral leadership* of a social class (Mouffe, 1979). Intellectual and moral leadership, constitutes, according to Gramsci, a higher synthesis, a ‘collective will’ which, through ideology, becomes the organic cement unifying a ‘historical bloc’ (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 66).

A social class only become hegemonic when it transcends its corporate interests. In this regard, he identified three various levels corresponding to the various moment of collective political consciousness in history. The first level, is the “*economic-corporate level* in which the members of the professional group are conscious of its unity and homogeneity, and of the need to organize it, but in the case of the wider social group this is not yet so. A second moment is that in which consciousness is reached of the *solidarity of interests among all the members of a social class*—but

⁴ However its inconsistencies the term hegemony in Gramsci associates with the ‘civil society’. Hegemony in Gramsci refers to “the ways in which a governing power wins consent to its rule from those it subjugates –though it is true that he occasionally uses the term to cover both consent and coercion together (Eagleton, 1991: 112).

still in the purely economic field. A third moment is that in which one becomes aware that one's own corporate interests, in their present and future development, *transcend the corporate limits of the purely economic class*, and can and must become the interests of other subordinate groups too" (Gramsci, 1971: 181).

Also Gramsci's emphasis on 'common sense' offers important implications in the study of class consciousness. Gramsci did not interpret common sense thoughts as an indication of false consciousness as Lenin and Lukasc.⁵ Gramsci argued that there is a mutual relationship between 'common sense' and 'scientific knowledge'. In this regard, Gramsci (1971: 198-199) argued that;

Can modern theory be in opposition to the "spontaneous" feelings of the masses? ("Spontaneous" in the sense that they are not the result of any systematic educational activity on the part of an already conscious leading group, but have been formed through everyday experience illuminated by "common sense", i.e. by the traditional popular conception of the world-what is unimagatively called "instinct", although it too is in fact a primitive and elementary historical acquisition.) It cannot be in opposition to them. Between the two there is a "quantitative" difference of degree, not one of quality. A reciprocal "reduction" so to speak, a passage from one to the other and vice versa, must be possible.

However it has to be noticed here that common sense knowledge is inherently eclectic and disjointed. It has comprised of contradictory elements of thought without being aware of this fact. Nevertheless, such an understanding of 'common sense' has reminded social scientist that workers daily experiences are important in the formation of working class consciousness. The role of the common sense in Gramsci's socialist strategy became clearer when we consider it with the perception of intellectuals in his theory. Despite the fact that the formation of intellectuals is a very complex issue, Gramsci distinguished two important types of intellectuals: *traditional* and *organic intellectual*. According to Gramsci (1971: 5) every social group creates its organic intellectuals "which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in economic but also in the social and political fields." Unlike from Lenin and Lukasc, this conception indicating a reciprocal relationship between workers and intellectuals.

⁵ "True the philosophy of praxis must criticise common sense, yet in a manner different from Lenin's and Lukacs' critique of spontaneity, for the philosophy of practice (Marxism) must based itself initially on common sense (Larrain, 1991: 84).

According to Lebowitz (2003: 182) “in struggling against capital, accordingly, workers produce themselves differently – here, too, they ‘transform themselves, develop new powers and ideas, new modes of intercourse, new needs and new language.’ By cooperating with others in a planned way in the struggle against capital, the worker ‘strips off the fetters of his individuality, and develops the capabilities of his species.’ Ridding themselves in this way of ‘the muck of ages’, in short, they produce themselves no longer as results of capital but as presuppositions of a new society.” Thus class consciousness develops through and in class struggle. Individuals do not try to change the world after grasping the knowledge of the *totality* of the existing social order. On the contrary, everyday struggles most of the time enables the development of class consciousness among the workers.

After discussing the working-class consciousness in Marxist tradition, in the next part of the study I will discuss the operationalization of working class consciousness in social science.

2.3. The Reason in the Decline in Class Consciousness Research

Research on working-class consciousness and working-class identity can be examined in three distinct phrases: (1) between 1950s and 1960s ‘working-class consciousness’ played a vital role in the search on stratification; (2) between mid-1970s through 1990s the social researchers were indifferent to the issue; (3) after 1990s minor revival in the working class identity can be seen in the stratification research. However it is on class identity rather than on class consciousness. Especially with the end of 1990s, class analysis that have evaluated the class formations with ‘culture’ lead to a revival in class research, but, this has a limited impact (SurrIDGE, 2007).

At this point I think that it will be useful to discuss the reasons in the decline of class and class consciousness research in social science. It can be identified that a few arguments become prominent in sociological research which are asserting that the class relations are no longer the determining factor in the trajectory of modern societies: the losing of the importance of family in the social mobility, rising level of

welfare and the rising of the social struggles around cultural demands instead of economic demands.

In this regard, Clark and Lipset (2007) argued that the social mobility of individuals are no longer determined by their family background instead by their skills and their educations. Hence, the rising of individualism leads the losing of significance in collective identities such as social class. According to Pakulski (1993) “decomposition of classes” based on changes such as; the proliferation of small property ownership, the credentialisation of skills and the professionalization of occupation, state regulation, both internal and international, increasing consumption and consumption orientations, the formation of ‘imagined communities’ under the impact of the mass media and the mobilization of new social movements and new politics. All of these changes which have occurred in the Western societies have eroded the significance of social classes in contemporary societies.

Walters (1993), however, argued that we have not witnessed with the ‘death of class’ but its subordination to other stratification orders. Private property and production has not been the main determinant of stratification order during the twentieth century, rather the state and organizational systems are the main determinants. Walters (1993) identify four different stratification orders in history (estatist society, class society, command society, status-conventional society) based on shifting patterns of domination and subordination between three social spheres or realms, the economic, the political and the cultural. According to Walter’s (1993: 306) in a status-conventional society “membership of any community will depend not on a person’s location in system or control, but on status accomplishments, patterns of social worth, established in the spheres of value commitment, the control of symbolic resources, location in circuits of discourse and sumptuary behavior.” Therefore, the collective wills and collective interests have lost their impacts on the formation of contemporary societies.

The important reason of the decline in class research is general acceptance based on the assumption that the production relations and class struggle have lost their influence in the formation of individuals’ identity. It is argued that classes have no longer influence the individuals’ perception and attitudes about social reality (Gorz,

1982; Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, 1985; Beck 1992). Despite the fact that all of these colleagues have different preposition to comprehend the contemporary society, they argue that social classes lose their importance by the development of new technologies and their application into the labour process. Especially Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Gorz (1982) questioned the central position of proletariat in Marxist tradition and criticize the reduction of all oppressions to inequalities in capitalist production relations so to the economic sphere. These thoughts widely accepted in academia and they have led to the loss of interests in studies of class struggle and class consciousness.

Besides, rising new social movements theory also have negative impacts on class consciousness research. The social movement research has suggested that struggles around class demands –the economic demands- lost their validity. For instance, Touraine (1971) argued that in ‘postindustrial’ societies capitalist classes have abandoned their ruling position to ‘technocratic’ classes. In this context the axis of social struggle has shifted from socio-economic to socio-cultural struggles. Also Inghelard (1990) argued that by the decline in the number of blue-color workers, the traditional struggles on economic and material issues give way to struggles which are mostly around ‘post materialist’ issues.

The relation between class and politics have been also questioned by rising “new social movements” theories (Melucci, 2007; Pakulski, 2005, 2007).⁶ Pakulski (2005) argued that the distraction of marital, religious, racial and regional identities blunts the impact of class in modern societies. The idea that religious, racial, regional identities have influenced the individual’s’ perception of social reality more than their positions in the production relations have caused the negligence of the social classes in the epistemological level. Therefore, the scholars of new social movements argue that individuals in postmodern societies are less sensitive to their objective class positions in forming their identities and political choices.

⁶ According to Melucci (2007) the function of the concept of "new" is to emphasize the difference in collective actions between traditional labor movement in industrial society and more fragmented modern societies.

Contrary to the aforementioned arguments, I argue that social class and production relations are still the important issues in order to comprehend the social transformation of contemporary societies. Class is still an indispensable concept for sociology because: 1- class is a key determinant of material interest; 2- structurally defined classes give rise to or influence the formation of collective actors seeking to bring about social change; and 3- class membership effects the life chances of and behavior of individuals (Hout *et all*, 1993).

Researches on social classes explore that people are still identify themselves with a particular class. Besides, since the earlier research on class identification there is very little change in the responses of individuals to the questions of class identification in survey researches. According to Centers' (1949) research carried out in 1945 in United State 49% of the participant identified themselves with working class and 45% with the middle class. For example, Hout's (2008) researches carried out United States argued that 59% of the Americans identify themselves as middle class and 41% with working class. Thereby the identification of people with a particular social class have not changed over years.

After discussing the reason in the decline in class consciousness research, in the next part of this chapter I will examine how class consciousness operationalized in scientific research.

2.4. Class Consciousness as a Process

Working-class consciousness implies the awareness of class interests of individual accordance with their positions in production relations and the participation to social action to change the existing social order with a more egalitarian one.⁷ The term "class consciousness" has often been used in Marxist theory to mean the full realization by a class of its position in the class system, class interest and of the actions it must take to revolutionize the system to reflect its interests (Ollmann, 1972; Yarrom, 1991). The 'class interests' come to the fore in the class consciousness research due they determined the conditions and the content of the

⁷ Class interests can be defined as material interests of people derived from their location-within-class-relations (Wright, 2005).

class struggle. In this regard, Wright (2005: 20) defined class interests as the material interests of individuals derived from locations within the production relations. These material interests include a range of issues such as standards of living, working conditions, level of toil, leisure, material security, and other things.

The most important process on the class consciousness is the subjective awareness of workers to their class interests and their struggle to enhance these interests. However this is not sufficient to define the working class consciousness. Working class consciousness contain within itself lots of elements. In this regard, Rinehart and Okraku (1974) defined ‘working-class consciousness’ by comparing it with ‘middle class consciousness’. Middle class-consciousness connotes a concomitant acceptance of middle class values and life styles, it encompasses a belief in the justness of societies economic, social and political institutions and uncritical acceptance of dominant ideologies pertinent to these institutions. Working-class consciousness, on the other hand, not only refers to subjective identification with the working-class but also entails hostile feeling towards dominant ideologies carried out by central societal institutions and disidentification with the status quo. Therefore, working class consciousness is not only consists of identification with working class but also it contains the questioning of existing social order.

Class consciousness is conceived as a process in the social research in which the relations between class structure and class consciousness is empirically analyzed (Rosenberg, 1953; Leggett, 1968; Mann, 1973; Giddens, 1981). After this part of the study, I will briefly discuss the research on class consciousness.

Rosenberg (1953), who carried out very early research on class consciousness defined class consciousness as individual’s psychological perception of his own position in the class structure. Rosenberg (1953) conceives class consciousness as a process which consists of different phases. At the first stage “the individual must identify himself with the class to which he belongs according to the objective definition; he must feel united with others in the same objective position; and he must feel separated from, or must disidentify with, people in different objective position” (Rosenberg, 1953: 23). Similar but wide-ranging definition of class consciousness made by Leggett (1968) in his preminent research *Race, Class and*

Labor; Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit. Leggett (1968: 228) defined working-class consciousness as a “cumulative series of mental states, running from class verbalization through skepticism and militancy to egalitarianism.”

After Rosenberg (1953) and Leggett (1968) a field research in which the working-class consciousness conceived in a becoming process was carried out by Michael Mann (1973). According to Mann (1973) the first step of class consciousness is the definition of oneself as a member of working-class: *class identity*. Secondly, Mann speaks of *class opposition*: the perception that the capitalist and his agents constitute an opponent to oneself. Third stage consists of *class totality* the acceptance of the two previous elements as the defining characteristic of a) ones total situation and b) the whole society in which one lives. Finally stage in the working-class consciousness is the conception of an *alternative society*. True revolutionary consciousness which can be seen rarely in history is the combination of these four elements.

Another important scholar Anthony Giddens (1981) also conceptualizes class consciousness ranging from class identity to revolutionary consciousness. According to Giddens (1981), class consciousness firstly requires a class identity and a conscious of the existence of other classes. This situation represents the most undeveloped state of consciousness. The second aspect of class consciousness requires recognition of the difference in the interests of other classes throughout class conflict. The last aspect of class consciousness is composed of *revolutionary class consciousness*. This level involves a recognition of the possibility of reorganization in the institutional mediation of power and a belief that this alternative society can only be constructed through *class action* (Giddens, 1981).

Rosenberg's (1953), Leggett's (1968), Mann's (1973), Giddens' (1981) analysis of class-consciousness are associated with transition from sectional class-consciousness to unionized class-consciousness, and at the final level we have witnessed emergence of an alternative social order against the existing one. However, it has to be mentioned that working class consciousness do not develop in a linear way following these processes respectively. Nevertheless, Lapreato and Hazelring (cited in Zingraff and Schulman, 1984: 99) argued that the

operationalization of working class consciousness as a process paved the way to study class identity, class attitude, class perception and class behaviors even in the absence of a revolutionary objective situation. They argued that “fully matured class consciousness as Marx sometimes spoke of it is a highly tenuous, inherently unstable situation, and thus seldom lasts for more than a short period of time, if it ever exists. For this reason, and also because of the practicalities of conducting scientific research in the face of open class conflict, the data of class consciousness are difficult to capture except in retrospect through eyes and memory of social historians. What is possible is to analytically isolate and identify some of the stages that in the broad social consciousness may eventually result in class action. While we cannot under any but the most highly unusual circumstances directly examine the self-conscious ‘class-as-corporate group’ we can study categories of people who are conscious of class to varying degrees.”

The formation of class-consciousness might encompass all these stages simultaneously. The consciousness of subordinated classes is ‘contradictory’ and ‘rough’. The ideologies of these social groups generally encompass both the official views of dominant classes and views which are derived from the practices of laboring classes at the same time (Ozugurlu, 2010).⁸ As Marshall (1983: 269) argued working class consciousness is apparently ambivalent, volatile even self-contradictory.

In the next part of the study, I shall discuss the factors that affect the formation of working class consciousness.

⁸ One might almost say that he has two theoretical consciousness (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed. But this verbal conception is not without consequences. It holds together a specific social group, it influences moral conduct and the direction of will, with varying efficacy but often powerfully enough to produce a situation in which the contradictory state of consciousness does not permit of any action, any decision or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity. Critical understanding of self takes place therefore through a struggle of political "hegemonies" and of opposing directions, first in the ethical field and then in that of politics proper, in order to arrive at the working out at a higher level of one's own conception of reality (Gramsci, 1971: 333).

2.5. Factors Affecting the Formation of Working Class Consciousness

Social researchers has focused especially the influence of labor process, union membership and ethnicity on the formation of working classes. In this part I shall discuss the impacts of these on class consciousness of workers.

Labor process is the most important determinants of class consciousness, because the labor process is not only consist of the production of commodities but also it involves ideological and political production of existing social order as well (Burawoy, 1985; Wright, 1985). The labor process is the first process that workers experienced the 'exploitation' relations. Since, class society rest on exploitation of surplus labor by a minority group who control the means of production. Due to this reason, labor process is the most important field that class struggle between capitalist and workers emerge around the issues such as wages, working conditions, working hours etc.

The structure and the organization of the labor process -especially the workers' lack of control on the labor process- are the most important factors that influence the working class consciousness. Research which are primarily focused on the relationship between the labor process and class consciousness indicate that job security, working conditions, patterns of supervision are the most important determinants of working-class consciousness (Vallas, 1987; Wallace and Junusbai, 2004).

For instance, class consciousness is highest in industries like mining, heavy engineering and foundries, where managerial control was its tightest, but it is lowest in the construction industry, where the cash nexus relationship was comparatively clear and immediate. It has long been known, of course, that class consciousness varies directly with size of the plant (Mann, 1973: 23).

However, Rosenberg (1953) argued that sometimes size of the plant prevent the development of class consciousness. Because firstly, in modern large-scale industry power is relayed through intermediate stations, the workers feel more immediate antagonism toward his/her supervisor such as foreman –who is in the same class

position- rather than the real mechanism of power. The second factor deals with the complexity of the organization of big industries. Rather than promoting unity among workers, the complexity of big industries tends to promote extreme sense of differences among laboring classes.

Another important factor that hinder laboring classes to become aware of their class interests might be the organization of labor process as a 'game' by managements. The organization of labor process as a game means that domination relations not only established through 'coercion' and but also 'consent' is an important factor. Especially the increasing job mobility, collective bargaining between unions and management and piece-rate pay system in some sectors of economy allowed management to reduce the conflict and increase the illusion among the workers that they have choices (Buroway, 1979).

The other factor that influence the formation of working class consciousness is the union affiliation. Trade unions enhance class solidarity among their members and develop the awareness of workers class interests. Zingraf's and Schulman's (1984) research carried out in South America explore that workers who are member of union and whose organizing experience date backs to old time are more aware their class interests. Besides, Roth (2004) argued that union membership not only enhance the working class consciousness. Roth's (2004) research in Canada demonstrate that union education program increase the working class consciousness. Workers who has participated to union education program are more incline to define the relations between workers and employees as an exploitation relations. These workers are also more militant and more willingness to participate to collective actions than other workers.

Ethnicity is also influence the class consciousness. Ethnicity and class awareness are often intertwined with each other. Class consciousness studies explore that being a member of ethnic minority group has increased the sense of injustice and sense of deprivation. This perception about social order brings together a high level militancy and higher class consciousness among the members of these minority groups (Leggett, 1968; Zingraff ve Schulman, 1984; Wallace ve Junasbai, 2004). Zingraff's and Schulmann's (1984) research on textile workers in Amerika argued that

comparing with white workers black workers' class awareness and class attitudes were more obvious. Besides, Leggett's (1964) research explored that being a member of a union also increased the class consciousness among the minority groups. In this regard, in Turkey, TEKEL Actions demonstrate that the militancy of Kurdish workers was higher than Turkish workers. This situation has brought the development of sympathetic attitudes among the Turkish workers towards Kurdish workers (Koç, 2010). However it is necessary to emphasize that ethnic discrimination in labor market undermines the class solidarity among workers.

After discussing the class consciousness and its operationalization in social science research in next chapter I will discuss the formation of working class in Turkey.

2.6. Conclusion

Firstly, in this chapter I discussed the distinction between 'class-in-itself' and 'class-for-itself' and argue that this distinction can only be used analytically not as a process from one phase to another. I also explore the two different conceptions of working class consciousness in Marxist tradition. The first usage of the term was mostly developed by Lukacs. Lukacs' usage of the term is generally criticized for being teleological. In the second usage of the term, consciousness is attributed to individuals rather than a social class. In this chapter, I also discussed the usefulness of E. P. Thompson's relational conception of class in working class consciousness research.

In this chapter I argue that class consciousness arises through the intermediary of class struggle. While individuals are changing themselves through praxis, they are at the same time changing themselves. Gramsci was the most important figure who emphasized the transformative strength of praxis in Marxist tradition. Besides, Gramsci's emphasis on 'common sense' gives an important opportunity to social researchers to comprehend existing revolutionary consciousness situations of the people.

In this chapter, I also discussed the reasons behind the decline of working class consciousness research. I argued that the assumptions which claimed social classes

loses its importance in the trajectories of contemporary societies has caused the decline in class consciousness research.

It is also discussed that the operationalization of class consciousness in a process makes it possible to study class consciousness in the absence of the revolutionary situation. The research on working class consciousness conceive the term from an identification with a particular class to struggle for an alternative social order.

Finally, I also evaluate the effecting factors of working class consciousness. The research on working class consciousness explore that labor process, union membership, the size of the factory are the most important factors influence the formation of working class consciousness.

CHAPTER 3

WORKING CLASS FORMATION in TURKEY

3.1. Introduction

In this part of the study I will explore the formation of working class in Turkey. I will discuss the formation of working-class through two periods: 1923-1980 and 1980-2014. In each period I firstly discuss the structural relations and then explore the general characteristics of labor movement. I also evaluate the changing feature of employment relations since 1980s by the neo-liberal policies. The most important practice of neo-liberal policies is privatization. In this regard, in this chapter also I discuss the impacts of privatization on working classes and unions resistances against privatization.

3.2. Working-Class Formation in Turkey: 1923-1980

In this section I will concentrate on two feature of working class formation in Turkey. Firstly, I will mention the influence of the relation with rural activities on the working class formation in Turkey and secondly, I will discuss the impact of state formation on the working class formation.

The working class formation is at the same time the process of ‘proletarianization’ of the masses. According to Tilly (1979: 1) “proletarianization is the set of process which increases the number of people who lack control over the means of production, and who survive selling their labor power. From the perspective of ordinary people's lives, proletarianization is the single most far-reaching social change that has occurred in the Western world over the past few hundred years, and that is going on in the world as a whole today. However, the paths, paces, and penalties of these changes have varied greatly from one time and place to another, depending on the existing system of production and reproduction, as well as on the kind of production involved.”

The proletarianization process firstly occurred in Western Europe due to the development of capitalist production relations in agriculture. The penetration of capitalist production relations through agricultural structure caused the differentiations amongst the peasantry. This social change firstly occurred in England and the logic of the market engendered the resolution of peasantry. Due to this social change most of the farmers become agricultural proletarians. However it has to be mentioned that this social transformation did not emerge only according to the economic imperatives. State also use its power on behalf of dominant social classes. By the help of state power, landlords extended their demesnes at the expense of the commons which were necessary for the survival of the peasantry (Kemp, 1993). This situation corresponded with which Marx called as the 'primitive accumulation of capital'.⁹ Hence, this process also accelerated the dissolution of subsistence economy of small peasantry and their migration to cities. The most decisive factor of Western Europe urbanization and working class formation was the dispossession of individuals before their migration to cities. At this point it can be said that the masses who migrated to cities already had an experience as an agricultural proletarians.

As Tilly indicated each social formations has different paths of proletarianization. In this sense, it has to be mentioned that Turkey's proletarianization experience diverge from Western and England and has its own specifics. In order to prevent the emergence of an aristocratic social class Ottoman Dynasty had protected the small peasantry. Thus such an experience prevented the dissolution of subsistence economy of small peasantry in Anatolia (Keyder, 1987; 2009).¹⁰ This situation, prevented the occurrence of 'primitive accumulation of capital' in Turkey which Marx identified in Western Europe.

⁹ The capital relation presupposes a complete separation between the workers and the ownership of the conditions for the realization of their labour. As soon as capitalist production stands on its own feet, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a constantly extending scale. The process, therefore, which creates the capital-relation can be nothing other than the process which divorces the worker from the ownership of the conditions of his own labour; it is a process which operates two transformations, whereby the social means of subsistence and production are turned into capital, and the immediate producers are turned into wage-labourers. So-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as 'primitive' because it forms the pre-history of capital, and of the mode of production corresponding to capital (Marx, 1979: 874-875).

¹⁰ The debates on the significant impact of small peasantry in Turkish agriculture (see Akşit, 1987; Akçay, 1987).

The first proletarianization wave of Turkey has begun with the end of 1950s and continued to 1980s. The urbanization has increased very rapidly in this period. While 75% of the total population were living in rural areas in 1950 only 25% were living in cities. However, in 1980, 43.9% of the total labor population were living in cities, and %56.1 were living in the rural areas. The mechanization of agriculture and the reaching to the arable land border were the main factors behind this rapid urbanization (Kongar, 2006: 489-551). During this period, industrialization has developed more slowly than urbanization. Due to slow industrialization the first migrants could not be absorbed by economic structure as a full time industrial wage earners.¹¹ They mostly articulated with the labor market through informal sector. Finding job in informal sector and providing housing in urban space could only be possible with the solidarity among the townsman. During this period, the migrant had provided their housing needs by squatter houses (*gecekondu*) which was constructed in the periphery of city with the solidarity of townsman. In the absence of social security mechanism and formal employment, neighborhood solidarity have important functions in the adaptation of individuals to urban life. The other distinctive feature of this proletarianization was the maintenance of agricultural relations. Supports from villages constituted the important portion of the household income and provided the adaptation of migrants to urban life (Keyder and Yenal, 2013). The existence of informal sector and the rural relations have prevented the development of class identity, class consciousness, trade unionism and labor militancy among wage-laborers in Turkey (Demir, 1995).

The accelerating urbanization after 1950 has brought significant changes in economic, politic, social and cultural life of Turkey. The import substitution development strategy has differentiated the class structure and class alliances especially after 1960s (Coşkun, 2013). I consider that the conception of relationship between social classes and state is crucial in order to understand working class formation in Turkey.

¹¹ This process was called as ‘rapid distancing from agriculture but slow proletarianization’ by Kıray (cited in İçduygu, Sirkeci and Aydıngül, 1997).

In this regard, I have to declare that I conceive the state in the framework of ‘class struggle’. In traditional Marxism state generally conceived as oppression apparatus of dominant classes. However, reducing the state to the oppression means of dominant classes results in the conception of state exogenous to class struggle (Ercan, 2007). ‘State form’, in its historical development, are associated with the social relations of specific modes of production. Gramsci’s conception of state have some important insights to transcend the reductionist conception of state in traditional Marxism. Gramsci (1971: 244) argued that “state is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules.” By placing hegemony in the level of state as well as civil society Gramsci has enlarged the state beyond only an oppression apparatus of the dominant classes (Carnoy, 2001: 259). At this point Jessop’s (1991) state theory have some advantages in order to grasp the formation of state and its relation with the formation of social classes.

Jessop (1991: 146-153) makes a distinction between ‘hegemonic projects’ and ‘accumulation strategies’. Accumulation strategies, on the one hand, are oriented directly with economic issues, so to speak, the main field of accumulation strategies is ‘production relations’. Hegemonic projects, on the other hand, are oriented to broader issues grounded not only in economic relations but also in the field of civil society and the state. Therefore, hegemonic projects are concerned with the ‘national popular’ not simply with the class relations. A strategy can be truly ‘hegemonic’ only where it is accepted by the subordinate economic classes as well as by non-hegemonic fractions and classes in the power bloc. In broad terms hegemony involves the interpellation and organization of different ‘class relevant’ (but not necessarily class conscious) forces under the ‘political, intellectual, and moral leadership’ of a particular class.

‘Capital accumulation strategy’ in Turkey between 1923-1980 periods was based on ‘import substitution’ development around the discourse of ‘national developmentalism’. The most important feature of this kind of capital accumulation was the hegemony of state on the economy. However, it has to be mentioned that in Turkey statist policies had to be implemented due to imposition of the world conjuncture. The founders of the Republican Regime declared in 1923 in Izmir

Economy Congress that their economic policy was based on 'liberalism'. The 1929 World Depression, however, necessitated the implementation of statist policies (Gülalp, 1993; Boratav, 2006).¹²

Due to 'state-assisted development and industrialization' policy state became the most important industrialist and employer in Turkey. The transition from the commercial capital accumulation to the industrial capital accumulation, in the real sense of the term, could only possible under 'state capitalism' in Turkey. While state capitalism developed after the World War II in imperialist countries, in Turkey, state capitalism had emerged as a prerequisite for the development of industrial capital (Savran, 2010). The most important means of state in order to achieve industrialization was the 'state owned enterprises'. At this point, it can be argued that state not only has influenced the formation of working class but also state itself has developed the working class and wage labor in the early periods of Republican Regime (Akkaya, 2010).

The dominant role of the state in the development of industrial capitalism has important influences in the formation of working class in Turkey. In this regard, Koray (1999: 180) argued that such a practice obstructed the formation of 'class identity' and 'class belonging' amongst the Turkish working class by blocking the reactions against the capital comparing with European countries that were experience the 'ruthless process of capital accumulation'. Moreover, the SOEs in Turkey at the very beginning of the industrialization process have offered some privileges such as higher wages, housing, education etc. to their employees. In this regard, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, have made the following assessment about the social dimensions of SOEs; "Places where these state enterprises were located like cities in the country. They were civilized places with their comfortable lifestyles that could not be seen even in democratic countries with their parks, housing, educational institutions and sporting facilities" (cited in Makal, 2007: 116). Central function of state in the roots, speed and scale of proletarianization in Turkey, however, is not rooted in the

¹² Izmir Economy Congress was held on at a time when Lausanne negotiations were suspended. Such a timing was not coincidental of course. The founders of the Republican Regime has announced to Western European states that their economic and political preferences were liberal/capitalist model not a socialist model (Gülalp, 1993).

specificity of Turkey's social formation. Rather it is the general 'characteristic of late industrialized countries' (Özüğurlu, 2005).

State, in Turkey has influenced directly the working class formation by SOEs employment especially before 1950s. Besides, state has also affected the formation of working class indirectly. According to Keyder (2004: 78) in Turkey state policy has determined the formation of working class by three ways. Firstly, as it has been mentioned above, the migrants has protected relationships with their villages. Divorcing the direct producer –farmer- from the means of the production and transformation of them to dependent wage earners and transition to agricultural capitalism necessitates the state intervention in favor of large landowners. Thus, the presence of small landownership has existed for a long time due to the lack of state intervention to agricultural structures in Turkey. Secondly, state, due to its historical heritage, has public lands in Turkey. These public lands enable the construction of squatter house for the first migrants. Thirdly, state had complaisant attitudes about the construction of these squatter houses.

It will be useful to examine briefly the struggles in the power bloc before 1980 in order to evaluate the formation of working class in Turkey. Before 1980, severe struggles had occurred to become hegemonic class in the power bloc. Within the framework of 'import substitution capital accumulation strategies' commercial, industrial and agricultural capital of Turkey were become components of 'power block', through the 'national developmentalist hegemony project'. However, in some periods power bloc fragmented and reunited. One of the most important of these struggles had occurred in 1950 general elections. By the leadership of the Democrat Party (DP), the commercial and agricultural capital wanted to become hegemonic position in the power bloc. They gain the elections. However, in the mid of the 1950s, a tension occurred between the agricultural and commercial capital which DP represented and rising industrial capital. This tension was resolved with the 1960s military coup and industrial capital gained dominant position in the power bloc (Coşkun, 2013: 57).

Yalman (2002: 15) argued that Turkish bourgeoisie class did not achieve to be a hegemonic class in anyway. The reason is not its dependence to the state but its

intolerance against the rising of labor movement. Hegemony is an onerous process since in every moment it necessitate to be reconstructed. The construction and maintenance of hegemony necessitate both the redefinition of values and the acceptance of the representation of working class rights somehow in democratic or corporatist ways. The changing of the government by the general elections in 1950 did not make any changes of the position of laboring class. However, the military coup in 1960 gave an opportunity to social classes, which are out of the power bloc, organizing according to their economic and political interests. It can be argued that, however paradoxically, Turkish bourgeoisie got the opportunity to become a hegemonic class through by a military coup.

In the next part of the chapter I will discuss the development of labor movement in Turkey during 1923-1960.

3.3. Labor Movement: From 1923 to 1980.

Trade-unionism was very weak before 1908 in the Ottoman Empire. The first labor-related organizations were workers' aid societies rather than trade-unions or workers' organizations (Karakışla, 1995). The first known labor-related organization was *Amele-i Osmanlı Cemiyeti* founded in illegally in 1895 in Istanbul Tophane Factory. However, it was shut down approximately one year later by the government (Koç, 2010: 67, Yıldırım, 2013: 100).¹³ The most decisive development in labor movement before the foundation of Republican Regime was the strike performed by Zonguldak miners in 1863. Between 1863 and 1908, 58 strikes were recorded. Sixty percent of these strikes were performed in Istanbul and organized especially by non-Muslims workers and the participation of Muslim workers in these strikes were very limited. The real peak in labor movement experienced during 1908-1913. From 23 July to the end of 1908, 138 strikes were registered. Most of them were carried out in Istanbul and Selanik. The most important demands of those strikes were wage increases and most of them carried out by unorganized workers (Akkaya, 2002a; Güzel, 1996).

¹³ In most of the studies on working class history the first labor related organization was called as *Amele Perver Cemiyeti* (Erişçi, 2003; Sülker, 2004). However, its real name was *Amel Perver Cemiyeti* and it was a charity organization rather than a worker organization or a union (Koç, 2010; Yıldırım, 2013: 10).

In order to prevent rising labor movement ‘*Committee of Union and Progress*’ (CUP) was enacted the “Strike Law” (*Tatil-i Eşgal*) in 1909. This law not only strike but also forbidden trade unionism in public services. Despite the "Strike Law" workers continued to organize according to "*Associations Law*" (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*) which was also enacted in 1909 (Koç, 2010). These guild-like bodies were mostly supported by CUP in order to prevent workers to establish their own independent organizations (Ahmad, 1995).

The most important development in this period in terms of employment legislation was the enactment of “Labor Law” (*İş Kanunu*). Labor Law, covers workplaces at least employing ten workers and it forbidden strike for workers within the scope of this law. Besides, in 1938 establishing class-based associations was also forbidden due to some changes in “Association Law” (Işık, 1995). By the establishment of Republican Regime in 1923, *Republican People’s Party* (CHF) tried to dominate labor organization through a corporatist discourse and had succeeded this to a large extent. According to Parla (1985: 46); “corporatism sees society as an organic and harmonious whole consisting of mutually interdependent and functionally contemporary parts. The major units, the molecules of society, are the occupational groups and their organizations, that are, corporations.” For this reason, between 1925 and 1946 it was not possible for workers and civil servants to carry out important collective actions (Koç, 2010).

However, in June 1946 article which prohibited the establishment of associations on the basis of class was removed. This has provided the revival of trade unionism in Turkey. Some small socialist parties achieved to establish independent unions. These kind of unionism is called as “1946 Unionism” in history of labor (Çelik, 2010). However, this experience did not last very long. All unions were closed in 16 December 1946 and their founders were imprisoned (Koç, 2010).

After the removal of the forbiddance on unionism, the first trade union confederation ‘*Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions*’ (Turk-İs) was founded in 1952. However,

its number of members and activities increased after the military coup in 1960.¹⁴ The unionization activities has increased after the military coup. In 1967, another worker confederation *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions* (Disk) was founded. Turk-Is is generally regarded as American form of unionism in literature (Akkaya, 2002b; Güzel, 1996; Işıklı, 2005; Şişmanov, 1990).¹⁵ The main reason for such speculations were the US financial aids and the frequent visits to the States by the leadership of Turk-Is (Işıklı, 2005). However, Koç (2010) argued that America did not have so much power to determine social developments in Turkey during this period. Moreover, Koç (2010) stated that from the establishment of Turk-Is to the I. General Assembly which gathered in Izmir in 6 September 1952 there were considerable socialist trade-unionist at the administration. In addition, Çelik (2010) argued that the discourse of American influence in the establishment of Turk-Is became an official left historiography since the separation between Turk-Is and Disk. Turk-Is, was mostly organized in public enterprises and mostly focused on the economic interests of their members. On the contrary, Disk not only struggled for its members' economic interests but also participate to collective actions against political power during 1970s.

After the foundation of Disk, *Nationalist Workers' Labor Movement* (Misk) was founded in 1970 as a third confederation. Misk was a federation of far right wing trade unions covering less than one per cent of the unionized workers. In 1976 *Confederation of Justice Seekers' Trade Unions* (Hak-Is)¹⁶ was also founded as a fourth confederation (Nichols *et al*; 2002). Besides, there were three weak confederations as well: Sosyal Demokrat-Is, Türk Ülke-Is and Toplum-Is. However, prior to 1980 coup d'état Turk-Is and Disk covers 2/3 of the unionized workers by their 1.200.000 members (Akkaya, 2002b: 82).

¹⁴ As I discussed above, 1960 military coup was the result of struggle among industrial and agricultural capital. Turk-Is supported coup. After the military coup quite a few workers who were known as a member of DP were laid-off (Koç, 2010).

¹⁵ The notion "American form of trade unionism" connote a weak class consciousness, distance with socialist views and existing political parties (Işıklı, 2005).

¹⁶ Hak-Is was founded around the opinions of *National Salvation Party* (MSP) which was a partner of National Front in 22 October 1976.

Trade unions were prohibited by military coup in 1970. Especially the union leaders of Disk were arrested. However after military coup lost its influence on social and political life union activities revived again (Nichols and Sugur, 2005: 191). Lots of strikes were performed between 1970 and 1980. 179000 workers who were member of Turk-Is and 118000 workers who were member of Disk participated to strikes during that time. Towards the end of the 1970s class struggle intensified and street conflicts had increased. These developments prepared the 12 September military coup of 1980 (Akkaya, 2002b).

Before going into the detailed analysis of working class formation since 1980s, it will be helpful to briefly mention the historical establishment of Petrol-Is. Petrol-Is was founded by the application of 25 oil workers who were working in Beykoz especially in foreign oil companies such as Shell, Mobil and BP in Istanbul with the name of " Istanbul Oil Workers' Union" (*İstanbul Akaryakıt İşçileri Sendikası*) after the "Trade Union Law" enacted in 1947. By the 5. General Assembly in 7 March 1954 the name of the union was changed as "Turkey Oil Workers' Union" (*Türkiye Petrol İşçileri Sendikası*) with the short name of Petrol-Is (Petrol-Is, 2000). After the 7. General Assembly in 1956 Petrol-Is opened 10 agencies in Eskişehir, Bandırma, Balıkesir, Erzincan, Erzurum, Merzifon, Mudanya, Gaziemir, Etimesgut and Boğazköprü and spread throughout the country. Petrol-Is in 1960 became a member of "International Federation of Petroleum Workers" (*Uluslararası Petrol ve Kimya İşçileri Sendikası*).

Petrol-Is accepted the founding principle of American unionism from the beginning until the 14. General Assembly which held in 1972. However in 1972 Petrol-Is abandoned this principle and indicated that it is the defender of a "social democratic" order (Petrol-Is, 1972). Twelve unions including Petrol-Is founded "Social Democrat Unionist Association" (*Sosyal Demokrat Sendikacılar Birliği*) and stood for election as a separate group in 9. General Assembly of Turk-Is but defeated (Petrol-Is, 2000).

After the mid-1970, Petrol-Is endeavored for a merger or a unity of action between Disk and Turk-Is in order to overcome the chaotic environment that Turkey enmired (Petrol-Is, 2000). Turk-Is administration remained silent about the efforts of Petrol-Is and Disk invitation for unity of action and Turk-Is was criticized by Petrol-Is for

their attitudes (Petrol-Is, 2000). Petrol-Is described its own unionism understanding as "democratic class and mass trade unionism" that was different from "yellow" and "reformist" unionism (Petrol-Is, 2000).

After elucidating the labor movement between 1923 and 1980 in next part of this chapter I will discuss the formation of working class in Turkey since 1980s.

3.4. Working Class Formation of Turkey since 1980s.

As I discussed above the achievement of hegemony projects is associated with the accomplishment of capital accumulation strategies. At the end of the 1970s capital accumulation crises has expanded all over the world. In order to overcome such crises more 'flexible capital accumulation strategy' has put into practice since 1980s. However, this strategy was also aimed at excluding laboring classes from the political life of societies. In this regard Jessop (1991) makes a distinction between 'one-nation' projects and 'two nations' project. While one-nation strategies aimed at expansive hegemony projects, which include the entire population (Keynesian Welfare State), two nation projects aimed at more limited hegemony concerned to mobilize the support of strategically significant sector of the population and excluded the rest (as in fascism and Thatcherism). Since the beginning of the 1980s, 'two nation strategy' was become prominent almost every social formations in the world. This two nation strategy has been carried out by neo-liberal policies all over the world.

The influence of neo-liberal policies has increased with the breakdown of post-World order: "the end of the 'golden age' of rapid worldwide growth in the late 1960s, the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s, the erosion of the so-called 'Keynesian compromise' in wealthy nations in the mid-1970s, the meltdown of the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and the implosion of developmental alternatives in the poor countries, especially after balance of payments crises in the 1980s and 1990s. Neoliberal policy is not only a model of 'economic deregulation' but also it involves extensive and invasive interventions in each area of social life (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). The crises of the capital accumulation has directed capital to labor markets where labor was cheap. However the fragmented structure of capitalist

world economy between 1945-1975 periods has become an obstacle in front of the interests of transnational corporations. In order to overcome national boundaries trade, money and capital flows in all over the world were liberalized by structural adjustment programs (Balseven and Önder, 2009).

In the second half of the 1970s, Turkey's economy also have driven into a severe depression due to external payment difficulties and high price increases. Hence a series of new economic measures were decided in 24 January 1980. The logic of the market have become the only reality in the economic and social life of Turkey by these measures (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2003). The neo-liberal transformation of economic, politic and social life which was recommended by IMF and WB could only be realized under a military coup d'état in Turkey. The reason of this severe transition was the increasing of capital accumulation crises and the intensification of class struggle especially through the end of 1970s (Coşkun, 2008).

The ruling classes has tried to transcend economic crisis by changing the capital accumulation crises from “import-substitution” to “export-substitution” model. The achievements of this strategy were only possible under some severe measures such as prohibition of unions' actives, liquidation of public investments and privatization of SOEs (Boratav, 1998). As I mentioned above, these measures function as the implementation of ‘two nation strategy’ and excluded the laboring classes form outside of political sphere (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001).

These neo-liberal policies have provided proliferation of proletarianization in Turkey. The ongoing proletarianization can be examined through sectorial distribution of labor force, employment status and unregistered employment. Neo-liberal policies have various effects on the formation of working class in Turkey. The most important impact of these policies is the acceleration of the dissolution of agricultural structures. The dissolution of agricultural structures has expanded the speed and size of the proletarianization in Turkey. According to the Table 3.1, 50% of the total labor force is employed in service activities, 23.6% in agricultural activities, 19.4% in industrial activities and 7% in construction in 2013. It is significant in the Table 3.1 that the labor force in the agricultural activities decreases from 50.6% in 1980 to 23.6% in 2013. Therefore, in thirty-three years 47% decline

has occurred in agricultural employment. The decline in the agricultural labor force demonstrate the scale of proletarianization in Turkey in three decades.

Table 3.1. Sectoral Distribution of Labor Force

Economic Activities	TOTAL	
	1980	2013
Agriculture	50.6	23.6
Industry	20	19.4
Construction	5.4	7.0
Services	25	50.0

Source: TURKSTAT (2014)

However, the proletarianization process is not only consist of joining the small peasantry into the ranks of wage-earners but also significant number of self-employed in urban areas has attended to the ranks of proletarians due to the destructive effects of capitalism and globalization (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 22). According to the Table 3.2, 64.1% of total labor force consist of by wage-earners in Turkey in 2013. However this ratio is 40.4% in 1988. Thus the ratio of wage earners in the total labor force has increased 23.7% in fifteen years. While the self-employed constitute 25.9% of the total labor force in 1988, this figures decreases to 18.7% in 2013. It is possible to indicate a similar change in the unpaid family workers. While unpaid family workers constitute 19.5% of the total labor force in 2003, this figures decreases to 12.6% in 2013. Most of the unpaid family workers are rural women. This may also be related with rural migration to urban areas. These figures point out that the proletarianization of the labor force still continues in Turkey with the implementation of neo-liberal policies.

Table 3.2. Employment by Status (%)

	1988	2013
Salaried/Wage Earners	40.4	64.1
Employer	3.5	4.6
Self Employed	25.9	18.7
Unpaid Family Worker	30.2	12.6

Source: TURKSTAT (2014)

The other important feature of labor market in Turkey is the high level of unregistered employment. 36.7% of the total labor force do not registered in any of the social security system. While the unregistered employment is 82.2% in

agricultural activities it decreases to 22.3% in non-agricultural activities. However the figures are so high among the women comparing with men (Table 3.3). There are several reasons for unregistered employment such as; fiscal, economic, politic, social and juridical. Besides, insufficient unionization, subcontracted employment and lack of dissuasive penalties also causes unregistered employment (Arslan *et all*, 2011). However the high unemployment rate is the most important factor of unregistered employment. High level of unemployment increases the number of workers, who have forced to accept working in such conditions (Süngü, 2008).

Table 3.3. Employment by the Registration to Social Security Institutions (%) 15+ Years (2013)

		Male	Female
TOTAL	36.7	30.2	51.9
Agriculture	83.2	71.7	96.2
Non-Agriculture	22.3	21.1	26.0

TURKSTAT (2013)

According to TURKSTAT (2014), unemployment rate is 10% in Turkey at the end of the 2013. However, it is estimated that these figures are much higher than the official figures. According to the research of Disk (2014) when adding the individual who are not seeking jobs for several reasons this figure, increases up to 16%. The high level of unemployment and high level of unregistered employment have devastating effects on the organizational power of the workers.

Proletarianization of the labor force continues rapidly with the implementation of neo-liberal policies. However, neo-liberal policies not only has accelerated the increasing portion of wage earners, but also they transform the employment relations as well. It is often acknowledge that the Keynesian policies between 1945 and 1975 cause problems such as inflation, poor productivity, lack of competitiveness and industrial disputes. In order to overcome such problems governments have tried to liberalize, deregulated labor markets and implemented policies to increase flexible employment relations (Brown, 1997a).

The employment relations in Fordist era was mostly based on high degrees of standardization of labor relations; the labor contract, the work site and the working hours. All these were under the strict control of the state. However, in contemporary

word of employment standardized full employment and the boundaries between work and non-work beginning to soften. Flexible, precarious and pluralized forms of employment are spreading all over the world (Beck, 1992: 142). The development in transportation and communication technologies have provided transnational companies with the opportunity to locate their operations anywhere in the world in order to take advantage of availability of cheaper labor, land, capital and other resources (Brown, 1997b). In this general situation, geographical distances lose its significance as a natural limit to competition between different production sites. This deterritorialization of the social and political life provides capital organizing globally, however, labor remains still in its local context (Beck, 2000).

The collapsing of social-welfare state and social compromise among the capitalist classes and working class means the rising of 'precarious employment', 'deregulation' and 'flexibilisation' of the labor market. Beck (2002: 4) argued that "insecurity prevails in nearly all positions within society", and top and bottom are no longer clearly defined poles. The proliferation of precarious conditions, temporary and insecure employment all over the world is conceptualized by Beck (2002: 1) as 'Brazilianization'. While in developed countries precarious employment takes the form of flexible, atypical and temporary form of employment, in underdeveloped countries it takes the form of marginalization and informalisation of employment relations (Temiz, 2004).

In order to accommodate themselves to rising competition, modern enterprises have begun to organize their activities in a more flexible manner. Atkinson (1985) argued that the most important result of this flexible organization for employees is the division of the labor force as 'core' and 'peripheral' in the same firm. While core workforce is multi-skilled and functionally flexible, peripheral workforce is more disposable, have fewer employment rights, temporary and short term contracts. Besides flexible firms has extended subcontracting and other forms of distancing strategies.

Flexibility of labor of course, takes many different forms. Munck (1999: 6) identified five different flexibility which flexible firms applied. The first type of flexibility is the *external numerical flexibility*. This flexibility enables employers to adjust the

number of workers at a given time. Second flexibility is the *externalization* of labor force. This type of flexibility enables employers to implement some various forms of sub-contracting and putting-out system. The third type of flexibility, is called *internal numerical flexibility* in which working hours and shifts, etc. have been decided according to employers' needs. Fourth type of flexibility is called as *functional flexibility*. Functional flexibility provide opportunity to employers to organize labor force according to the needs of the enterprise through job assignments and job rotations. Final type is the *wage flexibility*. In this type of the flexibility, employers use different wage policies among employees through their 'performance' and 'productivity'. All this type of flexibility enables employers to organize labor force according to the fluctuations in the labor market.

Moody (1997) called these developments as 'lean production'. These development is possible thanks to the computer-based production system. Lean production brought with it a number of changes in Taylorist and Fordist mass production system. It has provided employers using just-in-time, multi-skilling, job rotation, quality circles, numerical and functional flexibility, extensive outsourcing in the labor process. Employers by using lean production system can adopt themselves fluctuation in the market more easily by constantly readjusting the production system and labor process. Unlike, Fordist mass production system, lean production means the increasing of flexible employment relations (Moody, 1997).¹⁷ High technology provides employers to reduce the labor costs by 'deskilling' labor power of workers. Although high technology enhance skilled workers to use their brain labor in the labor process, it means 'deskilling' for most of the workers. Furthermore, high technology and flexible employment relations also reduce the control of workers on labor process (Sennett, 1998).

Privatization is the most important strategy which enhance the implementation of the flexible employment relations through all labor market. I think it would be helpful to discuss the privatization in a wider framework. The discussion of privatization in a

¹⁷ Lean production is based on the principle that how production can be done with fewer equipment, process and time. The most important objective of lean production is to minimize all kind of costs including human sources. This undermines the job security of workers and also some managerial staffs (Suğur, *et all*, 2004).

wider context is important as the participants of this dissertation are working in a privatized enterprises and their attitudes will be discussed below. Next, I will elaborate this issue.

3.5. Privatization as a Neo-liberal Strategy

In this regard, it can be argued that privatization is the most important strategy which enhance the implementation of flexible employment relations through all labor market. Although as a neo-liberal strategy privatization has increased since the 1980s, it has to be mentioned that its historical background dates back to old times. The first privatization implementations were used in fascist Italy in 1920s and fascist Germany in 1930s. The state monopoly on match sales and most state-owned telephone networks were privatized and also the state monopoly on life insurance was eliminated under the first fascist government in Italy. However, Mussolini's main reason was not ideological, rather fascist politicians used privatization as a means in order to improve confidence among the industrialists (Bel, 2011).¹⁸

Examination of the experiences of the various countries especially in the 1960s and 1970s show that due to the import substituting industrialization discourse the period was dominated by the growing of 'state owned enterprises'. However after 1980s privatization is the most important strategy to enhance the domination of neo-liberal polices all over the world. For instance; the examination of Sri Lanka, Caribbean, Pakistan¹⁹, Middle East Europe,²⁰ shows us that after the middle of the 1980s, privatization of SOEs in those countries have become the most important practices for solving financial crisis (Kelegema, 1997; McBain, 1997; Naqvi and Kemal, 1997; Rapacki, 1997).

¹⁸ Mussolini in 1921 said that; "the state must have a police, a judiciary, an army and a foreign policy. All other things, and I do not exclude secondary education, must go back to the private activity of individuals. If one wants to save the State, the Collectivist State must be abolished... I will give the railways and the telegraphs back to private hands, because the current state of things is outrageous and vulnerable in all its parts. The ethical State is not the monolistic State, the bureaucratic State but the one which reduces its functions to what is strictly necessary. We are against the economic State" (cited in, Bel, 2011).

¹⁹ Although privatization applications in Pakistan go back as far as to 1950s, since 1985 these applications have become more systematic.

²⁰ In post-socialist countries of east-central Europe privatization process is long-term, multidimensional and more complex process which encompassing the whole society when compared with Western European economies.

Many people consider privatization simply to the divestment of ownership of the SOEs and the measurement of privatization is generally reduced to the number of SOEs sold or transfer to the private ownership. However privatization cannot be reduced to selling SOE and their assets to private capital. Some basic needs of the people such as health, education, water and so forth have included into the scope of privatization (Bennett, 1997). In this regard, Harvey (2003) argued that privatization of public assets, commodification of nature are the new waves of ‘enclosing the commons’. The reversion of common property rights such as the right to a state pension, to welfare, to national health care won through years of hard class struggle. However, these acquirements of the masses are taken away especially by privatization.

Although the purpose of privatization can be changed regarding to the socio-economic structure of the society, I can categories the main aims of privatization under four headings (Bennett, 1997: 7):

- a) *political goals*; such as reducing the public sector and enhancing the private sector,
- b) *efficiency goals*; increasing productivity and microeconomic efficiency,
- c) *fiscal stabilization goals*; such as reducing the public debt, maximizing proceeds of sale,
- d) *resource mobilization goals*; such as promoting foreign investment in the country.

There are generally three ways of doing privatization: *divestment*, *delegation* and *displacement*. *Divestment* means the transfer of state-owned assets to private ownership. By *delegation*, it is generally suggested the transfer of management and control of state assets or activities to agents operating accordance with market indicators, together with the introduction of private sector managerial autonomy and incentives (while maintaining state ownership and ultimate control). *Displacement* means the allowance of the expansion of private sector in public enterprises by outsourcing (Bennett, 1997: 4).

Although the debate over privatization in Turkey began with the establishments of SOEs, the stable steps were in 1980s under the consultation of IMF's and WB's structural adjustment programs (Tecer, 1992). The idea of privatization of public assets emerged as an official ideology in the mid of the 1980s and the main ideological discourse of privatization were announced as; improving efficiency, reducing excessive employment and waste in the state enterprises (Yeldan, 2005).²¹

The initial attempts of privatization has occurred with the legal arrangements in 1984 and 1986. In May 1986 the consulting firm Morgan Guaranty Bank prepared a Privatization Master Plan which established the objectives and priorities of the Turkish privatization program (Tecer, 1992; Yeldan, 2005). The 'privatization master plan' would seek: (1) to transfer the decision making process from the public to private sector to ensure a more effective play of market forces; (2) to promote competition, improve efficiency and increase the productivity of public enterprises; (3) to reduce the financial burden of the state economic enterprises on the general budget; (4) to raise revenue for the Treasury (Yeldan, 2005).

Privatization efforts in Turkey have started in 1984 with transferring of the unfinished state-owned facilities to private sector with the aim of finishing these facilities or establishing new ones (RTPMPA, 2011). However the first main attempt of privatization was the selling of *Teletas* in 1988. Twenty two percent shares of *Teletas* sold through the method of public offers in February 1988. In the first years of privatization the governments mostly concentrated on the sectors such as cement industry, iron and steel, airport and ground services, aircraft tires, public banks and electricity and energy (Yeldan, 2005).

The privatization program generally took three modes of sales techniques in Turkey; "block sales", "public offers" and "direct sales" of assets and premises of SOEs and their subsidiaries". Fourth four percent of the privatization performed by bloc sales, 31% by direct sales and only 21% by "public offer" (RTPMPA, 2013). The significance of the 'bloc sales' have demonstrated that the financial inclusion which

²¹ Those objectives was based on the neo-liberal dogma that state involvement in the economic process always leads to wasteful "rent-seeking" (Yeldan, 2005).

has been the main discourse of neo-liberal policies has not been achieved by privatization.

The most important ideological justification for privatization of SOEs in Turkey is their low level of productivity comparing with private sector. However the most important reason of the existence of SOE's is the contribution to public deficits rather than profit making. The SOEs use the production of essential goods and services and employment strategies for such a purpose. Furthermore the argument which base on the assumption that SOEs are unproductive has overlooked the most important thing that the main reason of the inefficiency of SOEs is the fluctuations in the world economy (Şensez, 1993).

Since 1985, 49 billion \$ has been reacquired from privatizations. However, privatizations have been mostly implemented by under the hegemony of *Justice and Development Party* (AKP) government between the years 2003-2013. While 8 billion \$ privatization were carried out from 1986 to 2003, 41 billion \$ were carried out only in ten years from 2003 to 2013 (RTPMPA, 2013). This implies that, neo-liberal policies have been implemented severely since 2002 by the AKP Governments.

Since 1980s due to intense privatization important portion of decline have occurred in the public sector employment. After the abandonment of 'full employment' Keynesian policies, which was admitted as a norm all over the world between 1945 and 1980s, unemployment rates drastically increase in all national economies, youth jobless rates excess to 55 percent in some advanced nations, inequality and poverty are also rising. The Keynesian 'full employment' strategies however have led to disaffection among the capitalist classes from the very beginning due its more egalitarian distribution of national welfare among different social classes (Mitchell, 2013).

Privatization and liberalization of labor markets have compelled companies under enormous competitive pressure. In order to accommodate themselves to these competitive conditions companies mostly try to reduce their labor costs by trying to vitiate 'traditional public sector labor relations'. Traditional public sector labor relations have four main characteristics such as; strong positions of trade unions,

centralized collective bargaining system, relatively low degree of wage dispersion, and long-term employment relationship. While in the public sector employees are seen as relatively homogeneous workforce, privatizations of public services and enterprise have led companies to divide the workforce as ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ as in the same as flexible companies. The result of this division among the employees is the creation of two-tier workforce with differences regarding pay and working-conditions (Schulten, Brandt and Herman, 2008).

The influence of privatization can be examined from the decreasing the number employees in SOEs in Turkey during three decades. As can be seen from Table 3.4, the number of employees in SOEs decreases very seriously from the middle of the 1985 to 2013. While 653.066 employees were working in SOEs in 1985, this figure decreases to 130.525 in 2013. Thus, from 1985 up to 2013 approximately 80% employment reduction has occurred in SOEs due to the intense privatizations.

Table 3.4. Number of Employees in SOEs in Turkey

1985	1995	2005	2013
653066	496356	247262	130525

Source: <http://www.hazine.gov.tr/default.aspx?nsw=EilDPQez15w=-H7deC+LxBI8=&mid=60&cid=14&nm=34>

Table 3.5. The Status of Employees in SOEs

Status	1985	1995	2005	2013
Civil Servants	187276	13085	7012	4684
Unionized Employee	385547	231814	119900	68234
Contracted Workers	4159	165074	86870	47384

Source: <http://www.hazine.gov.tr/default.aspx?nsw=EilDPQez15w=-H7deC+LxBI8=&mid=60&cid=14&nm=34>

Not only the number of employees decreases in the SOEs but also the precarious working conditions have become much more evident. While the number of ‘civil servants’ and ‘unionized workers’ are decreasing, the number of contracted workers increase in the same period. While the number of civil servant employees was 187.276 and unionized employees’ number was 385.547 in 1985, these figures decreases to 4.684 for civil servants and 68.234 for unionized workers in 2013.

However the number of contracted employees increases from 4.159 to 47.384 in the same period.

Besides, the contracted workers number are increasing in the labor market due to neo-liberal policies. However, it is not possible to find accurate numbers of subcontracted workers in Turkey. Nevertheless the answer of Faruk Çelik the Minister of Labor and Social Security against the parliamentary question of Mahmut Tanla may give some clues about the general trend. According to the Table 3.6, there were 1611204 subcontracted workers in 2011. However this number was 387.118 in 2002. Therefore the number of subcontracted workers has increased more than 4 times approximately in ten years period.

Table 3.6. The Number of Subcontracted Workers By Years

2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2011
387118	581490	907153	1261680	1293898	1611204

Source: <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-9123c.pdf>

Besides, important portion of reduction in employment has occurred in privatized enterprises. While 40.477 people employed in 26 enterprises before privatization, the employment decreases to 28.600 after the privatizations of the enterprises (RTPMPA 2013).²² As can be seen from the figures, after privatization approximately 30% employment reduction has been occurred in those enterprises.

At this point, I consider it would be useful briefly examine privatization of Petkim. As I mentioned earlier, Petkim was included into the scope of privatization in 1987. Despite many attempts the privatization process completed in 2008 with the decisive steps of AKP governments.

The privatization process in Petkim has started with the transfer of Petkim İzmit-Yarımca Company to Tüpraş in September 2001. After this transfer 465 workers have been retired and some of the workers have started to work in Aliğa Petkim. Besides, Çanakkale plastic Factory was closed down in 2003. After these

²² The figures calculated by the author from the data of Republic of Prime Ministry Privatization Administration.

developments the privatization efforts accelerated and the first tender was carried out for 88.9% of public share of Petkim in 13.01.2003. The ‘Standard Chemical Inc.’ won the tender by 605 million \$ with the highest tender offer. However the government confiscated the properties of this group by an operation. As the company did not fulfill the obligations at a given time the tender canceled. After that time another render was carried out in August 2003 for the 88.86% public share of Petkim selling via public offer. Due to insufficient offers tender was canceled in final submission date.

34.5% public share of Petkim sold for 269 million \$ with public offer on April 2005. After this selling 24.6% of total capital of Petkim has passed to foreign investors. Finally, 51% of public share of Petkim was sold in July 2007 with the render offer 2 billion 40 million \$ to Socar-Turcas-Injaz Joint Venture Group.

Before privatization was completed important changes has occurred in employment relations. Since the beginning of privatization efforts of Petkim governments carried out two important practice to divide the employees. The first practice is the division of employees as ‘unionized’ (*kapsam içi*) and ‘non-unionized’ (*kapsam dışı*). According to the Table 3.7, everyone in the factory were the members of the union including the engineers before 1990. However they have been working as non-unionized employee since 1990. Due to this policy, the representation of union decreased to 86.4%.

Table 3.7. Qualitative Distribution of Employment in Petkim (%)

	Non-Unionized	Unionized	Permanent Total	Contracted	Total
1989	0.0	100	100	0	100
1990	13.6	86.4	100	0	100
1991	14.0	86.0	100	0	100
1992	10.2	62.7	72.9	27.1	100
1993	12.4	69.6	82.0	18.0	100
1994	12.3	69.6	81.9	18.1	100
1995	11.4	70.7	82.0	18.0	100
1996	11.3	70.3	81.6	18.4	100
1997	11.4	70.0	81.3	18.7	100

Source: Petrol-Is (1999)

The second division that the employers constantly prompted was the division of employees as ‘permanent’ (*kadrolu*) and ‘contracted’ (*taşeron*). As can be seen from Table 3.7, the contracted workers were employed first in 1992. The main aim of these practices was, on the one hand, to neutralize the influence of union, on the other hand, decreasing the wages and job security. For instance, while the number of unionized and permanent workers was decreasing, the number of workers almost the same between 1989-1977 with the increasing employment of ‘contracted’ workers (Petrol-İs, 1999: 37-38). The total employment was 6.828 with contracted, unionized and non-unionized employees in 1998. This number decreases to 4.859 employees in 2002 (Petrol-İş, 2003).

Thus, an important reduction has occurred in employment over the years. After 1999 until 2006 there were so few numbers of new workers have been hired. According to the union officers, the aim of this policy was weakening the power of union in its struggle against privatization. Before privatization 2.497 unionized workers were working in the enterprise. However this figures has decreased to 1998 unionized workers after privatization.²³ Here I have to mention that this reduction in the employment does not arise from the expulsion of workers but the retirement of them.

For instance, after privatization of enterprises where Petrol-İs is the authorized union employment has declined up to 38.9%. In addition to the decrease in employment rates, trade union organization also deteriorated after privatization. For example, the activities of Petrol-İs come to end in six of the privatized enterprises (Petrol-İş, 2013).

After discussing the effects of neo-liberal policies on formation of working class, employment relations and the privatization in the next section, I will discussed the other phase of the working class, the unionism since 1980s.

²³ These figures are derived from the Petrol-İs research services.

3.6. 1980s: Neo-Liberal Restructuring and Trade Union Decline

While the history of trade unionism goes back to “Industrial Revolution”, unions have become a determining factor in social and economic life of contemporary societies with the hegemony of Fordist accumulation regime in 1945-1975. Trade unions, labor parties and welfare state applications were the main institutions that regulated the industrial relations in this framework (Kalaycıoğlu *et all*, 2008). However by the end of the Fordist consensus in 1980s the labor movement and trade unions in general has lost their effects in social and economic life of contemporary societies.

As I mentioned above, neo-liberal policies is an attack against acquisitions of laboring classes. At this point, it can be argued that the most important attack of neo-liberal policies is against the organizational power of working class. So to speak, the most important aim of neo-liberal policies is reducing the number of unionized workers. However, explaining the decreasing influences of unions in economic, social and political life only with the impacts of neo-liberal policies would be to oversimplify the issue. It should be noted that there are subjective reasons as well. Although the most important determining factors are the neoliberal social transformations of social life, the inadequacy of unions to develop new strategies against these changes also have to be mentioned.

There are several objective reasons behind the decline of trade union membership. Through the process of economic restructuring employment relation has changed since 1980s. The flexible employment has caused the increasing of atypical forms of work, the expansion of subcontracted workers (Willis, 2001; Munck, 2003; Levesque and Murray, 2010). The deregulation of the labor market, the imposition of insecurity to wage earners since 1980s has obliterated the objective conditions of trade union organizing (Selamoğlu, 2004). The rising of unemployment rates due to global competition is also an important factor that reduces the influence of unions in economic, social and political life. For instance, Buğra’s *et all* (2005) research indicates that in Turkey the most important hesitation of workers joining to union is the fear of unemployment. Özugurlu’s (2005) research carried out in Denizli justifies that workers are right at their hesitations. Because most of the workers who tried to

organize a union in their factories were fired. However, there is not enough juridical restrictions against the hostile attitudes of employers about the unionization of workers in Turkey. Due to these reasons it has become so difficult for unions to retain their members and recruit new ones (Yıldırım and Uçkan, 2010).

Besides these, practices such as ‘total quality managements’, and ‘human resource management’ have also effected the decline of trade unions. Human resource management is based on the ‘partnership’ of employees and employers. The emphasis on partnership assumes that employers and employees have common interests (Işık, 2009). As Kelly (1998: 14) argued “the old ‘adversarial’ industrial relations was castigated as destructive and irrelevant in the current era of intensified world competition.” This ideological structure considers trade unions as unnecessary, because they lead to conflictual relations between employers and employees.

However, these objective reasons regarding the decline of trade union membership do not provide adequate explanations about the withdrawal of unions from constitution of economic, cultural and social life of contemporary societies. The subjective dimension of the issue should not to be ignored. The subjective reason of the decline emanate from preferring specific organizing structures which are mostly concentrates on skilled, white and male workers (Dufour and Hege, 2010). The central ‘imagined of solidarities’ of unions have traditionally privileged the interests of one group of workers (skilled, white, male, full-time, manual workers) and excludes others groups such as unskilled, ethnic minority members, women, atypical and service workers (Hyman, 1992).²⁴ The union’s orientation demonstrate that they do not analyzes the changing economic and social structure. The increasing importance of the service sector and the proliferation of atypical employment relations has compelled unions to organize these workers. Unions should give more importance to the organizing of unorganized workers. Because if they do not achieve to organize these unorganized workers, it would also cause in the decline in the existing membership.

²⁴ It is important here to note that the exclusion of minority interests is not the reflection of negative views of subgroup of workers. It is rather because of the union organizers strategies which give priority to ‘winnable’ and ‘salient’ demands of workers which are mostly gain widespread support in workplace (Simms, 2012).

It has to be mentioned here that, the notions of working class never a mere sociological description. Differentiations, divisions, and disunity have been omnipresent features of trade union development from the very beginning. Therefore, solidarity is not a fixed or natural among workers. It is always necessary to campaign and struggle for relative unity among workers and their organizations (Hyman, 1992: 166).²⁵ The distancing of such groups from trade unions is due to the weakening capacity of leader groups in the identity formation process (Dufour and Hege, 2010: 361). In order to achieve renewal trade unions need to reinforce solidaristic values among heterogeneous identities. These groups have as much potential as in the past and whether they become unionized depends on the performance of the union leaders rather than the core change in values and identities (Peetz, 2010).

After briefly exploring the objective and subjective reasons behind the union decline, I shall discuss the decline in union membership in world and Turkey. As it has been mentioned above trade union memberships have declined in vast majority of the countries since 1980s (Dufour and Hege, 2010). According to the Table 3.8, while the average unionization rate was 30.2% in 1984 in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the figures decreases to 17.6% in 2010. However unionization rate in Turkey is far beyond the OECD countries' average. According to OECD (2013) data unionization rate in Turkey is 5.9% in 2010. This is the lowest rate among the OECD countries. The most striking result is the sharp decline in unionization rates in Turkey while comparing with the OECD average unionization rates. While the OECD average decreases 8.5% between 1990 and 2010, in Turkey this decrease has occurred 13.3% in the same years. This indicates that the average decline in Turkey is much more severe than the OECD average decline.

²⁵ Eley (argued that “the crucial strategic problem confronting labor movement (or for that matter, any political movement) was how to mobilize the maximum solidarity from a socially defined constituency which has no essential unity in the sphere of consciousness, but on the contrary a series of particularistic loyalties and preferences and a widely differing experience of everyday life, a mosaic of individual histories. The analysis of working class politics begins with this dialectic –the contradictory and dynamic intersection and fragmenting tendencies within class as a whole” (cited in Hyman, 1992: 166).

Table 3.8. Trade Union Density Rate in Some OECD Countries

	1984	1990	1996	2002	2010
Australia	47.1	39.6	30.8	22.9	18.1
Belgium	49.2	51.1	52.5	50.9	50.6
Canada	35.9	34	33.8	28.4	27.4
Denmark	79.3	75.3	77.4	73.2	68.2
Greece	38.2	34.1	30.3	25.5	25.2
Italy	45.3	38.8	37.4	33.8	35.5
Korea	13.2	17.2	12.1	10.8	9.7
Mexico	-----	-----	14.5	15.9	14.4
Spain	9.9	12.5	16.1	16	15.6
Sweden	80.8	80	82.7	78	68.2
Turkey	-----	19.2	12.5	9.5	5.9
OECD	30.2	26.1	22.4	19.5	17.6

Source: (2013) OECD. Stat Extracts. Labor - Trade Union-Trade Union Density. (<http://stats.oecd.org/#>)

The decline in unionization rate in Turkey can be seen more apparently in Table 3.9. While the unionization rate was 22.2% in 1988, it decreases to 5.4% in 2011. Despite the number of workers benefited from the collective bargaining decreases, the total number of workers has increased from 7 million to 14 million. According to the Table 3.9., union density in Turkey has declined 16.8% approximately in two decades.

Table 3.9. Trade Union Density in Turkey

Years (%)	Worker Beneficiary from Collective Bargaining (thousand)	Total Worker (thousand)	Trade Union Density
1988	1.591	7.170	22.2
1995	1.144	8.471	13.5
2002	1.007	10.625	9.5
2006	902	12.999	7.0
2011	802	14.876	5.4

Source: For 'worker beneficiary from collective bargaining' TRMLSS; For Total Worker; TURKSTAT (2014). Calculated by the method of Çelik and Loroğlu (2006).

Unionization rates in private sector is much lower than public sector in Turkey. The public sector workers still constitute the vast majority of the workers covered by collective bargaining. Even though the number of workers increase in private sector over the years, the number of workers covered by collective bargaining is reducing.

According to the Table 3.10, the number of workers in private sector was 5.584.000 in 1995, this number increases to 10.748.388 in 2010. During the same period the number of workers covered by collective bargaining decreases from 437.788 to 380.218. The unionization rate also has decreased from 7.8% to 3.5% from 1995 to 2010 (Sosyal-Is). These figures demonstrate that unionization in private sector is very difficult in Turkey.

Table 3.10. Trade Union Density in Private Sector

Years (%)	Worker Beneficiary from Collective Bargaining	Total Worker Private Sector	Trade Union Density
1995	437.788	5.584.000	7.8
2002	415.972	7.483.000	5.6
2006	399.656	9.918.000	4.0
2010	380.218	10.748.388	3.5

Source: Sosyal-Is (2012)

Trade union movement has declined all over the world because of those above mentioned objective and subjective reasons. However, we should not forget the destructing effect of 12 September military coup d'état on labor movement in Turkey. The Union Law which was enacted in 1983 has weakened the union activities. Lots of collective actions such as political strike, general strike, solidarity strike, work stoppage, and sit down strike were prohibited by the law (Nichols and Sugur, 2005: 192).

I should be noted that every union did not encounter with same sanctions. Turk-Is evidently supported the military coup and its General Secretary was appointed as Ministry of Social Security after the military coup. Turk-Is has started its activities a few months after the military coup. Hak-Is, has started its activities in 1983 and Misk in 1984. However, Disk remain closed until 1991 (Koç, 1994; Nichols and Sugur, 2005).

Despite all these pressures and intimidations, workers showed their discontents against the falling of reel wages especially through the end of 1980s which pass into history as "Spring Actions" (*Bahar Eylemleri*) (Akkaya, 2002b). Due to the restrictions workers showed their discontent by some passive resistance methods

such as going to the workplace doctor collectively, getting their hairs cut and grow their beard (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). Spring Actions stopped the decline in ‘real wage’ but more importantly it was the beginning of the ‘legitimate mass action’ tradition among the public sector workers after the military coup (Koç, 2010).

Birelma (2013) categorizes collective actions of labor movement under five groups. In the first group, there are collective actions such as strikes, work stoppage, meetings etc. organized by unionized workers and civil servant either in the public or private sector. Second group of actions are consisted of anti-privatization struggles of workers against the selling of their enterprises. These actions mostly have restricted within local scale. The third type of actions are performed by non-unionized workers against injustice applications of their employees. Most of the workers are fired at the end of these actions. Fourth group of the actions are contracted workers actions. And finally, there were some actions performed by workers for being unionized.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I examine the working class formation within the framework of capitalist production relations and labor movement. Late capitalization has also engender the late development of labor movement. State has undertaken a crucial role in the development of capitalist production relations in Turkey. State not only framed the production relations but it also involved in the formation of working class as an employer. In particular, state provided the development of industrial capitalism by ‘import substitution developmentalist’ strategy especially from 1923 through 1980. However, neo-liberal policies has led to the withdrawal of state from economic and social life of the societies.

State, in Turkey, has pursued constantly a repressive policy against labor movements. The big bourgeoisie in Turkey has failed to become a hegemonic class. Due to this reason it has tried to obstruct all kinds of organizing efforts of working class. Besides, due to neo-liberal policies Turkish labor movement nearly has lost its all strength.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Carrying out a research about class consciousness only through survey technique can hinder ‘ambivalent’ and ‘contradictory’ consciousness of workers (Fantasia, 1989). Due to this reason in this study, I used mixed methods (triangulation), hence, qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used together. In this way, I understood consciousness dispositions of workers more deeply. Next, I will evaluate this methodology.

4.2. Using Qualitative and Quantitative Methodology Together

Although the history of using ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ methodologies together in the same research goes back to 1960s, its expansion has occurred in recent years. Due it is relatively a new type of research understanding, different names have been assigned to this new and growing research position such as; integrating, synthesis, quantitative and qualitative methods, multi-method, and multi-methodology, but that recent writings use the term “mixed methods. Even some researchers claimed it to be a third research method in addition to qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Hussein, 2009: 3).

Mixed methodology discussions mostly used with ‘triangulation’ in the social science literature. According to (Bryman, 2011: 1142) triangulation means using “more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings” (Bryman, 2011: 1142). Denzin (cited in Bryman, 2011: 1142) argued that there are four types of triangulation:

1. *Data triangulation*, which entails gathering data through several sampling strategies so that slices of data at different times and in different social situations, as well as on a variety of people, are gathered;
2. *Investigator triangulation*, which refers to the use of more than one researcher in the field to gather and interpret data;
3. *Theoretical triangulation*, which refers to the use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data;
4. *Methodological triangulation*, which refers to the use of more than one method for gathering data;

In this study I use the methodological triangulation to ensure the validity of the data. “This methodological approach is built on the premise that it can be more fruitful to consider how the strengths of quantitative *and* qualitative approaches can be merged within a mixed methods research approach. The results obtained through the different methods combined can enrich and improve our understanding of the phenomena” (Lopez-Fernandez and Molina Ozarin, 2011). Using qualitative and quantitative methodologies together in a research provides opportunity to catch diverse viewpoints or standpoints (Olson, 2004).

Besides using two methodological understanding together ensure researcher from positivistic mistakes due to qualitative methodologies anti-positivistic understanding of social phenomenon. Neuman (2007: 41) argued that “positivisms see social science research as fundamentally the same as natural science research it; assumes that social reality is made up of objective facts that value-free researchers can precisely measure and use statistics to test causal theories.” It defines ‘scientific knowledge’ as universal, objective, neutral, and unhistorical. Within the framework of this epistemological premises ‘positivism’ prerequisite a ‘hierarchical’ relationship between observer and participant for the sake of ‘objective’ knowledge (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2009: 26). However, “social sciences cannot accommodate themselves to a theory of knowledge which puts subject and object asunder, and enforces a rigid separation between the observer and the thing observed. We need a

new model which does justice to the complex process of interrelation and interaction between them” (Carr, 2001). Within the limits of positivist paradigm social scientists’ main reference frames are not per se the desire to know the social, economic and cultural relations in a society rather their main impetus is the construction of the hierarchical relations and the reproduction of the relations of domination in a particular society. The goal of sociology, however, is not to “expose the other” or “objectivation”, on the contrary, to understand entirely the attitudes and in which requirements that social actors behave (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2003).

In this regard, Buroway (1991) argued that social sciences are situated at the crossroads of the ‘humanities’ and ‘natural sciences’ and combines both the process of ‘understanding’ and ‘explanation’. Understanding, the *hermeneutic* dimension of social sciences, is achieved through real or constructed dialogue between participant and observer. Explanation, on the other hand, concerns a dialogue between theory and data and established the *scientific* dimension of social sciences. At this issue, Buroway (1991) warns social scientists against two kinds of reductionism: the ‘positivist reductionism’, which reduces social sciences to natural sciences and ignores the hermeneutic dimension, and ‘postmodern’ reductionism in which social sciences is reduced only to the dialogue between insider and outsider.

Contrary to the positivist social science approach, which “proposes to separate subject from object, ‘reflexive science’ elevates *dialogue* as its defining principle and *intersubjectivity* between participant and observer as its premise. It enjoins what positivist social science separates: ‘participant’ and ‘observer’, ‘knowledge’ and ‘situation’, ‘situation’ and ‘its field of location’, ‘folk theory’ and ‘academic theory’ (Buroway, 1998: 14). As social scientists are inherently part of the world they study, using folkloric and scientific theories together in a social research provide social scientists profound knowledge of social relations. In this regard Buroway (2009: xiii) argued that;

What differentiates social scientists from the people they study is the theory they carry that allows them to see the world differently and, I would say, more deeply. I call the theory that we self-consciously develop analytical theory or social science, whereas the people we study possess an unreflective, usually tacit, theory that I call folk theory or common sense.

At this point I should note that I take care of not to established a hierarchical relation with the participant of the study. I experienced that this approach pave the way for gathering more reliable data especially in the interviews. I have to confess that one of the exciting aspects of the field research for me was that I had the opportunity to come together with the participants in different social milieus. They were very concerned with the research process and the data. As a researcher I was very pleased with this situation.

After exploring my methodological position in the next chapter I will give diss the design of the field research.

4.3. The Quantitative Data Process

Quantitative data was gathered through the questionnaire which I have developed. The questionnaire was conducted to 315 participants. Before conducting the questionnaire to the participants I applied a ‘pilot test’ to 25 workers. After the pilot test I rearranged some questions and made them clearer and readjusted them according to the characteristic of the enterprise. Due to time limitations I did not apply all the questionnaires myself and hired two interviewer. Before conducting the questionnaire I informed them about the aim of the study, structure of the questionnaire and the content of the questions.

Working class consciousness research contains questions about employer and union. For the sake of the objectivity of the findings I did not get into relation with workers neither help of the employer nor union. However, I get information about the number of the employees in the factory. There are approximately 2000 workers are working in the enterprise. For the reliability of the research I tried to reach as many workers as I can. The questionnaire conducted in coffeehouses, union local, and local in the public houses region, in fellow countrymen associations where some workers time after shifts and sometimes in the houses of the workers.

The questionnaire was arranged under four different sections (see Appendix C). In the first part, there are questions about personal and household information about the participants. In this part socio-demographic questions was designed according to

HUIPS (2008) categorization. In the second part of the questionnaire, there are questions about working experience and workers complaints about working life. The questions in this sections were designed by me according to the features of the factory.

In the third part of the questionnaire there are questions about workers everyday life practices. In this part, I used Coşkun's (2013) research questions. Final part of the questionnaire consists of questions about workers participation to collective actions, attitudes regarding unionization, opinions about social differentiations in Turkey, attitudes about privatization and class consciousness. In this part, questions regarding privatization and unionization was designed with the contribution of the jury. Questions regarding collective action and class consciousness were designed according to Vallas (1987), Buttel and Finn (1979), Coşkun's (2013) research.²⁶ The data gathered through the questionnaire were analyzed with SPSS 16.0.

As I mentioned above, I examined working-class consciousness in four different process. Firstly, in order to understand formation of class identity I asked workers following questions: How can you identify yourself? Do you want your children (daughter and son) to be worker in the future? and their relations with their workmates.

Secondly, to explore the formation of oppositional consciousness among the workers I give them the following statements and asked whether they agree or disagree:

Some people in Turkey and in the world are poor, the reason is their personal disabilities.

The main reason of poverty is private property and economic-social order based on profit.

The rich become this position by working.

For the wealth of someone, someone become poor.

The reason of unemployment is people dislike jobs and do not want to work.

The main reason of unemployment is private property and economic-social order based on profit.

²⁶ I would like to mention here that questions regarding ethnicity, religious features and political preferences were not asked to the participants.

I feel close to myself a worker/laborer in any part of the world more than a Turkish rich.

In many enterprise managers think only to make profit without considering workers' demands and needs.

The relation between employer and worker is a mutual relationship. The more the employers gain the more the workers earn.

For a better life workers should act in unison in whole the country.

The interests of workers all over the world are common. For a better life workers in all over the world should unite.

Thirdly, in order to examine class totality I asked them "is there any distinction between the social groups in Turkey".

And finally in order to explore their sense of alternative social order I give them the following statements and asked whether they agree or disagree:

Modern society can go on without profit motive.

Private enterprise system dominant in the distribution of social welfare system should be changed instead a more egalitarian social order should be established.

Workers have to fight for the establishment of a more egalitarian social order.

4.4. Qualitative Interviewing and Selection the Participants

The basic purpose of qualitative interviewing is *grasping the subject's perspective*: understanding his mental categories, his interpretations, his perceptions and feelings, and the motives underlying his actions. The most important advantage of the qualitative interviewing is that it provides the respondents to express their own understanding in their own terms. There are three kinds of qualitative interviews: 'structured', 'semi-structured' and 'interviews'. In structured interviews, all respondents are asked the same questions with the same wording and in the same sequence. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewers have an outline of the topics. However the order in which the various topics are dealt with and the asking of the questions changes according to the interview process. In unstructured qualitative interview, neither the content nor the questions are determined from the beginning.

The questions and the topics may vary from one participant to the other (Corbetta, 2003: 264-274).

In this study, I used semi-structured interviews. The interviews carried out under the following topics;

- 1) General questions about worker's life stories (family background, school, his parents jobs);
- 2) Work experiences (before Petkim and Petkim period);
- 3) Recruitment history in Petkim (how they have started to work in Petkim, by the help of acquaintance or by examination);
- 4) Everyday life experience (everyday life after shifts, what are they doing in weekends etc.);
- 5) Opinions about privatization (consequences of privatizations in Turkey and their influence on workers, the privatization of Petkim and its influence on workers);
- 6) Organization experience (organization experience before Petkim, Petrol-Is experience, opinions about organization, opinions about Turkish unionism, etc.);
- 7) Perception about the terms 'worker', 'working-class' (How they are defining the term worker? How they are feeling about being a worker? What the term working-class connotes to them?);
- 8) Opinions about social inequalities (What are their perception about poverty);
- 9) Their opinions about the relations between workers and employers (Their opinions about whether or not the interests of workers and employers are common);

Sometimes workers prefer to talk more about some topics such as; privatization, labor movement in Turkey and their own union. In such cases, I did not interrupted them, because I think I can gain valuable information about their class consciousness.

The selection of participants for interviewing was conducted according to a combination of ‘snowball’ and ‘theoretical samplings’. I gave particular importance to interview with shop stewards and union officers in the study. During the interviews, I mostly focused on issues such as; work place problems, employers and workers attitudes about union, workers participation to social actions and the changes of employment relations after the privatization.

It is important in this study to interview with workers, who have participated to union education program. I got into relations with those workers through the recommendations of shop stewards and union officer.

Sometimes I interviewed with workers whom I was conducted the questionnaire. I gave them my communication information and they called me back when their shifts were appropriate. This situation provided some advantages. They call me when they were appropriate, this created trust and made them more comfortable during the interview.

The lists and profiles of the participants are presented in Table 4.1. I have to mention that the names of the workers are ‘nicknames’ in order apply the confidentiality and being ethical in the research.²⁷

²⁷ The research community oppose unethical behavior called scientific misconduct. Scientific misconduct occurs both when a researcher distort or falsify data (*fraud*) and when a researcher ‘steals’ other researcher ideas or writings (*plagiarism*) (Neuman, 2007: 49). Social scientist come face to face with very different ethical dilemmas. They have to behave ethical due to moral and professional obligations while carrying a research even if their participants unaware about ethics. Researcher has to pay particular attention to ethical principles especially in-depth interviews. Since they are based on the relation between researcher and participant. Due to this reason ethical principles have to be determined from the very beginning. Firstly, the researcher should be clearly explained his/her identity, scope and aim of the research. Besides, the researcher have to guarantee that the participants personal information never use outside their knowledge.

Table 4.1. Sample Characteristics of Workers

Name	Age	Date of Employment	Status	Union Education
Vedat	47	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Adnan	48	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Altan	28	After Privatization	Worker	No
Ekrem	34	After Privatization	Worker	No
Habip	51	Before Privatization	Shop Steward	Yes
Sedat	38	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Mehmet	39	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Hakan	42	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Hilmi	49	Before Privatization	4/C	No
Cevat	48	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Mahsun	34	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Erdem	36	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Fikret	30	After Privatization	Worker	No
Rıza	34	Before Privatization	Shop Steward	Yes
Önder	33	After Privatization	Worker	Yes
Ali	34	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Murat	34	After Privatization	Worker	No
Zeki	38	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Harun	56	Before Privatization	Retired	Yes
Sinan	35	After Privatization	Worker	No
İlhan	35	After Privatization	Worker	No
Doğan	51	Before Privatization	Union Administrator	Yes
Adil	47	Before Privatization	Shop steward	Yes
Fikri	48	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Kemal	29	Before Privatization	Worker	Yes
Kubilay	55	Before Privatization	Retired	No
Yıldırım	51	Before Privatization	Worker	No
İbrahim	52	Before Privatization	Union Administrator	Yes
Serdar	28	After Privatization	Worker	No
Yavuz	34	Before Privatization	Worker	No
Sait	45	Before privatizaiton	Worker	No
Abdullah	50	Before Privatization	Union Administrator	Yes
Özgür	28	After Privatization	Worker	No

In this research I pay utmost attention to privacy. Since working class consciousness research mostly focusing of the participants attitudes about employers, unions, governments and existing social order. Thus many sensitive issues are discussed during the interviews. Yet the participants of the research are still working in Petkim, and a little personal information will be able to decipher them.

4.5. Limitation of the Research and Lessons Learned

Firstly, I learned from my field experience that the more the participants trust to the researcher the more researcher collecting accurate data. I experienced that during the interviews participants constantly testing my sincerity. In the interviews we talked about some sensitive issues such as; their attitudes about employer and union, working life and sometimes about their political preferences. For this reason, the participant's reliance to the researches was crucial.

However, it should be noted that the research contains some limitations. I do not think that the findings of the study can be generalized to the whole working class in Turkey, as this study focuses on workers who have high job security, organization experience and who are in good position comparing with the other workers in the labor market. I do not have any generalizations concerns about the results of the research but I am more behind some trends.

As I mentioned earlier, Petkim was privatized in 2008. This five years might have reduced the impact of the struggle waged against privatization on class consciousness. Nevertheless, it still can provide valid data regarding the long-term effects of anti-privatization struggles on class consciousness at the same time.

The other limitation of the research is that some of the leader workers of anti-privatization struggles were retired. These workers are at the same time the leader workers of the unionization in Petkim. In the scope of the research, I did not have the opportunity to reach those workers.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC and ECONOMIC PROFILES of WORKERS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe socio-demographic characteristics of workers. Before the explanation of the socio-demographic characteristics of the workers, I have to mention that there are very limited number of women workers in Petkim. However before privatization there were women workers, who were working especially in offices and also member of the union. Currently, the women who are working in administrative sections are not union members anymore. For this reason, the participants of the research consists of only male workers. Firstly, I will describe the urbanization process of workers. Secondly, I will discuss their school background. Thirdly, I will explore the features of household and their income.

5.2. The Urbanization of Workers

As I mentioned earlier, the participants of the research consists of only male workers. The distribution of workers according to their age is as follows: 42.9% of them are 23-33 years old, the 16.5% of them are 34-43 years old and 40.6% of them are 44-53 years old (Table 5.1). Majority of the workers are in two cohorts: (i) ages between 23-33 and (ii) ages between 44-53 years old.

Table 5.1. Cohort Distribution of Workers

Cohorts	n	%
23-33	135	42.9
34-34	52	16.5
44-53	128	40.6
Total	315	100

In order to examine the social origins of the workers, I evaluated their urbanization background. I asked: ‘where did you live until 12 years old?’ According to their answers 17.1% of the workers lived in metropolis, 17.5% of them in province, 34.6% in district, 29.8% in village and 0.6% of them in abroad (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Workers Living Places Until 12 Years Old

Place	n	%
Metropolis	54	17.1
Province	55	17.5
District	109	34.6
Village	94	29.8
Abroad	2	0.6
Total	315	100

When the relationship between age and place where they lived until age 12 was examined, the following results come up: 48.9% of the 23-33 years old workers lived until 12 years old in metropolis and province and 20.7% in village; the 42.3% of the 34-43 years old workers live in metropolis/province and 23.1% of them in village; 16.5% of the 44-53 years old workers lived mostly in metropolis/province and 42.5% of them in village (Table 5.3). Hence the results indicate that young workers have more urban origins comparing to the older cohorts.

Table 5.3. Living Places before age 12 by Age Cohorts (%)

Cohort	Metropolis	Province	District	Village	Abroad
23-33	26.7	22.7	29.6	20.7	0.7
34-43	17.3	25.0	34.6	23.1	0.0
44-53	7.1	9.4	40.6	42.5	0.8

The other important factor that I examined is living place of workers’ father. 17.5% of the worker’s father lived mostly in metropolis, 18.7% in province, 29.5% in district, 32.7% in village and 1.6% in abroad (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Place of Workers' Fathers Mostly Lived

Place	n	%
Metropolis	55	17.5
Province	59	18.7
District	93	29.5
Village	103	32.7
Abroad	5	1.6
Total	315	100

The relationship between workers age and their father's living place are as follows: 51.1% of 23-33 years workers', 42.3% of 34-43 years old worker's and 18% of the 44-53 years old workers' fathers lived most of their lives in metropolis and province. Besides (23% of 23-33 years old workers', 23.1% of the 34-43 years old worker's and 46.9% of the workers' father have mostly lived in rural areas (Table 5.5). Accordingly it can be argued that young workers are more urbanized than elders.

Table 5.5. Place of Workers' Fathers Lived by Workers Age Cohorts

Cohort	Metropolis	Province	District	Village	Abroad
23-33	26.7	24.4	25.5	23	0.7
34-43	17.3	25	30.8	23.1	3.8
44-53	7.1	10.2	33.6	46.9	1.6

The other significant issue regarding the urbanization, of workers is the articulation dynamic of previous generation with labor market. While 32.7% of the fathers are member of working class, the 31.4% of them gain their lives from agricultural activities. 14.9% of the 23-33 years old workers, 17.3% of the 34-43 years old workers and 54.7% of the 44-53 years old workers' father are farmers. Besides 43.3% of the 23-33 years old workers, 36.5% of the 34-43 years old workers and 20.3% of the 44-53 years old of the workers' father are industrial workers. Within the framework of this data it can be argued that the younger the worker the more coming from working class background.

The other factor regarding the urbanization is workers relations with rural activities. 8.3% of the workers cultivate their own land by himself and 6.7% of them pass his own land to his relatives or others in order to be cultivated. Only one worker receives

financial support from their relatives and 17.8% of them help financially to their relatives. This data shows that the rural ties of the workers are very weak and the wages constitute the most important portion of their incomes as found in Coşkun (2013: 78).

5.3. Education

While the %60.49 of the urban labor-force in Turkey have education below ‘high school’ (lycee), %39.51 of them have ‘high school’ or above ‘high school’ education (TURKSTAT, 2014). The education level of participant to my research is too high when comparing with these figures. %97.8 of the participants of this research have ‘high school’ or above education level (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. Education Profile of Workers

Education	n	%
Primary School	2	0.6
Secondary School	5	1.6
General High School	9	2.9
Vocational High School	205	65.1
Vocational School of Higher Education	63	20.0
Faculty	31	9.8
Total	315	100

This finding is in parallel with Coşkun’s (2013) and Geniş’s (2006) results. On the one hand Petkim demands highly qualified labor, on the other hand highly educated workers are seeking jobs offering relatively high income, job security and better working condition. Also, the workers are better educated than the previous generation. 19.8 percent of their fathers have ‘high school’ or ‘above high school’ education. This finding is also related with urbanization as children in Turkey have more chances of accessing to education in cities rather than in villages.

When the education level of workers wives are examined it is found that 60.1% of the workers’ wives have high school or above level education. This is also rather high compared to the graduation rate of “high school and above” in Turkey which is around 28.9% for women (TURKSTAT, 2014). Even though the workers’ wives education level are higher than overall education level of women in Turkey, those

wives education level is still lower than their husbands. However most of those wives are not employed. 4.1% of the wives are wage laborers, 5.4% of them civil servants, 3.5% of them are retired and remaining are housewife. Hence, those findings indicate the following issues: (1) workers' education levels are not only higher than their wives' education level but also higher than overall country level; (2) workers' wives are highly educated but not engaged in paid work.

5.4. The Feature of Household and Income

The average household size is also another important demographic indicator referring the number of people living together. The average household size is 3.95 person in Turkey. While in the cities this figure decreases to 3.76, in the rural parts of the Turkey it increases to 4.22 persons. While the average size of the household is highest in Southeastern Anatolia (5.47), Northeastern Anatolia (5.01), it is lowest in West Marmara (3.23) and Aegean Region (3.42). The average household size of the workers is 3.3. 7% of the households consists of 1 person, 13% involves 2 persons, 30.8% consist 3 persons, 38.7% is 4 persons and 9.9% is more than 4 persons. Therefore the household size of the workers is consistent with the general household size patterns of Turkey.

To this end, the annual household income in Turkey is 26577 Turkish Liras (TURKSTAT, 2014). Thus, the average monthly income is 2214 Liras. The household income of workers' in our research is 3000 liras. Thus, the household income of the workers is higher the average household income in Turkey. Besides, 51.4% of the workers have their own houses. The older the workers, the more ownership of house, hence, 27.6% of 23-33 years old workers, 38.8% of the 34-43 years old workers and 84.1% of the 44-53 years old workers have their own houses.

5.5. Conclusion

The working class formation and its collective power has long been argued in countries like Turkey. In these debates most important issue is the continuing relationship of workers with rural activities. However, it can be argued that rural ties of the working class is largely lost. Thus, the attribution of "villagers in the city" to a greater extent invalidated (Çoşkun, 2013).

A number of studies demonstrate that the household income of the workers majorly consist of wages (Nichols and Suğur, 2005; Altan and *et all*, 2005; Coşkun, 2013). It is also true for my research. Majority of the workers declare that they have no other incomes except their wages. Besides, except one of the workers, stated that they do not have receive support from their families or any of the relatives. This empirical evidences demonstrate that the traditional extended family solidarity is gradually disappearing. However, small proportion of workers' wife are working. This demonstrate that patriarchal relations still continues (Nichols and Suğur, 2005).

Younger workers are more urbanized and they were also more likely to had fathers who were wage earners like themselves. On the contrary older workers' fathers are more likely were peasants. These empirical evidences demonstrate that the workers' socio-demographic profile are changing in Turkey.

The most important findings of this research is workers education level is high comparing with labor force in Turkey. This data illustrates that in this case we are facing with a highly qualified labor force. This increases the bargaining power of workers against employer. Their high level of income demonstrate their bargaining power.

As a result, it can be argued that workers in this research are proletarians who are dependent mostly wages in order to survive. It should be expected the contentious capacity of the workers to be high.

After examining briefly the socio-economic characteristics of participants, in next chapter I will discuss everyday life experiences of workers.

CHAPTER 6

EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCE

6.1. Introduction

Everyday life practices is one of the important processes in the development of people's worldview. Their positions about the social events are influenced mostly by whom they have social relations with, where they spend their everyday life. Hence, in this part of the study the everyday life practices of workers will be traced. However before discussing the present situation of workers everyday life I will briefly depict the spatial construction of the 'public housings' (*lojman*) where the most of the workers have been living. The everyday life practices has changed in Petkim over time. Then a discussion will be carried out about the workers everyday life practices.

6.2. Spatial Differentiation in Everyday Life

The everyday practices of workers can give us some clues about the formation of class consciousness. As Lockwood (1966: 249) argued "man visualize the class structure of their society from the vantage points of their own particular *milieux*, and their perception of the larger society will vary according to their experiences of social inequality in the smaller societies in which they live out their daily lives." For this reason in this part of the study, I elaborate the social space where workers and their families spend much of their daily lives and experience the hierarchical relations of wider society.

Social hierarchies and class relations are processes which established and reproduce in space. "People make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being or distress. An individual's sense of place is both a biological response to the surrounding physical environment and a cultural creation... As social relationships are intertwined with spatial perception... place attachments can develop social,

material and ideological dimensions” (Hayden, 1995: 16). The public houses belongs to the enterprise was constructed in a very hierarchical way.

Most of the workers and administrative staff are living in the public housings. Public houses are positioned very adjacent to the factory and consists of three Sites apart from each other. The workers are mostly living in Site 1 and Site 3 however the engineers are living in Site 2. Every site have social and sportive facilities where the residents perform their leisure activities. While engineers in Site 2 mostly living in duplex houses, workers in Site 1 and 3 are living in 4 or 5 story flats (see Photograph 1 and 2).

Particular importance were given to the sport centers while the construction of the public housings. Each site have football, basketball and tennis fields and this facilitate especially the participation of children to sportive activities. Before the privatization of the enterprise ‘summers schools’ were organized by the management at very different sport branches. However after the privatization of the enterprise these kind of activities did not organize any longer.

Cultural activities are organized as well. There is a one cultural center and an open air cinema in the public house region. Workers and their families have the chance to watch cinema in those places at a very cheap ticket rate. But now these two places are not in use. However they have already lost their function before privatization of the factory.

As mentioned above each Site has its own places where the residents perform their leisure time activities. The most important of these places are ‘Locals’. The first local was opened in Site 2 before the operation of the factory for engineer’s leisure time activities. After the operation of the factory Locals were opened in Site 1 and Site 2 where mostly workers have been living. These were the places where all the employees spend time with their families, have dinner and various social activities were organized. A relatively old worker, however, considers the past activities as much better than today’s:



Photo 6.1. From a worker's archive. A view from Site 2 Date: 2013



Photo 6.2. From a worker's archive. A view from Site 3 Date: 2013

But at that time, the quality of the services there was not up to the standard of the 5-star hotels. Here, workers could gather together with their families for meals. Special Republic Day activities were organized and at night, a Republic Day Ball was held. On New Year's Day, balls were also held, and

Children's Day festivities were organized each year on the 23rd of April (Vedat, 47 years old).²⁸

However some different practices were seen between the locals. The services that offered to the engineers and their families did not offer to the workers.

There was a nursery in Local 2. Families left their children there and went upstairs, where they ate dinner. However, this did not exist in Local 3 and Local 1 (Vedat, 47 years old).²⁹

Besides these different practices it was not taken kindly the entrance of the workers to Local 2, even though, there were not written rules. As an elder worker states:

Administrators did not want workers to go to Local 2. There were no written rules, but the administrators did not want this. Unless you were non-unionized staff, you were told to go to Local 3. They directed the workers to Local 3 (Vedat, 47 years old).³⁰

The locals are 'male-dominated' places. Neither in the past nor in present, could women be seen very often in these places. These places were privatized before the privatization of the enterprise by giving the operating right to private enterprise.³¹ It has been seen that the spatial construction of living space is hierarchical reflecting the hierarchical relations in labor process in the factory.

6.3. A Haunt of Everyday Life: 'Çayağzı'

Çayağzı (see photograph 3) is a beach belonging to the enterprise. Workers and administrative staff families spent important portion of their everyday life in

²⁸ Ama o dönemlerde oralardaki hizmetin kalitesi şu an 5 yıldızlı otellerde yoktur. İşçiler hep beraber ailece yemek yiyebilirlerdi buralarda. Özellikle Cumhuriyet Bayramlarında etkinlikler düzenlenir, Cumhuriyet Baloları yapılırdı. Her yılbaşında yılbaşı baloları yapılırdı. Her 23 Nisanda Çocuk Şenlikleri yapılırdı (Vedat, 47 yaş).

²⁹ Lokal 2'de çocuklar için kreş vardı. Aileler gelirler, çocuklarını oraya bırakırlar. Yukarı çıkar yemeklerini yerlerdi. Ama bu uygulama Lokal 3'de yoktu mesela (Vedat, 47 yaş).

³⁰ Yöneticiler, işçilerin Lokal 2'ye gitmesini istemezlerdi. Bu konuda yazılı bir kural yoktu ama yöneticiler istemezdi. Eğer kapsam dışı personel değilsen sana Lokal 3'e gitmen söylenirdi. İşçileri Lokal 3'e yönlendirirlerdi (Vedat, 47 yaş).

³¹ It was interesting that the first person who take the operating wright of Lokal 3 is a worker who were working in Petkim. He still manages there but he is retired now. The employees who were working there as 'contracted workers' were obliged to work in the factory as in the status of worker.

summer in this place especially between 1980s and to the middle of the 2000s. The transportation was provided by shuttle bus during the daytime. This leisure center was a social place where social interactions were took place among workers and families but also it is a place where social hierarchies were experienced. The beach was split right down the middle by a fast food cafeteria. The left part of the cafeteria was mostly used by workers' families and the right part mostly used by administrative staff. Although there were no written rules this cafeteria functioned as a boundary and the two groups were careful not to pass each other's field. The hierarchical structure among the administrative staff and workers led to the separation of even the parking places.

The beach also was a place where the social activities were organized by the management. In the summer time 'Summer Festivals' were held open to the participation of all employees (see Photograph, 4).

A View from Çayağzı



Photo 6.3. A Worker's Archive Date: 2007.

The beach was also a social space where the workers of Yarımca Petkim (Yarpet) and Aliğa Petkim (Alpet) had intercourse with each other. The workers of the

Yarımca Petkim made use of the bungalows in a period of 15 days during the summer time.³² As an old workers remembers:

When we were working in Yarımca Petkim, the management sent us a form asking us if we wanted to go to Aliğa Çayağzı Tesisleri. On holidays, we used to go there from Yarımca (Adnan, 48 years old).³³

Therefore, Çayağzı on the one hand providing cheap and quality holiday for workers, on the other hand, it paved the way for development of social relations among the workers of two plants.

However the workers have not used the beach as frequently as in the past since the middle of 2000s. The operating right of the beach was given to a private company. Due to the insufficient cleaning and maintenance workers have abandoned to spend their times there.

Çayağzı: A View from a Summer Festival.



Photo 6.4. A worker's archive Date: 1990s.

³² However these bungalows became unusable before privatization. Due to the transfer of Yarımca Petkim to Tüpraş some of the workers transferred to Tüpraş and some of them came to Petkim.

³³ Ben Yarımca'da çalışırken yönetim bir form gönderirdi, Aliğa Çayağzı Tesislerine gitmek isteyip ismediğimize dair. Yarımca'dan buraya tatil yapmaya gelirdik (Adnan, 48 yaş).

6.4. Everyday Life in Present Situation

After a brief description of everyday life in its historical and spatial context I now try to explain the current everyday life practices of workers. 'Home' constitutes the center of workers everyday life practices. 47.6% of the workers claimed that after work they directly go to their homes. However 39% the workers go to local/coffeehouse with their workmates if their shifts are appropriate.³⁴ The time spending with families in weekends also constitutes an important portion of everyday life. While 69.5% of the workers traveling with their families in weekends, 40% of them prefer to take a rest at their homes. Rosendahl argued that individualization of society makes family increasingly important. In such cases 'stability' and 'security' become more important thing for workers themselves and for their children (cited Coşkun, 2013: 135). Harvey (1985: 258) also argued that family protects the individuals against the alienations of money.

In addition to this, 10.8% of the workers state that they are dealing with union activities at the weekends.³⁵ Especially the workers who have started to work at Petkim before privatization involve union activities more than workers who have started to work after privatization. 15.5% of the workers who have started to work before privatization participated union activities at the weekends. However this figures decreases to 4.5% for workers who started to work at Petkim in after privatization. Those figures demonstrates that the commitment of workers to unions is much higher among the workers, who have started to work before privatization. I think the most importance of this situation is that the organization and collective action experience of the workers, (who started to work before privatization) much higher than the workers who started to work after privatization. Those experiences mobilize former workers much more than the new workers.

The other factor influenced the class consciousness of workers is their relations with the other workers in the region. 21.6% of the workers spend time with friends who

³⁴ A portion of the data collection of this dissertation was carried out in Ramadan 2013. Therefore after the night shift (24/08) instead of going to home workers went to locals, coffeehouses and their Associations and spend time with their workmates until 'sahur'.

³⁵ While interpreting this data we bear in mind that at that time the 'branch elections' will be held. Because of this elections workers may more incline to participate in union activities.

are not working in the same workplace. There are no so much differences between young and old workers' spending time with friends other than workmates. 20.7% of the 23-33 age workers, 15.4% of the 34-43 years old workers and 25% of the 44-53 years old workers spend time with their friends other than workmates. Comparing with younger workers, older workers have more social relations with the workers in the city in their daily life. The main reason for this may be that they have been living longer than young workers in this region and have social networks with the other parts of the society. While this situation strengthens the social relations and social solidarity among the workers of Petkim, it weakens the class relations with the other workers in the region.

The home visits are also in very low rates (5.7%) among the workers. 27.3% of the workers meet with their relatives very often, the 35.2% of them several times in a month and 19.7% only in important days such as religious festivals, new years' day. Although the home visits among the workers are very low, the relations with the relatives are strong.

I spend most of my annual leave in my hometown with relatives. We would never consider breaking off relations with that place. God forbid! My father, my mother, my sister, my brother--they are my whole life. If they are happy, we are happy. My mother and my father visit often. Sometime they stay with me, sometimes with my brother and sometimes with my sister. They spend the winter like that. In summer, they return to the village. All of us go to the village every summer. We are trying to keep up this tradition (Ekrem, 34 years old).³⁶

While discussing the impacts of everyday life on class consciousness, we examine the workers' conversation topics among themselves. Workers are chatting with their friends mostly about everyday life issues (57.8%), economic and political situation of Turkey (54.6%) and workplace problems (40.6%). I can argue that the workers are so highly sensitive about political issues.

³⁶ Yıllık izinlerimi akrabalarımın yanında, daha çok memlekette geçiriyoruz. Orayla ilişkileri koparmayı hiç düşünmüyoruz. Allah koparmasın. Çünkü tek varoluşum onlar yani annemiz, babamız, kardeşimiz. Onlar mutlu olursa bizde mutlu oluyoruz... Annem, babam sürekli geziyor. Biraz bende kalıyor. Biraz abimlerde ablamlarda. Kışı böyle geçiriyorlar. Yazın köye evlerine dönüyorlar. Bizde her yaz köye mutlaka gidiyoruz. Bu geleneği devam ettirmeye çalışıyoruz (Ekrem, 34 yaş).

‘Shift work’ is the most important factor that influences the everyday practice of workers. The usage of time is determined immediately by the working hours. For example:

There is no social life for a shift worker. You cannot even meet with your close friends very often. When one is coming from work, the other is going home. Here, we are like machines. I go to the Association (Bayburt Association) after the dayshift. We chat with friends and play card games. But there is almost no social life for the 16/24 and 24/08 shifts. From home to work and from work to home. Because it is Ramadan, the Association is open until ‘sahur’ (the meal before beginning the fast). After the 16/24 shifts, we come here (to the Association) with our friends and pass the time until ‘sahur’. We go back to the old routine after Ramadan (Altan, 28 years old).³⁷

Although the shift system is very regular (the workers know when they go to work, in which shifts he goes to work very early), this type of work effects even the metabolism of workers. As one worker states:

The factor that affects us most is the shift work. It really affects us a lot. Our working hours are regular. For example, I know three months in advance when I will go to work. I don’t have any complaint about that. But working in shifts completely changes a man’s metabolism. Maybe it affects his general outlook and social life. We hear from the older workers that their children grew without seeing them (Ekrem, 34 years old).³⁸

As can be seen from these two narratives the ‘shift work system’ confine workers social relations. For instance, after ‘night shift’ (24/08) workers mostly sleep during the day time after then they go to work again. Children are also affected by this working system and workers even do not take care of their children. As stated:

³⁷ Vardiyalı insanın sosyal hayatı yok ki. Arkadaşlarıyla bile çok sık görüşemiyorsun. Ben geliyorum o gidiyor. O geliyor ben gidiyorum. Makine gibiyiz biz burada. Gündüz vardiyasında işten çıkınca Derneğe (Bayburtlular Derneği) geliyorum. Arkadaşlarla sohbet ediyor, oyun oynuyoruz. Ama 16/24 ya da 24/08 vardiyalarında nerdeyse sosyal hayat diye bir şey yok. Evden işe, işten eve. Şimdi Ramazan diye Dernek sahura kadar açık. 16/24’ten çıkınca arkadaşlarla geliyoruz, sahura kadar zaman geçiriyoruz. Ramazan’dan sonra yine eskiye döneriz (Altan, 28 yaş).

³⁸ Bizi çok etkileyen faktör vardiyalı çalışmamız. Bizi gerçekten çok etkiliyor. Çalışma saatlerimiz düzenli, gideceğin saat, üç ay sonra hangi gün saat kaçta işe gideceğimi biliyorum mesela. Bu konuda bir şeyimiz yok, fakat vardiyalı çalışmak insanların tamamen metabolizmasını değiştiriyor. Yani belki dünya görüşünü, sosyal hayatını etkiliyor. Eskilerden tabi duyuyoruz. Çocuklarımız biz görmeden büyüdü (Ekrem, 34 yaş).

Night and day are natural phenomena. When it is natural to sleep, you are awake. When you are trying to sleep, it is natural to be awake. It is such a contradictory situation. Everything at home is arranged according to you. The children understand by looking into your eyes. They think, “My father is under stress. He goes to work at night, then he has to sleep.” Anyway, no matter how much you sleep in the day, it is not the same as night sleep. The rhythm of life changes every five days. Indeed, there is a very troubling problem with shifts like 16/24. You are not with your children at dinnertime. It is really a very tough situation (Habip, 51 years).³⁹

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter findings indicate that the spatial establishment of the public housings, where the most of the workers have been living, is constructed as a hierarchical form. Being a member of working class have been experienced by workers and his family members in this social milieu. Although there were no written rules, workers and administrative staffs were aware of the hidden boundaries and hesitate to pass each other's regions.

Secondly, it is argued that long before the privatization of the enterprise the social facilities had privatized and some of the cultural centers had lost its importance. The locals were given to private enterprises and cinemas were no longer operated. A very important cultural activity for workers and their families and also for the engineers and their families had come to an end with the loss of those centers their functions.

Thirdly, it was pointed out that ‘home’ is the center of the everyday life practices of workers. Due to shift work system workers mostly spend their times at their homes, mostly by resting alone or family. However if their shift is appropriate important portion of the workers spend their time with their workmates. Depending on this finding, I can assume that the relations of the workers are weak with the other workers in the region.

³⁹ Yani işte doğada gece ve gündüz var. Doğa uyuyor sen uyanıksın. Sen uyumaya çalışırken doğa uyanık. Böyle tezat bir durum. Evde herşey size endeksleniyor. Çocuklar gözünüze bakınca anlayırlar. “Babamız stresli gece işe gidecek ya da uyuması lazım” diye düşünüyorlar. Ne kadar uyursan uyu gündüz uykusu asla gece uykusuna benzemiyor. 5 günde bir hayatın ritmi değişiyor. İşte 16-24 diye bela bi vardiya var. Akşam yemeğinde yoksun çocuklarının yanında. Gerçekten zor bir durum (Habip, 51 yaş).

In next chapter I will discuss the attitudes of workers about privatization. Privatization is the most important strategy of neo-liberal ideology against the organized power of workers and their acquired rights.

CHAPTER 7

LABOR PROCESS and CLASS STRUGGLE

7.1. Introduction

In this part of the study, I will explore the attitudes of workers about working life. Firstly I will discuss what it means to work in ‘formal’ sector for workers. Petkim provides good working conditions, high wages and job security to workers compared to other jobs in the labor market. Secondly, I will point out the issues that the workers mostly complain about in their working life. Finally, I will discuss the participation of workers to the labor process through ‘suggestion system’ which has been used before privatization of the factory. This suggestion system is one of the most important fields that class struggle has experienced between union and employer. For this reason, the struggle around the suggestion system contain in itself a potential in the development of ‘working class identity’ and ‘working class opposition’.

7.2. Working in Formel Sector

‘Petkim, is a Petro-chemical industry, you know, it is not a chocolate plant’
Ekrem, 34 years old worker.

Job opportunities in the ‘formal sector’ is very important for the lower income groups in the period that public sector employment lose its significance. Very few workers can get rid of poverty by employment in formal sector (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). The workers who are working in Petkim are among these ‘lucky workers’ who can get rid of poverty. Before examining the workers attitudes about working life, and their complaints I will explore their past work experiences as I believed that past experiences has influenced over the present situation.

While 82.9% of the workers were started to their working life before they were employed in Petkim, for 17.1% of the workers Petkim is their first workplace.

Before Petkim only 5.4% of the workers had worked in public sector and 73% of the workers employed in private sector. The others worked in their own or his father's/mothers' small enterprises or were unemployed.⁴⁰ This result indicates that majority of the workers has started work before Petkim. I think this situation has important impacts on the attitudes of workers about present working situation. Since they are evaluating their present working situations mostly comparing with their past experiences.

In this regard, 77.4% of workers think that this job is the best job that they can find in Turkey. Instead of high wages, job security become prominent behind the high level of job satisfaction. It can be argued that this perception is a general trend among the workers even for the retired workers. For example, the perception of a worker about job security who started to work in Petkim at the very beginnings of 1980s is as follows;

I started to work in Petkim in November 1982. The wages were very low... The truth was that I had been earning more than twice in my previous workplace. But we have an idea in our minds: job security. For this reason I preferred Petkim. I had earned 3000 liras in my previous job. But my first wage was 1300 lira here (Harun, retired, 56 years old).⁴¹

Therefore, it can be argued that rather than high wages job security is more important for workers in Turkey where informal sector employment is too high. Rather than the high wages the continuity of wage is crucial for workers, since precarious employment relations undermines the job security all around the world.

In order to examine their perception about job security, I asked workers two question. The first question is that: 'Do you prefer a job which has job security but low wages or high wages but lack of job security?' While 74.9% of the workers prefer to work in with low wages but in security, 18.1% prefer to work in a high

⁴⁰ The workers who had worked in public sector before Petkim are mostly composed of workers whose enterprises were privatized and came to Petkim.

⁴¹ 1982'inin başında Petkim'de işe girdim. Ücretler çok düşüktü. Gerçeği söylemek gerekirse daha önceki işimde burada aldığımın iki katını kazanıyordum. Fakat kafamızda bir düşünce var: iş güvenliği. Bundan dolayı Petkim'i tercih ettim. Daha önceki işimde 3000 lira kazanıyordum. Buradaki ilk maaşım 1300 liraydı (Harun, retired, 56 yaş).

wage job. Low but continuous income is more attractive to workers in such a fragile economic life.

The second question that I asked to workers regarding their perception of job security is ‘what kind of company they prefer to work’. According the Table 8.1, 77.2% of the workers prefer to work in a public company, 10.8% in a ‘local company/foreign partnership company’, 10.2%, ‘foreign company’ and 6.3% in a ‘local company’. Hence, majority of the workers prefer working at public company as it still associates with job security.

Table 7.1. Company Preference of the Workers

	n	p
Local Company	20	6.3
Foreign Company	34	10.2
Local Foreign Partner Company	32	10.8
State Public Company	229	72.7
Total	315	100

Especially the workers, who have been working in Petkim before privatization prefer to work in Stated owned company. According to the Table 8.2, 80.1% of the workers who started to work before privatization, 62.4% of workers who started to work after privatization prefer to work in a state owned company. The longer the experience to work in a state owned enterprise the more workers prefer to work in such an enterprise.

Table 7.2. Date of Hire and Factory Preference

Date of Hire	What kind of factory do you prefer to work?						p
	Local Company	Foreign Company	Local Partner Company	Foreign Company	State/Public Company	TOTAL	
1982 Count	4	16	16	145	181	.001	
2007 Expected Count	11.5	19.6	18.5	131.1	181		
%	2.2	8.8	8.8	80.4	100		
2008 Count	16	18	16	83	133		
2013 Expected Count	8.5	14.4	13.6	96.6	133		
%	12	13.5	12	62.4	100		

Job security in Petkim is based on the ‘structural power’ of the workers. According to Wright (2000: 962) the ‘structural power’ “results from the location of workers

within the economic system. The power of workers as individuals that results directly from tight labor markets or from the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector would constitute instances of structural power". In this regard, a worker who started to work after privatization declares that the labor process at Petkim keep them in safe. It is not rational for employer to hire a worker so easily as the labor process in is so complicated. Training of a worker takes a long time.

We, young friends who started to work at Petkim after 2006, all agree that the conditions here may be very bad. Petkim, is a petro-chemical industry, you know; it is not a chocolate plant. How bad can it be? OK. They can close the factory. Even if it is under private ownership, how can our conditions change? I think we are safe due to working in the petrochemical industry. They can't fire you and call Ahmet or Mehmet from outside the petrochemical industry. They (management), according to some research, say that an operator trains at least five years in Petkim. At least five years, but this does not mean he knows everything completely (Ekrem, 34 years old).⁴²

The sense of job security for workers is not only limited with the low possibility of losing his job, but the payment of 'social security contribution' in its time and from the real wages are at the same time constitutes the perception of job security.

Petkim above all means a regular income. Everyone comes here for this reason. You have a guarantee for life. Your insurance is paid on time. Your insurance is paid from what you have earned. My insurance was never paid regularly at my previous workplaces. I think this is the most important benefit that Petkim provides for workers. And also, you are not afraid of being unemployed. The job here requires knowledge and skill. I mean, not everyone can do it. That's why the job security is very high, I think. Unless you make a big mistake, why would the employer fire you? (Sinan, 35 years old).⁴³

⁴² Biz şu anda hem fikiriz, bütün yeni giren genç arkadaşlar olarak yani 2006 sonrası giren tüm gençler şurada hem fikiriz: şartlar ne kadar kötü olabilir burada. Petkim, bir Petro-Kimya tesisi, hani bir çikolata fabrikası değil. Ne kadar kötü olabilir. Tamam kapatılabilir. Özel sektör dahi olsa bize dönük şartlar ne kadar değişebilir ki... Petro-Kimya sektörü olması bizi emniyette tutuyor. Petro-Kimya tesisine dışarıdan Ahmet, Mehmet gel, sen çık işten diyemez... Böyle bir yönetim şekli olamaz... Petkim'de kendileri de diyor yani, bazı yapılan araştırmalarda diyor; Petkim'de en az beş sene de bir işletmeci yetişir. En az oda yani tamamen biliyor anlamında değil. Beş sene de (Ekrem, 34 yaş).

⁴³ Petkim, her şeyden önce düzenli bir gelir demek. Bizim oralardan buralara herkes bunun için geliyor. Hayatını garanti altına alıyorsun. Sigortan zamanında yatıyor. Kaç para alıyorsa, oradan ödeniyor sigortan. Ben daha önce çalıştığım hiçbir iş yerinde bu kadar düzenli ödenmemişti sigortam. Bence Petkim'in insanlara sağladığı en önemli kazanç bu. Ayrıca, her an işsiz kalacağım korkun yok. Buradaki iş bilgi, beceri gerektiriyor. Herkes yapamaz yani. O yüzden bence iş garantisi çok yüksek. Çok büyük yanlışlar yapmadığın sürece işveren seni neden işten atsın ki burada (Sinan, 35 yaş).

Relatively high wages and job security makes Petkim attractive for most of the individuals in the labor market. For this reason individuals frequently use some informal methods in order to get a job in Petkim. These methods are related to the culture in Turkey about finding job (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). Workers, who got job at the beginning of 1980s, mostly entered to professional qualification examination. Through 1990s lots of worker get into job by their political relations when the factory still belongs the state. However, rather than political relations individual affiliations become more important to get the job in these days. Hereof, a young worker speaks as follows;

Like every new worker, I got the job through the help of my acquaintance. Firstly, I applied via the Internet. Then, they called me for an interview. There were lots of people. I lost hope. But I got the job. I think that everyone got in at that time by using influence (Özgür, 28 years old).⁴⁴

Of course being fellow townsman of General Manager and Personnel Manager pave the way to get the job. Especially after the privatization many workers have been hired from the hometown of CEO. During the interviews they did not conceal this information. They are very grateful to CEO for the job.

Like everyone here (pointing to the individuals who are mostly playing cards in the Association) I got the job thanks to the CEO. If anyone here deny this, he would lie (Serdar, 28 years old).

I think by such a practice the employer try to develop a paternalistic relation with the employees. In the paternalistic management the “relationship between the agents in the organization is similar to the relationship between parents and children. Managers have a holistic concern for the employees like a parent would, and the employees show respect, loyalty, and deference to their superiors in a paternalistic relationship” (Aycan and Kabasakal, 2006: 474). As Wong (cited in So, 1990: 63) argued the political consequences of paternalism is that it retards the growth of class consciousness among workers. In the paternalistic relationship, labor discontent is

⁴⁴ Bütün yeni işçiler gibi bende işe bir tanıdığımın sayesinde giridim. İlk olarak internette başvuru yaptım. Görüşmeye çağırdılar. Bir çok insan vardı. Ümitsizliğe kapıldım. Ama işi kaptım. Bence o dönemde giren herkes torpille girmiştir işe (Özür, 28 yaş).

expressed more in the form of individual acts, such as absenteeism and resignation, than in the form of collective action.

However, I could not get empirical evidence regarding employer's protective attitudes against workers except getting them job. Nevertheless, it can be argued that employer has expectations of loyalty and obedience from these workers. However, those workers participated to the collective actions during the 2011 collective bargaining process. Union officers stated that CEO was very surprised regarding these workers participation to collective actions. In this regard, a union officer speaks as follows;

During the collective bargaining negotiation the employer asked that "I hired those workers. Now they are protesting me. How can you achieve this? Bread struggle unites everyone. Many of our friends afraid of that those workers will break the actions. But they did not (İbrahim, 52 years old).⁴⁵

It can be argued that this attitudes associated with the size of the factory, because these workers have very little possibility to encounter with CEO in their daily life. I consider that those workers weak social relations with the employer in their daily life mitigated the strengths of paternalistic relations.

Most of those workers were hired after privatization. For this reason, they did not take part in collective actions regarding privatization. These worker have a very strong community solidarity among themselves. They established their townsmen associations and spend most of their daily life together.⁴⁶ Many of them, who were not living in lojman, were living very adjacent neighborhoods in Aliğa. It is hard, however, that they constitute a homogeneous whole. I observed that some of these workers, who was hired before then others, have close social relations with other workers. Nevertheless, I should mention that their fellow township solidarity was the

⁴⁵ Toplu sözleşme görüşmelerinde işveren "Bu insanları ben işe aldım. Şimdi bana karşı eylem yapıyorlar. Bunu nasıl başardınız? dedi. Ekmek mücadelesi. Herkesi birleştiriyor. Birçok insan korktu bu arkadaşlar eylem kırıcılık yapacak diye. Ama yapmadılar. Herkesten heyecanlıydılar (İbrahim, 51 yaş).

⁴⁶ Despite I had no chance to examine the record book, as far as learned, association had nearly 100 members and almost every of them working in Petkim.

strongest comparing with other workers in the factory. It is generally assumed that this kind of consciousness undermines the working class consciousness. On the other hand, they satisfy the partial interests of their members and provide some fields to protect them from the hegemony of capitalism and class domination. However, they also function as the concealment of class exploitation in capitalist society. In such cases workers are in the situation of contradictory consciousness. On the one hand, they are under the influence of class-based consciousness, on the other hand under community consciousness (Coşkun, 2013).

It can be suggested that albeit economic reasons their participation to 2011 collective bargaining actions caused the erosion of this paternalistic relation with the employer. Especially the workers who participated to these collective actions were aware of the fact that their economic interest were different from employees. Although these collective actions provides relations with other workers, it is still hard to talk about the existence of a strong solidarity among the two group of workers.

These workers stated that other workers are excluded them. They were complaining about the fact that other workers consider them as '*man of the employer*'. In this regard, a workers narrative is so striking;

I go to the field. I do my job and come back again. When I come in, even the foreman sits up straight. They all think that we are the boss's man. They do not say anything about the boss while we are there. As if I have the phone number of the CEO. Okay, we got the job thanks to him. But now I think of my bread. (Altan, 28 years old).⁴⁷

I consider that collective actions which will be carried out in future provide the development of solidarity and confidence between these workers and other workers.

After discussing the sense of job security about working in Petkim, in next part of the study I will explore workers attitudes about working in Petkim.

⁴⁷ Sahaya gidiyorum. İşimi yapıp geri geliyorum. Ben içeri girince formen bile oturuşunu düzeltiyor. Hepsi bizi patronun adamı sanıyor. Yanımızda işveren hakkında hiçbir şey konuşmuyorlar. Sanki bende CEO'nun cep telefonu var. Tamam, onun sayesinde girdik işe. Ama artık ben ekmeğimi düşünüyorum (Altan, 28 yaş).

7.3. Attitudes of Workers Regarding Working in Petkim

Zingraff and Schulman (1984) argued that job dissatisfaction is among the important factors that increase the level of class consciousness. In order to examine the attitudes of workers about work, I use the variables in Table 8.3. According to the Table 8.3. 74.9% of the workers are pleased to work in Petkim. I think the high rate of job satisfaction is quite related with workers perception that this is the best job that they can find in labor market. However, interestingly young workers are more pleased working at Petkim. 78.6% of the 23-33 years of workers, 76.9% of the 34-43 years old workers and 70.3% of 44-53 years old workers are pleased to work in Petkim. These data differs from Coşkun's (2013) research in which job dissatisfaction is higher among the young workers. Young workers satisfaction may be arises from the rising difficulty finding job in formal sector.

Besides, workers who have employed after privatization are more pleased working at Petkim. While 71.3% of the workers who have started to work before privatization is pleased to work in Petkim, this figures increases to 79.7% among the workers who have started to work after privatization. An important reason for this may be the idea among the workers that the working conditions were better before privatization. For example, the older workers state that they use their 'annual leave' more easily before privatization and while the 'compassionate leave' (*mazaret izni*) rights of workers was 12 days before privatization it decreases to 8 days after privatization.

Another issue that I accentuate in working life is the process of competition and cooperation among workers. 40.7% of the workers think that there is a competition among the workers in working life. Especially the young workers feel the pressure of competition more than the older workers. According to the Table 8.4, 49.7% of the 23-33 years workers, 44.2% of 34-43 years workers and 29.7% of 44-53 years workers state that there is competition among the workers. Considering the old workers have a short time to their retirement and they already are in good status in the factory, I may assume that young workers are in competition with each other to come up to the positions which are emptied in a short period of time by the older workers.

Table 7.3. Workers' Feeling about Working Life

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
It makes me happy to work in this workplace.	29.2	45.7	15.6	6.3	3.2
This job when compared with other jobs in the market is the best job I could find.	29.5	47.9	12.4	6.7	3.5
While doing my job I think I develop myself.	31.7	48.9	11.7	5.7	1.9
In this workplace workers are competing with each other.	10.5	30.2	20.0	30.5	8.9
In this workplace workers help each other continuously in working life.	24.8	48.6	12.1	9.8	4.8
There is no relation among workers outside of workplace.	4.1	13.0	9.8	53.0	20.0

Table 7.4. Cohort Analysis of Completion Among the Workers.

Cohorts	In this workplace workers are competing with each other.							p
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL		
23-33	Count	19	48	30	31	7	135	.005
	Expected Count	14.1	40.7	27	41.1	12	135	
	%	14.1	35.6	22.2	23	5.2	100	
34-43	Count	9	14	7	16	6	52	
	Expected Count	5.4	15.7	10.4	15.8	4.6	52	
	%	17.3	26.9	13.5	30.8	11.5	100	
44-53	Count	5	33	26	49	15	128	
	Expected Count	13.4	38.6	25.6	39	11.4	128	
	%	3.9	25.8	20.3	38.3	11.7	100	

Also 73.4% of workers stated that cooperation exist in the workplace. Especially the young workers stated that older workers are helping them about every issue. I think this empirical evidence is pointing out the existence of 'brotherhood' among the workers.

The other issue that I examined about the labor process is the workers' complaints about working life. 11.7% of the workers do not have any complaints about working conditions. The most important issues that workers mostly complain about are: low wages, unhealthy working conditions and shifts in working system.

33% of the workers complain about 'low wages'. The young workers and the workers started to work after privatization are more complaining about this issue. For example; 46.7% of the 23-33 years workers, 36.5% of 34-43 workers and 17.2% of the 44-53 years old workers are complaining about low wages. 22.7% of the workers

who started to work before privatization and 47.4% of the workers, who started to work after privatization complain about low wages. The young workers' complaint arises from the application of 'low wage policy' against the workers, who were hired in 2006 before privatization. Thus, a substantial proportion of wage gaps has occurred between the young and old workers.⁴⁸ A worker speaks about the issue as follows;

In February, 2006, the 'minimum wage policy' for public enterprises was first applied at Petkim. While this policy was applied in other enterprises, it was mostly applied to firms organized by Petrol-İs, such as TPAO, BOTAS, ETİBOR and PETKİM. It's like an operation. The most powerful union in Turkey is Petrol-İs, and in Petkim it is the most organized. It's like a blow to the heart. You started to work in the Petro-chemical industry with 1.5 times the minimum wage. People ask me, "How much money do you earn?" I tell them how much. People do not believe it, of course. Our workmates (referring to older workers) earn three times more than we do (Rıza, 34 years old).⁴⁹

Especially the young workers are mostly complaining regarding this low wage policy. Their wages has increased with the 2011 collective agreement.

When we came in 2006, we could not even go to the Local. Our wages were too low at that time. Many of our friends left. They started to work in other state corporations. So, from that time, we couldn't leave and had to stay. Taking advantage of a clause in the collective bargaining agreement, which determines the amount employers must pay, the employers gave us a very low amount. I have never forgotten. While the older workers were earning 2000

⁴⁸ As we have discussed later this situation function as an important mobilization factor for young workers especially in 2011 collective bargaining.

⁴⁹ 2006 Şubat ayında ilk defa Petkim'de kamu da düşük ücret politikası uygulandı. Bu daha sonra diğer işletmelerde de uygulansa, en çok Petrol-İş Sendikasının örgütlü olduğu yerlerde uygulandı TPAO, BOTAŞ, ETİBOR, PETKİM. Sanki operasyon şeydi, Türkiye'nin en güçlü sendikası Petrol-İş, bunun en güçlü olduğu yer Petkim. Hani kalbinden vurmak. O günkü şartlarda Petro-Kimya sektöründe 1.5 asgari ücret maaş ile işbaşı yapıyorsun. Memlekette insanlar soruyor kaç para maaş alıyorsun. Diyorum bu kadar. Ya bırak Allah aşkına senden borç para mı isteyeceğiz diyorlar. İnsanlar inanmıyor tabi... 2006 Şubat ayında ilk defa Petkim'de kamu da düşük ücret politikası uygulandı. Bu daha sonra diğer işletmelerde de uygulansa, en çok Petrol-İş Sendikasının örgütlü olduğu yerlerde uygulandı TPAO, BOTAŞ, ETİBOR, PETKİM. Sanki operasyon şeydi, Türkiye'nin en güçlü sendikası Petrol-İş, bunun en güçlü olduğu yer Petkim. Hani kalbinden vurmak. O günkü şartlarda Petro-Kimya sektöründe 1.5 asgari ücret maaş ile işbaşı yapıyorsun. Memlekette insanlar soruyor kaç para maaş alıyorsun. Diyorum bu kadar. Ya bırak Allah aşkına senden borç para mı isteyeceğiz diyorlar. İnsanlar inanmıyor tabi. Yanımızda beraber çalıştığımız arkadaşımız bizim üç katı ücret alıyordu (Rıza, 34 yaş).

lira, we were earning 528 lira. People thought that, as we were working for Petkim, we were earning a lot of money. I took my payroll with me when I went to my hometown. I showed it to those who didn't believe me. At that time, we had married friends. They brought their wives and children with them. Many of them were depressed. Everyone tried to leave. Lots of engineers left and went away (Erdem, 36 years old).⁵⁰

The general opinion in the region is that the wages are too high in Petkim. However workers are not agree with this opinion. A worker stated that their wages are not high by comparing his wage by a police officer and a teacher:

Are our wages high compared with other workers or civil servants? Honestly, they are not. A permanent municipal worker earns more than us. Previously, they compared our salary with that of teachers. They are earning as much as we are. If we do not have a shift premium (*vardiya primi*), we earn as much as teachers and policemen. The son of one of our acquaintances, a new policeman, earns over 2500 lira. My gross wage is 3500 lira. This is not too much for the petro-chemical industry. The employer says that, compared with Third World countries, the salaries are high (Vedat, 47 years old).⁵¹

I do not think that young workers complaint about low wages can be conceptualized through in terms of Lockwood's (1966) 'privatized worker', instead it can be interpreted as a demand for 'dignity'. Although they are doing the same job with the older workers, they are earning less than 20% of them. This situation led to the development of sense of injustice among the young workers.

The second issue that workers mostly complain about is the unhealthy working conditions. 16.2% of the workers complain about the issue. While the working

⁵⁰ 2006'da ilk geldiğimizde Lokale dahi gelemiyorduk. Çok düşük ücretler alıyorduk o zaman. Birçok arkadaşımız bırakıp gittiler. Başka devlet kurumlarında işe başladılar. Gidemeyen bizler kaldık o zamandan işte. İşveren Toplu Sözleşmedeki bir maddeden yararlanarak (İşçinin ücretini işveren belirler) bize çok düşük ücret verdi. Hiç unutmam eskiler 2000 liraya yakın para alırken biz 528 lira alıyorduk. İnsanlarda bizi Petkim'de çalışıyoruz. Çok paralar kazanıyoruz zannediyorlardı. Memlekete giderken cebimde götürüyordum bordrumu. İnanmayanlara gösteriyordum. O dönem evil arkadaşlarımız vardı. Eşlerini ve çocuklarını yanlarında getirmişlerdi. Bir çoğu depresyona girdi. Herkes kaçmaya çalışıyordu. Bir çok mühendis kaçtı gitti (Erdem, 36 yaş).

⁵¹ Şu anki dışarıya göre iyi mi? Valla iyi değil. Kadrolu bir belediye işçisi bizden daha iyi alıyor. Önceden bizim maaşlarımızı öğretmenlerle mukayese ederlerdi. Onlarda bizim kadar maaş alıyorlar. Bizim eğer vardiya primimiz olmazsa öğretmen kadar, polis kadar maaş alıyoruz. Bizim bir tanıdığımız oğlu yeni polis oldu, 2500 liranın üzerinde maaş alıyor. Benim brütümde 3500 lira. Bir petro-kimya sektörüne göre çok da değil bence. İşverende dışarıdaki 3. Dünya ülkeleriyle kıyaslandığında bizdeki Petro kimya sektöründe işçi ücretlerinin yüksek olduğunu söylüyor (Vedat, 48 yaş).

conditions are much better comparing with the other sectors in the region, the chemical danger worries the workers as the adverse effects of chemical disasters can be detected after a long time. However, the danger is not limited only with the chemicals. There are lots of other dangers that workers have to protect themselves. A worker mention other dangers in factory as follows;

Our working conditions are really dangerous. This may be because I am a maintenance worker. There is high pressure. There are explosions all the time. I do not know what the pressure is. You are afraid if a balloon bursts at home. You expand the iron and it explodes. If you are passing by, you can die. Thanks to Allah! Nothing like that has happened. But our work is very risky (İlhan, 35 years old).⁵²

The third issue that the workers mostly complained about is the 'shift system'. 11.4% of the workers are complaining about this issue. As we have seen discussing everyday life experience shift work influence workers all life.

After discussing the complaints of workers about working life, next I will evaluate the workers' participation to the labor process.

7.4. The Participation of Workers to Labor Process

Another issue that I elaborate is the participation of workers to the labor process. According to Marx (1976) capitalist exploitation occurs in labor process. However after Marx social scientist did not interested in labour process since Harry Braverman's (1974) pioneer book *Labour and Monopoly Capital*. According to Braverman (1974) the most important feature of labour process in the stage of monopoly capital is de-skilling process of workers and real subordination of labor to capital. The distinctive feature of labour process in monopoly stage of capitalism was the domination of "Taylorist scientific management principle" in which 'conception' and 'execution' segregated from each other.

Braverman (1974: 77-83) suggested that scientific management based on three principles. First principle is "*dissociation of the labour process from the skills of the*

⁵² Çalışma koşullarımız gerçekten çok tehlikeli. Belki bakımcı olarak çalıştığım için bu böyledir. Yüksek basınç var. Her zaman patlamalar oluyor. Ben daha basıncın ne olduğunu bilmiyorum. Evde balon patlarsa korkarsınız. Demiri şişiriyorsunuz ve patlıyor. Yanından geçsinez ölebilirsiniz. Allaha şükür' Öyle bir şey olmadı. Ama işimiz çok riskli (İlhan, 35 yaş).

workers. The labor process is to be rendered independent of craft, tradition, and the workers' knowledge. Henceforth it is to depend not at all upon the abilities of workers, but entirely upon the practices of management. The second principle is the *separation of conception and execution* in the labor process. According to Braverman, in order to ensure management control and to cheapen the worker, conception and execution must be rendered separate spheres of work, and for this purpose the study of work processes must be reserved to management and kept from the workers, to whom its results are communicated only in the form of simplified job tasks governed by simplified instructions which it is thenceforth their duty to follow unthinkingly and without comprehension of the underlying technical reasoning or data. Third principle, is the use of monopoly over knowledge. This principle is based on gathering and development of knowledge of labor processes, and concentration of this knowledge as the exclusive province of management.

After Braverman's pioneering book, another study was carried out by Burawoy (1985) called *The Politics of Production Factory Regimes Under Capitalism and Socialism* which was examine the ideological and political spheres of labor process. In this comprehensive book Burawoy (1985) identified five different 'factory regimes' under capitalism.⁵³ The first one is 'patriarchal despotism'. The organization of labour process in this stage belongs to the family and it is still too early to talk about the real subordination of labor to capital. The second is the 'paternalistic despotism'. In this stage the control over the labor process transcend from the family unit to new father –the owner of the factory. The third regime is called 'market despotism'. The distinctive character of this regime is the real subordination of labour power to capital. The fourth is 'hegemonic production regime'. The difference of this regime from market despotism is the importance of state interventions especially in the reproduction of labour power through the social security system. The final regime is called as 'hegemonic despotism'. The transition from hegemonic production regime to hegemonic despotism occurs through the destruction of welfare state practices especially since 1980s through neo-liberal policies.

⁵³ Burawoy's (1985) distinction among the factory regime thesis based on the investigation of production process, reproduction of labour power, the competition among the firms and state policies.

As I discussed above, since 1980s, a more flexible accumulation regime has dominated all over the world. Correspondingly to this transformation, the organization of labor process through Taylorist principles has given way to more flexible employment relations. In this transformation the participation of workers to labor process has tried to be enhance by total quality managements, human resource management and lean production. In this framework, “suggestion system” is the most important practice that employers use to increase worker’s participation to labor process. Sugur’s *et all* (2004) research carried out Bolu, İzmit, İstanbul and Bursa demonstrate that suggestion system is common in industrial companies in Turkey. However, in Turkey the participation of workers to the system is not high as expected.

In Petkim, there is a suggestion system called ‘Petkim Suggestion System’ (PETÖS) and it has been practiced before privatization. During the interviews, I observed that this system has become the most important issue of struggle between union and employer. While employer try to increase participation of employees to the system, union is strongly against workers’ participation. If the suggestions are accepted, they would be awarded. This award given as gift token and can be used only in the cooperative of the factory.

In this regard, I asked workers: ‘do you think that the workers participation to the labor process increase the quality of the products? 66.7% of them agreed with the idea that workers participation to labor process has increased the quality of the products. In this regard, a worker speaks as follows;

Well, I know some of the issues better than engineers. Young engineers are leaning lots of things from us. I know everywhere of the factory. Engineers most of the time ask for advice to me. I think worker’s ideas should be asked in many cases. Because, most of the time we can identify troubles more easily than an engineer (Sait, 45 years).⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Yeni giren mühendislerle birçok şeyi biz öğretiyoruz. Ben fabrikanın her yerini biliyorum. Mühendisler çoğu zaman fikir sorar bana. Bence birçok konuda işçilerin fikirleri alınmalı. Çünkü çoğu zaman aksaklıkları mühendislerden daha önce fark ediyoruz.

However, employer tried to increase the participation workers to labor process by eliminating the power of union. In this struggle, engineers sometimes have compelled the workers to give suggestions. A worker speak about this enforcement as follows;

The employer gives orders to the engineers: “I want at least three suggestions from your unit in a month.” Because the union is against this, he pressures the union on this issue. And the engineers go to their units and pressure the workers. Sometimes the engineers write suggestions and sign them on behalf of the workes (Adnan, 48 years old).⁵⁵

A worker who was threatened by his engineer stated that he had to give a suggestion involuntarily. As he was new at that time he afraid and give the suggestion. He speaks as follows;

I gave a suggestion because one day my director came and said, “You have to give this suggestion”. He threatened me severely. I gave the suggestion in order not to come up against him. At that time, I had just started to work in Petkim (Mehmet, 39 years old).⁵⁶

Engineers also take bonus from the suggestions that workers have given. However the important thing for the engineers is not the bonuses rather the oppression of the employer. Engineers are also oppressed by the employer to provide more participation of the workers to the suggestion system. For this reason, the engineers have forced especially the young workers in their units to enhance the using of the suggestion system.

In order to increase the participation of workers to the system almost every suggestion are accepted by the employer. However workers are very suspicious regarding the acceptance of all suggestions. In this regard, a worker stated that after he recognized the evaluation system was not objective he did not give any further suggestion.

⁵⁵ İşveren mühendislere diyorki; biriminizden ayda en az üç tabe öneri istiyorum. Sendikada buna karşı ya. O da ordan bastırıyor. Mühendisler gidiyor işçilere ya şu öneriyi yazsana diye baskı yapıyor. Bazen kendi öneriyi yazıyor altına işçi adına imza atıyor (Adnan, 48 yaş).

⁵⁶ Ben öneri verdim. Öneri vermemin nedeni de müdürüm geldi. Şu öneriyi verceksin dedi. Adam ciddi tehdit etti. Adamla karşı karşıya gelmemek için öneriyi verdim. O dönemde Petkim’de yeni başlamıştım işe (Mehmet, 39 yaş).

I gave a suggestion once, but I have not done it again. I gave my suggestion and went to get my reward. It was such a nonsense suggestion that I could not believe it. I said I would not give a suggestion again. For example, a man covers the table and says that he protected the table. My brother! That is your duty already! You are using that table. Can you say you protected it? I think it is ridiculous. I have not given a suggestion since because those who evaluate these suggestions are not competent. The purpose is so your superior can get a bonus for your suggestion. No matter what you suggest, all are the same. Therefore, everything is accepted (Hakan, 42 years old).⁵⁷

Union officers declared that they are against the suggestion system. They think that this kind of practice has increased the ‘*exploitation rate*’ of the workers. Besides, they are also aware of the fact that the aim of the employer is to vitiate the influence of union in the ‘Worker Health and Job Security Council’ in which union has a vital role.

We, as a union, are opposed to the suggestion system. The reason is that if a worker sells his labor for eight hours, his work life is within these hours. The remaining 16 hours are the worker’s own time. It is his private life with his family, hobbies, etc. Hence, the occupation of the heads with work outside of these eight hours means the stealing of his life and exploiting of his labor in terms of thought. For this reason we opposed this and told our members not to give suggestions. Instead, we have a worker Health and Job Security Council of which the union is also a member. Here, the suggestions can be better evaluated. But this is not the business of the employer (Doğan, 51 years old).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ben bir kere verdim. Ama bir daha vermem. Öneriyi verdim orda ödülü almaya gidiyorum. O kadar saçma öneriler verenler vardı ki, inanamazsınız. Ben bir daha öneri vermem dedim. Adam mesela şu masanın üstüne örtü koymuş, ben bu masayı korudum diyor. Kardeşim o zaten senin görevin. Sen o masayla iş yapıyorsun. Bunu korudum diyebilir misin? Bence saçma. Bir daha da vermedim öneri falan. Çünkü bu önerileri kabul eden insanlar işi bilen insanlar değil zaten. Amaç burada senin verdiğin öneriden senin amirinde prim alıyor. Onun için öneri olsun da ne olursa olsun. Dolayısıyla her şey kabul ediliyor (Hakan, 42 yaş).

⁵⁸ Biz sendika olarak öneri sistemine karşıyız. Sebebi şu: Bir insan çalışırken sekiz saat üzerinden emeğini satıyorsa, o sekiz saat içerisinde onun çalışma hayatı. Geriye kalan 16 saat o işçinin kendine ait zamanıdır. Ama ailesiyle, ama hobileriyle, ama farklı şekilleriyle kendi özel yaşantısıdır. Dolayısıyla, sekiz saatin dışındaki her türlü iş yönünden kafalarının meşgul edilmesi, o insanın hayatının çalınması ve emeğinin düşünce yönünden de sömürülmesidir. Bu anlamda biz karşı çıkıyoruz ve üyelerimize öneri vermeyin diyoruz. Bunun yerine bizim işçi sağlığı, iş güvenliği kurulu var. Sendikanın da içinde bulunduğu bir kurul. Öneriler, burada daha sağlıklı bir şekilde değerlendirilebiliyor. Ama işverenin işine gelmiyor bu (Doğan, 51 yaş).

The important portion of the workers supports the resistance of the union even if they do not strongly disagree with the suggestion system. I think this is an important indicator of the commitment of workers to the union.

The union warns us absolutely not to give suggestions. I partially agree with this. I do not strongly disagree with the system. But I keep up with the decisions. If our union makes such a decision, we have to stand behind the union (Ekrem, 34 years old).

I consider that the main of the employer is weakening the solidarity among the workers competitive relations among workers. Hence, from the beginning it functions as the extension of bourgeois ideology among workers. The resistance of the union against the suggestion system is the manifestation of class struggle at the labor process. I think that the union is highly successful in his struggle on this issue.

Besides, another issue attracted my attention during the field research. There are significant differences between young and old workers regarding 'woking'. Older workers are so decided about not doing the orders of the managers out of their job description. In this regard, they can argue with managers against such orders. However, the younger workers accept easily the orders that they are not described in their terms of references.

The older workers are more rule-based and loyal to their jobs. They can protest if their managers order them to do a job that is not in their job description. But the new workers are afraid to come up against the managers. The manager orders him not to do anything now and to bring him a cup of tea. He cannot not say that it is not his job. I am a modern industrial worker. You can order me to open ten valves. I can do that. But I cannot bring you a cup of tea. He cannot demand this, for example (Rıza, 34 years old).⁵⁹

It is not sufficient to explain this situation with the different working culture between young and old workers. The most important reason of this situation is the unwillingness of young workers to get into conflict with their chief. They also

⁵⁹ Eski işçiler işlerine daha sadık ve daha kuralcı. Yani kendisine ait olmayan bir işi yapma konusunda direk tavır gösterebiliyor. Ama yeni işçiler amirlerle karşı karşıya gelmekten bir kere çok çekiniyor. Amir, işte boştasın iki çay kap gel diyor. Bu benim işim değil diyemiyor. Ben, işte modern sanayi işçisiyim. Sen bana on tane vana aç de açayım, ama ben sana iki çay getiremem. Bu iradeyi koyamıyor mesela (Rıza, 34 yaş).

abstain from informing the union about the pressures of their chief. An old worker explains the situation as follows:

The young workmates who started working after privatization sometimes come to the union and say, “The engineer ordered me to do that. It’s not my business, but I did it.” We told them not to do anything if it is not their job. There is always a shop steward in the union office. Older workers do not hesitate to call on him. But new workmates do not call him. We told them they can call whenever they like. They are afraid of calling. They do not want to come up against the managers (Adil, 47 years old).⁶⁰

Not only the managers but sometimes the foremen also order new tasks to workers that they are not in scope of workers’ job description.

“We are no longer in the State sector; this is the private sector.” Some of our friends use these words. They sometimes order new workers to do very ridiculous things. “You have to do it, it is no longer State,” a foreman said. Young workmates see foremen as the representatives of the employer and as having to do what he wants. At the same time, the young workers see the foreman as a ‘brother’ and cannot refuse. I know some foremen who ordered an operator to do welding (Habip, 51 years old).⁶¹

Young and old workers sometimes give different responses to the enforcement of engineers or even the foremen. Young workers hesitate to come face to face with their chiefs. This may be arises from their expectation of becoming good positions as well as their lack of organizing experience. As it is mentioned above young workers feel the pressure of competition than the older ones. It can be argued that being a docile worker may pave the way for good positions.

7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings indicate that working in Petkim means job security to workers. Job security, is more important than high paying-jobs. Some workers were

⁶⁰ Özelleştirme sonrası işe giren genç işçiler bazen sendikaya geliyor ve ‘mühendis bana şunu emretti’ diyor. Benim görevim değildi ama yaptım. Onları işleri olmayan şeyleri yapmalarını söylüyoruz. Sendikada her zaman bir temsilci bulunuyor. Yaşlı işçiler aramaktan çekinmiyor. Fakat yeni arkadaşlar aramıyor. İstedikleri zaman arayabileceklerini söylüyoruz. Ama aramaya korkuyorlar. Yöneticileriyle karşı karşıya gelmeye çekiniyorlar (Adil, 47 yaş).

⁶¹ Foremen in Petkim are unionized employees. In most of the other private sectors the foremen do not member of union.

working with higher wages before joined to Petkim but still they prefer working in Petkim with lower wages.

Most of the workers are pleased to work in Petkim and consider that that this job is the best job that they can find in Turkey.

The young workers feel completion more than the older workers. Young workers are competing with each other for the positions which will be discharged by older workers.

Also, job dissatisfaction increased the working class consciousness. Workers are complaining mostly about low wages, dangers in working life and the shift system. But on the other hand, they prefer to continue working under those conditions because of the job security matter.

The 'suggestion system' is the most important field in class struggle between union and the employer. Employer compel workers to participate the suggestion system. Union officer declare that they are against the participation of workers to system. This system not only destroys the solidarity among workers, but also it reduces the influence of the union.

In the next chapter, I shall discuss the formation of working class consciousness among the workers and their organizing and collective action experience.

CHAPTER 8

PRIVATIZATION and FORMATION of CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

8.1. Introduction

In general, in this chapter I will focus on the impacts of privatization on the formation of class consciousness. Firstly, I will examine the effects of anti-privatization struggle on working class consciousness. After I will outline the attitudes of workers regarding privatization. Thirdly, I will explore the formation of working class consciousness through class identity, class opposition, class totality and sense of alternative social order. Finally, I try to examine the attitudes of workers regarding unionization.

8.2. Anti-Privatization Struggles and Class Consciousness

Collective action experience is one of the most important factors that influence the formation of class consciousness. According to Kilgore (1999) ‘collective identity’ which answers the question ‘who are we?’ develops among the workers through collective actions. Freire (2003) argued that people begins to struggle against injustice practices with being destroyed by others. The process of struggle provides the rising of critical consciousness and expression of social discontent among its participants. From this point of view I argue that, privatization provides the development of sense of injustice and the potential of struggling against injustice among the workers who participated to this research.

As I discussed above, one of the most important purpose of privatization is weakening the power of trade unions. It is hard to argue, however, that unions in Turkey have grasped the purpose of capitalist classes. In this regard, Turk-Is, the biggest union confederation of Turkey, did not state that they rejected privatization policy completely. Turk-Is supported privatization of unimportant enterprises after a democratic public discussion. Contrary to Turk-Is, Disk not only against anti-

democratic practices of privatization but also it was totally against the logic and ideology of privatization. Another confederation Hak-İş, believes that the rejection of privatization does not have positive effects both on economy and employment relations. Hak-İş argued that governments have to prepare juridical, economic and financial regulations for the achievement of privatization. Thereby, it cannot be claimed that except Disk, in Turkey trade unions are completely against privatization of state enterprises (Taşçı, 2008).

It can be suggested that after 1980s the most important agenda of Petrol-Is is "privatization". Petrol-Is has warned the whole society against the liquidation of SOEs in its 17th General Assembly before the military coup d'état. Turk-Is who could not remain indifferent to pertinacious attitudes of Petrol-Is against privatization has taken some decision to perform collective actions against privatization in its 15th General Assembly in 1989 (Petrol-Is, 2000).

According to Petrol-Is, privatization is one of the most important political strategy of developed countries in order to enhance the subjection of underdeveloped countries through World Bank's and IMF's suggestions. Petrol-Is criticize Turkish labor movement regarding lack of unified struggle strategies against privatization. Further, Petrol-Is argued that the lack of unequivocal attitudes of unions against privatization have prevented workers from the comprehension of real purposes of privatization (Petrol-Is, 2000).

Petrol-Is' anti-privatization struggles have intensified especially after 2000s due to the intensification of privatization efforts of governments. However its efforts could not prevent the privatization of some SOEs such as POAS, TUGSAS, IGSAS, PETLAS, TUPRAS and PETKIM. According to Petrol-Is (2010) the main reason for such a defeat is the absence of enough support from the other parts of the society and the loneliness of Petrol-Is in this struggle. It can be asserted that the failure of the anti-privatization movement should be regarded as an evidence of the absence of class solidarity and unity among Turkish unions.

Petrol-Is, in this period, organized lots of collective actions such as press statements, workplace occupations, supporting other unions' anti-privatization struggles and so

forth. In addition, in May 1998 Petrol-Is proposed for a central struggle against privatization to the unions who were the members of Turk-Is. Turk-Is Board of Presidents held on July 30 in 1998 has decided to establish "The Commission of the Protection of Social State Against Privatization" (*Özelleştirmeye Karşı Sosyal Devleti Koruma Komisyonu*) in line with Petrol-Is' proposal. Furthermore, KIGEM (*The Center for Development of Public Managership*) was established under the leadership of Petrol-Is to organize more effective juridical struggle against privatization and to prepare reports about SOEs in order to inform public (Petrol-Is, 2000).

It can be suggested that Petrol-Is' struggles against privatization have enhanced class solidarity and class consciousness among the workers. A union officer expressed his thoughts regarding these struggles on working class solidarity;

We (Petrol-Is) have organized lots of collective actions at that period. The governments were attacking us from all sides. Many of the workplaces where we were the authorized union were within the scope of privatization. Firstly, Petrol Ofisi after Tüpraş and finally Petkim were privatized in Aliğa. Petrol-Is not only organized collective actions where it was the authorized union but also supported other anti-privatization struggles. These actions have provided close relations among our members. We went lots of places at that time. Bursa, Kırıkkale, Samsun, Ankara, İzmit. In these travels revolutionary songs, marching music were sung. Discussions were held regarding the political agenda. Lots of our workmates have become politicized by means of these actions. Although we were unable to stop privatization, thanks to these actions, lots of our friends had grasped the brutality and cruelty of capitalist order. For instance, after privatization of Petrol Ofisi lots of our friends laid-off and Petrol-Is is no longer authorized there. Workers at least saw these (İbrahim, 51 years old).⁶²

⁶² Biz (Petrol-İş) o dönemde birçok eylem yaptık. Sistem bize dört bir taraftan saldırıyordu. Örgütlü olduğumuz birçok işyeri özelleştirme kapsamındaydı. Özelleştirmeleri durdurabilmek için sürekli eylemler düzenliyorduk. Aliğa'da önce Petrol Ofisi, sonra Tüpraş en sonda Petkim özelleştirildi. Biz sendika olarak, sadece kendi örgütlü olduğumuz yerlerdeki özelleştirmelere karşı eylem yapmıyorduk, diğer sendikaların düzenledikleri eylemleri de destekliyorduk. Bu eylemler üyeler arasında çok sıkı ilişkilerin gelişmesini sağladı. O dönemde birçok yere gittik. Bursa, Kırıkkale, Samsun, Ankara, İzmit. Otobüs yolculuklarında devrimci şarkılar, marşlar söylenirdi. Politik gündeme dair tartışmalar yapılırdı. Hiç politikayla ilgilenmeyen birçok arkadaşımız bu eylemler sayesinde politikleşti. Belki Petrol-İş olarak özelleştirmeleri durduramadık ama birçok işçi bu eylemlerimiz sayesinde kapitalist sistemin acımasızlığını, vahşiliğini anladı. Örneğin, Petrol Ofisi özelleşince birçok arkadaşımız işsiz kaldı and sendikamız artık orada örgütlü değil. İşçiler en azından bunları gördüler (İbrahim, 51 yaş).

In these struggles against privatizations some collective actions have become more prominent. The most salient of these struggles was the “Ankara March” which was held in 2003. Workers began marching from Aliğa to Ankara in 5 June 2003 against the privatization tender. They arrived at Izmir in the evening and made a press statement in front of the AKP Building. Next day they gathered in front of the Undersecretariat of Treasury in Ankara where the tender was held. They, however, could not achieve to stop the tender and the privatization of Petkim. After the demonstrations in Ankara a group of worker went to İzmit in order to support anti-privatization struggles of Seka workers. A worker told this experience as follows;

We gathered in front of the ‘Gate A’ (entrance gate of the factory). The Branch President give a speech and we started marching. The gendarme block us at the Çanakkale-Izmir highway. Of course we discussed with them. Branch Officer told us that “friends lets walk”. The gendarme could not stop us. We were so crowded. We walked approximately 10 kilometers. It was so hot, the busses arrived. We had arrived İzmir AKP Building. We held an illegal demonstration in Alsancak. None of us were afraid. People were applauding us. I do not forget that enthusiasm. I had never participated such an action ever before. The police did not allow us to get to close to AKP Building. Our Branch Officer made his speech on the police car. After then we took on the busses and went Ankara in front of the Undersecretariat of Treasury. All of us were very excited. We thought that the tender was canceled. But it was not. Uzan Group won the tender. Anyway, a group of our friends wanted to go to İzmit Seka. There workers occupied the factory against privatization. I was so tired that I did not want to go. But later I thought I had to go. Lots of people came and supported us in Ankara. I thought that we had to support Seka. As far as I remember we moved to Seka with two buses. We all feel depressed. Anyway when we had arrived at the factory, workers welcome us enthusiastically. You had to see. Women, children. All of them were waiting us at the factory’s cafeteria. I though “fortunately I was there”. This enthusiasm jolt me awake. I forgot privatization of Petkim. After that I tried to participate all kind of actions (Zeki, 38 years old).⁶³

⁶³ A Kapı’da servislerden indik. Şube Başkanı bir konuşma yaptı ve yürüyüşe başladık. İzmir-Çanakkale Yolu’na çıkınca Jandarma kesti yolumuzu. Tabi biraz tartışma çıktı. Şube Başkanı, arkadaşlar haydi yürüyoruz dedi. Jandarma engel olamadı bize. Çok kalabalıktık. 10 kilometre kadar yürüdük. Çok sıcaktı, otobüsler geldi. Bindik. İzmir AKP Binası’nın önüne geldik. Alsancak’ta resmen korsan miting yaptık. Hiçbirimiz korkmuyorduk artık. İnsanlar alkışlıyorlardı bizi. O coşkuyu hiç unutmuyorum ben. Daha önce hiç böyle bir eyleme katılmadım. Polis AKP Binasına fazla yaklaşmamıza izin vermedi. Bu Bizim başkan çıktı polis aracının üzerine oradan yaptı konuşmasını. Daha sonra otobüslere bindik. Ankaraya gittik. Hazine Müsteşarlığı’nın önüne. Hepimiz çok heyecanlıydık. İhalenin iptal olacağını düşünüyorduk. Ama olmadı. Uzan Grubu kazandı ihaleyi. Neyse oradan, İzmit SEKA’ya geçmek istedi bir grup arkadaş. Orada da özelleştirmeye karşı işçiler fabrikayı işgal etmişlerdi. O kadar yorgundum ki gitmek istemedim. Gitmem lazım dedim. Ankara’da bir çok insan bizi desteklemeye gelmişti. Bizde SEKA’yı desteklemeliyiz diye düşündüm. Yanlış hatırlamıyorsam 2 otobüs İzmit’e geçtik. Hepimizin morali bozduktu tabi. Neyse, fabrikaya

Another worker speaks as follows regarding the issue;

I can never forget that day. I think it was our most enthusiastic action. We carried out lots of actions before but this was really different. We came to Çanakkale highway. None of us predicted what will happen. Our Branch President said that “Friends we were walking to Ankara”. We all astonished. Nevertheless, we started walking. Before we made a press statement in İzmir. Then we went Ankara. The tender was broadcasted live in TV. We all got information with mobile phones. Anyway, the tender was finished. They sold Petkim. We could not achieve. But all of us consider that we had to continue fighting. After the tender our Branch President said that, “Friends, workers are resisting in Seka İzmit, let’s go to support them.” Two busses went there. I did not go. But I regretted when friends told about the excitement there (Vedat, 47 years old).⁶⁴

Another collective action that become prominent in the narratives of workers was their marching against coming of the companies’ managers which participated to privatization tender at Petkim for an investigation.

Some managers of companies which participated to privatization tender came to investigate Petkim. We gathered in front of the guesthouse (misafirhane). The security guards had tried to prevent us but we did not listen to anyone. They were so afraid that they could not go out. I have not forgotten that day ever. We were all so angry. Nobody could stop us (Sait, 45 years old).⁶⁵

On this topic another worker speaks as follows;

Union officers learned the company managers came to Petkim. We came to work in the morning but did not go to the factories. We told that “we did not

ulaştığımızda işçi arkadaşlar bizi coşkuyla karşıladılar. Görmeniz lazım. Kadınlar, çocuklar. Hepsi fabrikanın yemekhanesinde bizleri bekliyorlar. İyi ki gelmişim dedim. Bu coşku kendime getirdi beni. Petkim’in satıldığını unuttum bir anda. Daha sonra eylemlere daha çok katıldım (Zeki, 38 yaş).

⁶⁴ O günü unutmam mümkün değil. Her halde en coşkulu eylemimizde. Daha önce bir çok eylem yaptık ama bu gerçekten başkaydı. Çanakkale yoluna çıktık. Hiçbirimiz ne olacağını tahmin edemiyorduk. Sonra Başkan “Arkadaşlar Ankaraya yürüyoruz” dedi. Hepimiz şaşırдық. Neyse, başladık yürümeye. Önce İzmir’de bir basın açıklaması yaptık. Sonra Ankara’ya geçtik. İhale televizyondan canlı yayınlanıyordu. Hepimiz cep telefonlarıyla bilgi alıyorduk. Neyse ihale bitti. Sattılar Petkim’i. Başaramadık. Ama mücadeleye devam etmemiz gerektiğini düşünüyorduk. Sonra Başkan, “arkadaşlar, İzmit’te Seka’da, işçi arkadaşlar direniyor. Onlara destek olmaya gidelim” dedi. İki otobüs oradan İzmit’e geçti. Ben gitmedim. Ama giden arkadaşlar oradaki heyecanı anlatınca pişman oldum gitmediğime (Vedat, 47 yaş).

⁶⁵ Özelleştirme için teklif veren şirketlerden birinin yetkilileri geldi Petkim’i görmeye. Hemen misafirhanenin önünde toplandık. Güvenlik görevlisi arkadaşlar engel olmaya çalıştılar ama biz kimseyi dinlemiyorduk. Adamlar çıkamadı korkudan dışarı. Unutamıyorum o günü hiç. Hepimiz çok kızgındık. Hiç kimse bizi durduramamıştı (Sait, 45 yaş).

let them to enter Petkim.” After, we learned that they were in guesthouse. We walked to the quest house. You had to see that. Everyone was so angry. Enthusiasm of some friends have affected everyone in such demonstrations. Nobody could stop us at that day. After we learned that the men were so scared. They said that “what kind of workers they were” (Adnan, 48 years old).⁶⁶

As Adnan stated in collective actions some prominent workers organizes the other workers. In this regard, Kelly (2002: 127) argued that “the transformation of a set of individuals into a collective actor is normally the work of a small but critical mass of activists...A key part of such work involves promoting a sense of grievance amongst workers by persuading them that what they have hitherto considered ‘normal’ or ‘acceptable’ is in fact unjust. Activists are also required to sustain or create a high degree of group cohesion, to urge the appropriateness of one or more forms of collective action and to legitimate such action in the face of counter-mobilization by the employer.” A union officer speaks as follows regarding the issue;

We have been fighting against privatization since the beginning of 2000s. There were always some prominent friends in these struggles. I think they encouraged other friends. They were mostly older and experienced workers. However, most of them are retired now. I think this situation have weakened the power of union. Now we should consider very well before deciding a collective action (Habip, 51 years old).⁶⁷

Besides, mobilization of individuals into collective actions not only provided by trade unions. The participation of individuals to collective actions are filtered through preexisting networks of individuals, friendship networks, group affiliations and prior experiences (Dixon *et all*, 2004: 6). Social relations among the workers do not only restricted within the workplace. As I mentioned above important portion of workers stated that they keep in touch with their workmates outside of work. While

⁶⁶ Sendika temsilcisi arkadaşlar şirket yetkililerinin geleceğini öğrenmişler. Sabah geldik ama fabrikalara gitmedik. Bu adamları Petkim’e sokmayacağız dedik. Sonra öğrendik ki adamlar misafirhaneye gelmişler. Hemen misafirhaneye yürüdük. Görmeniz lazım. Herkes çok sinirliydi. Bu tür eylemlerde bazı arkadaşların çöşkusu bütün herkesi etkiliyor. Kimse önümüzde duramadı o gün. Sonradan öğrendik ki adamlar çok korkmuşlar. Bunlar ne biçim işçi böyle demişler (Adnan, 48 yaş).

⁶⁷ Biz 2000’in başından beri özelleştirmeye karşı mücadele ediyoruz. Bu mücadelede her zaman daha ön plana çıkan arkadaşlar vardı. Bu arkadaşlar diğerlerini de cesaretlendiriyordu bence. Bunlar daha yaşlı, deneyimli işçiler. Fakat bunların çoğu şimdi emekli oldu. Bence bu durum sendikanın mücadele kapasitesini düşürüyor. Eylem kararı almadan çok iyi düşünerek hareket etmemiz gerekiyor artık (Habip, 51 yaş).

these social relations provides development of confidence and solidarity among the workers it also provides transfer of working class experience to next generations. In this regard, a young worker speaks as follows;

When I started to work in Petkim in 2006, I had no union experience. Privatization struggles were so intense when we came. We were talking about privatization all the time. We (young workers) mostly were afraid of participating to demonstrations. In my factory there was an old worker called Hasan. We had long chats with him. Also we were meeting with him outside of work. He was among the first workers of Petkim. He was also the first members of union. These conversations brought on me a lot. If he were not in my unit, perhaps I would not dare to participate demonstrations. Thanks to him, I have participated also to union education program. Now I am looking world from a different point of view (Ali, 34 years old).⁶⁸

At this point another young worker speak about his experience as follows;

One day we were going to work with service vehicle. We got out of the service vehicle at factory gate. The Branch Officer told us that “friends we went to work one hour late”. After that he made a speech regarding the consequences of privatization for workers. I had just got the job and they tried to privatize the factory. Of course I was against privatization. But I did not know what we could have done against privatization. After demonstration we went to our factories. We immediately started to talk about the demonstration. Honestly! We (young workers) were a little afraid. Brothers (older workers) said that “do not worry they could not do anything. We had done lots of demonstrations. If we united, they would not do anything. But if we divided, we would lost everything.” I understand how it is true now. If we did not fight at that time, our working conditions would not be good now. Everything could be much worse. Many young workers in our factory now attending to all actions that union organize. Of course there are some friends who are refrain from attending to actions (Mahsun, 34 years old).⁶⁹

⁶⁸ 2006’da Petkim’de işe başladığım zaman hiçbir sendikal deneyimim yoktu. Geldiğimizde de özelleştirme mücadelesi çok yoğunlaşmıştı. Çay molalarında falan hem özelleştirme konuşuyorduk. Biz yeni girenler, eylemlere katılmaktan korkuyorduk. Benim fabrikamda Hasan Abi vardı. Onunla çok uzun sohbetlerimiz oldu. Dışarıda da görüşmeye başladık. Petkim’de ilk işe girenlerden Hasan Abi. İlk sendikal olanlardan. Bu sohbetler bana çok şey kattı. O olmasaydı o eylemlere katılmaya her halde cesaret edemezdim. Ayrıca onun sayesinde sendikal eğitime de katıldım. Şimdi dünyaya daha başka bakıyorum (Ali, 34 yaş).

⁶⁹ Birgün servisle işe geliyoruz. A Kapı’da indik. Şube Başkanı arkadaşlar işe bir saat geç gideceğiz dedi. Sonra özelleştirmenin işçiler için ne gibi sonuçlar doğuracağına dair bir konuşma yaptı. İşe yeni başlamıştım ve fabrikayı özelleştirmeye çalışıyorlardı. Elbette özelleştirmey karşıydım. Ama bu konuda ne yapabileceğimizi bilmiyordum. Daha sonra fabrikalarımıza gittik. Orada hemen bu eylem üzerine konuşmaya başladık. Valla! Genç işçiler olarak biz biraz korkuyorduk. Abiler, “merak etmeyin bir şey yapamazlar. Biz ne eylemler yaptık. Birlikte olursak hiç bir şey yapamazlar. Ama bölünürsek her şeyimizi kaybederiz dediler.” Bunun ne kadar doğru olduğunu şimdi daha iyi anlıyorum. O dönem mücadele etmeseydik, şimdi çalışma koşullarımız böyle olmazdı. Herşey çok

Many workers that I interviewed declared that they had recognized the importance of class solidarity during the privatization struggles. However, workers, whose working places were privatized before Petkim and had to work in 4/C status⁷⁰, are more aware of working class solidarity.

Here union's struggle against privatization was great. Many friends recognized the importance of struggle, however, some of them had not even attended to the demonstrations. We tried to explain them the importance of struggling. Look! We had not struggled (referring to his previous workplace) and lost everything. I told them that if we did not fight, we would lost everything. I think unions have limited power. If workers do not look after union, union would not do anything. Nevertheless we did not lost our rights here after privatization. Because we struggled well. But I do not think everyone grasp the importance of struggle (Sedat, 38 years old).⁷¹

Another worker who have similar experiences with Sedat before Petkim stated that their union did not fight enough against privatization.

Here, the privatization was very good. When I think in terms of working rights, it is the best privatization in Turkey. Nobody lost anything. I have the same rights as with the State. I did not lose anything. They (employers) threw out contract books mostly everywhere after privatization. They did the same in my previous workplace. We went in the morning and marched. We said that we would not work. We shouted. We called out... We ate lunch. The union gathered us together. They said, "My friends, I talked to the man who bought the factory. They are offering older workers 1100 lira and new ones 800 lira. Whether you work or go to 4/C, it is your choice." The morning attitude, the afternoon attitude! I understand that if you have a strong union, you would not lose your rights. We did not fight well there (previous

daha kötü olabilirdi. Bizim fabrikadaki çoğu genç şimdi sendikanın düzenlediği bütün eylemlere katılıyor. Tabi aramızda hala biraz çekinenler var (Mahsun, 34 yaş).

⁷⁰ Within the framework of Civil Servants Law public services are carried out by a) Civil Servants b) Contracted Personnel c) Temporary Personnel and d) Workers. According to the decree of the council of minister in 2004 if workers, who became unemployed as a result of privatization, applied, they would be employed in some other civil offices as a 'temporary personnel' within the scope of Civil Servants Law. Temporary personnel is defined as "personal whose contrates are shorter than one year". This application took away the right of collective bargaining and job security from the workers and obliged them to slavery conditions (Türkmen, 2012).

⁷¹ Burada sendika özelleştirmeye karşı çok iyi bir mücadele yürüttü. Çoğu arkadaş mücadelenin önemini anlamıştı ama bazıları eylemlere gelmiyordu bile. Onlara mücadelenin önemini anlatmaya çalıştık. Bakın biz mücadele etmedik, her şeyimizi kaybettik. Mücadele etmezsek mahvoluruz dedik. Sendikada bir yere kadar bence. İşçi sahip çıkmazsa sendikaya, sendika hiçbir şey yapamaz. Neyse özelleştirmeden sonra çok hak kaybına uğramadık. İyi mücadele ettik. Ama herkesin bunu anladığını da düşünmüyorum (Sedat, 38 yaş).

workplace). We did not achieve preventing privatization but we did not lose any of our rights (Hakan, 42 years old).⁷²

As I discussed above, some trade unions in Turkey were not fully opposed privatization. Hakan's experience, before Petkim, illustrates the attitudes of unions regarding privatization. Although Petrol-İs is the most important union that organizes collective actions against privatization, most of the time these struggles are factory-based. Chen (2006) reach similar findings in his research regarding privatization in China. In China anti-privatization struggles confines of individual factories and have not yet generated labor movement with a broader claim based on the general interests of the working-class. In this regard a union officer speaks as follows;

We could not stand up against privatization altogether. That's why we lost. Everyone understood the danger when turn came themselves. Petrol-İs always tried to explain the importance of struggling together. But nobody listen. What did happen then? They privatized everywhere one by one. If workers do not struggle together, they would lost everytime (İbrahim, 52 years old).⁷³

Besides, even the local people's participation to these actions were very limited. In this regard a retired worker speaks about his experience as follows;

I remember very well. In 19 April 2003 we hold a meeting in Aliğa against privatization. People came from İzmir, Bergama, Manisa but very few people who are living in Aliğa attended the meeting. I think, we, workers lost the struggle from this reason. We cannot take people with us. Everyone fought only for himself. Because unions could not unite workers, people also did not

⁷² Burada çok güzel bir özelleştirme yaşandı. İşçi hakları açısından düşündüğüm zaman Türkiye'deki en iyi özelleştirmedir. Hiç kimse bir şey kaybetmedi. Ben devlete ne haklara sahipsem, şimdi aynı haklara sahibim. Hiçbir şey kaybetmedim. Birçok yerde işverenler sözleşme kitabını resmen attılar. Aynısını (eski işyerinin adı) yaptılar. Sabah gittik, yürüyüş yaptık. Çalışmayacağız dedik. Bağırдық, çağırdık... Öğle yemeğini yedik. Sendika topladı bizi. "Arkadaşlar adam işyerini almış. Ben işverenle oturdum konuştum. Eski işçilere 1100 lira yeni işçilere 800 lira teklif ediyorlar. Çalışabilirsiniz ya da 4/C'ye geçebilirsiniz. Bu sizin tercihiniz." Sabahki tavır, öğleden sonraki tavır. Ben şunu anladım güçlü bir sendikan varsa özelleştirmeden zarar görmezsin. Biz orada çok iyi mücadele edemedik. Mücadele etmenin önemini burada anladım ben. Belki özelleştirmeyi engelleyemedik ama haklarımızı da kaybetmedik (Hakan, 42 yaş).

⁷³ Biz özelleştirmeye hep beraber karşı çıkamadık ki. Bu yüzden kaybettik. Herkes sıra kendine gelince anladı durumun vahametini. Petrol-İş, olarak biz hep birlikte mücadelenin önemini anlatmaya çalıştık. Ama kimse dinlemedi. Ne oldu sonra? Tek tek her yeri özelleştirdiler. İşçiler birlikte mücadele etmezlerse her zaman kaybederler (İbrahim, 52 yaş).

attend the struggle. Capital divide, separate and after that sold everything. Unions only watch the situation (Kubilay, 55 years old).⁷⁴

At this point another worker speaks about his experience before Petkim as follows;

Governments made such bad propaganda that most of the people considered that we were earning our money by lying. We tried to explain our grievances but people did not understand us. One parliamentarian went to coffeehouses to propagate regarding privatization. They propagate them that “state always lose money because they (workers) earn lots of money. If it was privatized, you would get into job, was it bad! Most of them are not from here. Most of our young people were unemployed because of them.” That’s why people did not support us. They almost hate us (Sedat, 38 years old).⁷⁵

The major argument used to justify privatization was that workers’ wages were so high and they were earning money by lying. These arguments expressed most explicitly in TEKEL Actions (Türkmen, 2012). However, as can be seen from Sedat’s narratives, local people trust in this discourse and they hesitate to support and participated to these struggles.

After discussing workers’ collective actions regarding privatization I will discuss their participation to other collective actions. I can suggest that workers are eager to participate collective actions regarding interviews. The answers given to questionnaire also support these findings. In order to examine the participation of workers to collective action, I looked at what kind of ‘repertoires of action’ (strike, slow down strike, workplace occupation etc.) they ‘participate’ or ‘do not participate but want to participate’ or ‘never want to participate’.

⁷⁴ Çok iyi hatırlıyorum. 19 Nisan 2003’te Aliğa’da özelleştirmeye karşı miting yaptık. Halktan katılım çok sınırlıydı. İnsanlar İzmir’den, Bergama’dan, Manisa’dan geldi ama Aliğa’dan çok az insan katıldı. Bence biz, işçiler mücadeleyi bundan kaybettik. İnsanları çekemedik yanımıza. Herkes sadece kendisi için mücadele etti. Sendikalar işçileri birleştiremediği için halkda katılmadı mücadelelere. Sermaye böldü, parçaladı ve sonrada herşeyi sattı. Sendikalarda bu duruma seyirci kaldı (Kubilay, 55 yaş).

⁷⁵ Hükümet öyle propaganda yaptı ki insanlar bizi yatarak para kazanıyor zannetti. Derdimizi anlatmaya çalıştık ama halk anlamadı. Bir milletvekili özelleştirmeyi halka anlatmak için kahveleri dolaştı. “Bunlar çok para aldıkları için devlet hep zarar ediyor. Özelleşirse bunlar gider yerine siz girersiniz işe, fena mı olur. Bunların çoğu buralı değil. Burdaki gençler işsiz bunların yüzüden” diye propaganda yaptı. Bu yüzden halk bizi desteklemedi. Neredeyse nefret etti bizden (Sedat, 38 yaş).

Table 8.1. Collective Action Repertoires

Repertoires of Collective Action	Participate		Do not Participate But I Want		Never Want to Participate		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Legal Strike	23	7.3	235	74.6	57	18	315	100
Work Stoppage	186	59	75	23.8	54	17.1	315	100
Slowdown Strike	200	63.5	72	22.9	43	13.7	315	100
Workplace Occupation	151	47.9	63	20	101	32.1	315	100
Food Boycott	184	58.4	101	32.1	30	9.5	315	100
Press Statement	196	62.2	82	26	37	11.7	315	100
Collective Petition	172	54.6	103	32.7	40	12.7	315	100
Solidarity Visit	196	63.2	84	26.7	32	10.2	315	100

As can be seen from the Table 8.1, most of the workers are eager to participate in any kind of collective action. However, it is noteworthy that the participation of workers to ‘legal strike’ is low comparing other kinds of collective actions. The most important reason of this fact is that strike was prohibited in 1986 in Petkim due to the reason that a strike in Petkim damaged the national interests. However, workers have developed some other ‘collective action repertoires’ such as workplace occupation, prevention of sale and slow down strikes which has been carried out against privatization and in process of collective bargaining.

However, I consider that low participation to collective actions should not be judged as the indication of ‘false consciousness’. It can be mentioned that some factors such as ‘reward’ and ‘punishment’ system have been prevented workers from mobilization in collective actions (Çoşkun, 2013: 181). It is necessary to remember also that in this region social actions have been vigorously suppressed by state. The oppressions which have been applied to those seeking their rights, struggling for ‘dignity’ and for a better world have not been disappeared from the ‘social memory’.⁷⁶ As Connerton (1989: 2) argued that “our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects.” A workers’ narrative at this point is significant;

⁷⁶ There were three military coup in the history of this country. In each military coup social opponents has been annihilated rigorously. However the 12 September military coup has annihilated especially the left and socialist opponents.

I got into Petkim by political patronage. My uncle was fired from his job because of union activities. My father said, "Look! You will not deal with unionism when you enter Petkim. Go to your work and go home." In the first demonstrations, I was hiding behind my friends to get away from the cameras. I was afraid that my father would see me on the television. Now, when I go to my hometown, I tell them how important the union is for the workers. The people in my hometown used to make a living by agriculture and animal husbandry. When agriculture was no longer profitable, they became factory workers. A lot of marble factories have been opened in the last 5-6 years. I try to tell my friends working there how important the unions are for workers. But it is very difficult to establish unions there. When we came here, there was a very organized union. But it is very difficult to organize a union from the beginning (Sait, 45 years old).⁷⁷

'Fear' is socially constructed and inherited us from the previous generations. However, in this study I observed that fear can be transcended by collective action experience and class solidarity. Indeed, you can hear such narratives from lots of the workers. Most of them consider Petrol-Is as a "school of struggle."

Petrol-Is is a 'school of struggle' for me. I have grasped the importance of struggle in Petkim. Previously I was working in private sector. In Turkey it is very difficult to organize a union in private sector. Some of our friends had tried to establish a union but employer immediately fired them. It is easier to establish a union in state enterprises. However, Petkim is also privatized now. I do not know what will change tomorrow, but we are still fighting very well (Zeki, 38 years old).⁷⁸

Well! Petrol-Is is a school for me. I learned being a worker. I learned importance of solidarity. We had made lots of collective actions before privatization especially in times of collective bargaining. However, as you know, Petrol-Is does not made a 'wage unionism'. It participate to lots of collective actions and give support. However, privatization actions was very different. The relations between workers became very close at that time. You made demonstrations and struggled against police together. These actions

⁷⁷ Petkim'e siyasi torpille girdim. Amcam çalıştığı işyerinden sendikal faaliyetler yüzünden atılmıştı. Babam bak Petkim'e gidince sendika mendika uğraşmayacaksın. İşine git gel dedi. İlk eylemlerde kameralardan kaçmak için arkadaşlarımın arkasına saklanıyordum. Babam televizyonda beni görür diye korkuyordum. Şimdi memlekete gidince (Burdur) sendikanın işçiler için ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlatıyorum. Bizim oralarda insanlar tarım ve hayvancılıkla geçinirdi. Tarım yok olunca insanlar fabrikalarda işçilik yapmaya başladılar. 5-6 sene içinde birçok mermer fabrikası açıldı. Buralarda çalışan arkadaşlara sendikanın ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlatmaya çalışıyorum. Ama oralarda sendika kurmak çok zor. Biz burada Petkim'de geldiğimizde çok örgütlü bir sendika zaten vardı. Ama oralarda sıfırdan bir sendikal örgütlenme çok zor (Sait, 45 yaş).

⁷⁸ Petrol-Is benim için bir okul. Mücadelenin önemini Petkim'de öğrendim. Daha önce özel sektörde çalışıyordum. Özel sektörde örgütlenmek çok zor. Bir kaç fabrikada arkadaşlar örgütlenmeye çalıştı hemen işten atıldılar. Devlet işletmelerinde daha kolay örgütlenmek. Şimdi Petkim'de özelleşti. Zamanla ne değişir bilemem ama, şimdilik hala çok iyi mücadele ediyoruz (Zeki, 38 yaş).

learned lots of things. Firstly you learned not being afraid (Yıldırım, 51 years old).⁷⁹

The examination of workers collective action experience and their willingness to participate in these actions demonstrate that the older workers are more incline to participate collective actions. Especially the young workers give the answer ‘never want to participate’. For instance, the examination of workplace occupation which was considered as the most radical collective action by workers demonstrated this situation. 32.1% of the workers say that they never want to participate a workplace occupation (Table 8.1).

According to the Table 8.2, 48.9% of the 23-33 years workers stated that they do not ever want to participate a workplace occupation. However, this figures decreases to 30.8% among the 34-43 years old workers and 14.8% of the 44-53 years old workers.

However, as I mentioned above while claiming this situation as ‘false consciousness’ we have to be careful. I think the most important reason of this is the lack of collective action experience among the young workers comparing with the older ones. The narrative of Mahmut summarizes this situation well;

There is no union in my hometown. More precisely there is even a factory exists. I am 28 years old. I have never seen demonstration in my hometown. We see demonstrations only in TV. We always think that they are all terrorist. But I participated to demonstrations to claim my rights in Petkim. Am I a terrorist now? (Altan, 28 years old).⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Valla, Petrol-Is benim için bir okul. İşçiliği öğrendim. Dayanışmayı öğrendim. Özelleştirmelerden önce de bir çok eylem yapıyorduk. Özellikle toplu sözleşme zamanlarında. Ama biliyorsunuz, Petrol-İş sadece ücret sendikacılığı yapmıyor. Bir çok toplumsal eyleme katılıyor, destek veriyor. Ama özelleştirme eylemleri çok farklıydı. Arkadaşlar arası ilişkiler çok güçlendi o zamanlar. Birlikte gösteri yapıyorsun. Birlikte polisle mücadele ediyorsun. Bu eylemler çok şey öğretiyor insana. En başta korkunu atıyorsun (Yıldırım, 51 yaş).

⁸⁰ Bizim memlekette hiç sendika yok. Aslında fabrika bile yok. Ben 28 yaşındayım. Memlekette hiçbir gösteri görmedim. Bu gösterileri sadece televizyonda gördüm. Bu göstericilerin terörist olduğunu düşünürdük hep. Ama hakkımı savunmak için bende eyleme katıldım Petkim’de. Şimdi ben terörist miyim? (Altan, 28 yaş).

Table 8.2. Cohort Analysis of Participation to ‘Workplace Occupation’

Cohorts	Do you want to participate a workplace occupation			p	
	Participate	Do not participate but I want	Do not participate ever		
23-33	Count	30	39	66	.000
	Expected Count	64	27	43.3	
	%	22.2	28.9	48.9	
34-43	Count	24	12	16	
	Expected Count	24.9	10.4	16.7	
	%	46.2	23.1	30.8	
44-53	Count	97	12	19	
	Expected Count	61.4	25.6	41	
	%	75.8	9.4	14.8	

Young workers have experienced and understand the importance of collective action especially in the 2011 collective bargaining process. As I discussed earlier, the ‘low wage policy’ was implemented to workers, who were hired after 2006. Because of this reason, the most important demand of union in 2011 collective bargaining was the elimination of high wage gaps between young and old workers. Workers have gained important concessions and wage gaps decreases to 20% between old and young workers. Collective actions carried out regarding the bargaining has increased the solidarity and confidence among the workers and faith to union especially among the workers who has employed after 2006. In this regard a worker speak as follows;

We have seen it in the actions (referring to the collective actions in the process of the 2011 collective bargaining). In 2011, the older workers supported our demands. They did not need them; they supported us anyway. You have to trust somebody. If you are a team member, you work for better or for worse. Of course there were some bad apples. Someone who goes to pieces. But we could not have won the struggle without the support of the older workers (Sedat, 38 years old).⁸¹

However, union officers were well aware of the fact that joining around economic interests was not sufficient for being a class conscious worker. While the workplace occupation was continuing union education experts had instructed workers about the importance of unionization. In this regard a union officer speaks as follows;

⁸¹ Biz bunu eylemlerde de gördük (2011 toplu pazarlık dönemindeki kolektif eylemlere gönderme yapıyor). 2011’de abiler (yaşlı işçiler) bizim isteklerimizi desteklediler. Hiç ihtiyaçları yoku ama yine de desteklediler. Birilerine güvenmek zorundasın. Bir ekipsen, anca beraber kanca beraber. Elbette arada birkaç tane çürük elma çıkıyor. Çözülüyor adam. Ama abilerin desteği olmasa kazanamazdık (Sedat, 38 yaş).

The 2011 collective agreement was a turning point for us. The salary differences between the young workers hired since 2006 and the older workers were too great. Of course, the young workers are demanding higher wages. However, the union was anxious to make the decision to act when the agreement process was obstructed. On the one side, the young workers and on the other side, the older workers who mostly planned to retire. Fortunately, our fears were not realized. The young workers gained a very great raise in salary. As far as I remember, for the first time at Petkim, a branch head was lifted up on the workers' shoulders. Before, they used to be thrown into the pools! But money is not the most important gain from this agreement. The most important thing is the participation of both young and older workers together in a collective action for the first time. At that time we called for a union training expert. He came and explained to us about what a union is and what a social action is. I think the vaccination took. Young workers began to think that if we organized together, we could win and get our rights. But if we had not been able to succeed, the belief in the union would have diminished. They might think that the union is not important. However, now we have to vaccinate for class consciousness. Okay! We can solve the money issue when we are organized. However, the workers who do not have class consciousness do not come together around any issues except money. Tomorrow, we have to come together around other issues. What will we do then? We have to provide continuity of this togetherness (Abdullah, 51 years old).⁸²

As I mentioned above, Aliğa branch of Petrol-Is has also participated in some other collective actions. The most important of these were the collective actions against thermal power plant, which has been planned to establish in Aliğa. Petrol-Is has taken a very active role in the organization of these collective actions against the power plant. However, the participation of the members to these action were not so high. The most important reason for this is the inadequate orientation of unions to such issues, which are not directly related to their member's interests. In this regard a union officer states as follows;

⁸² 2011 sözleşmesi bizim için önemli bir dönümdü. 2006 yılında işe alınan genç işçiler ile yaşlı işçiler arasında ücret farkları çok yüksekti. Genç işçiler ücretlerinin yükseltilmesini talep ediyorlardı. Ama sendika sözleşmenin tıkandığı dönemde eylem kararı alma konusunda tedirgindi. Çünkü bir tarafta genç işçiler, diğer tarafta emekliliği gelmiş yaşlı işçiler. Neyse ki korktuğumuz olmadı. Genç işçiler eylemlere çok etkin bir şekilde katıldılar. Emekliliği gelmesine rağmen yaşlı işçilerde eylemlerde ön saftaydılar. Gençler bu sözleşmede büyük bir zam aldılar. Benim hatırladığım kadarıyla Petkim tarihinde ilk defa bir şube başkanını havaya kaldırdılar. Hep havuzlara atılırdı. Ama bu sözleşmenin en önemli kazanımı maddi değildi. Eskilerle yenilerin bir arada eylem yapmasıydı. Biz o dönem sendika eğitim uzmanını çağırdık. Geldi bize sendika nedir, eylem nedir onları anlattı. Ama işin güzelliği eylemin içinde gençler yaşayarak öğrendiler. Bence aşı tuttu. Gençler beraber hareket edersek bir şeyleri başarabiliriz, hakkımızı alabiliriz diye düşünmeye başladılar. Ama kazanamaysaydık sendikaya olan inanç azalacaktı. Sendikada önemli değilmiş diye düşüneceklerdi. Bundan sonra sınıf bilincini aşlamaya geçmeliyiz. Tamam, para konusunu beraber olunca alıyoruz eyvallah da. Sınıf bilinci olmayan işçi para konusu dışındaki konularda bir araya gelmez. Yarın başka konularda bir araya gelmemiz gerekecek. O zaman ne yapacağız. Bunun için biz eylül ayında tüm üyelerimizi eğitime aldık. Bu eylemliliğin, bu birlikteliğin devamını sağlamalıyız (Abdullah, 51 yaş).

The main function of unions is to defend the rights of the workers and to increase their incomes. Unions have just started to advocate the ‘right to life’. This is a new concept and in many unions, including ours (Petrol-Is), it is not yet included in the program. Concerning environmental issues, our union rules say; ‘The union remains responsible for environmental issues.’ That’s it. No other explanation. For this reason, we do not get any support from general management on such issues. We do not have support from any experts, nor do we have adequate materials, manpower or time. We try to organize these actions on our own. Nevertheless, we try to make our members more aware of such issues. But the participation of our members in these actions is very limited (Doğan, 51 years old).⁸³

I allege that such struggles against the exploitation of nature is associated with class struggle against ‘capital’. In this regard, Lebowitz (2003: 186) argued that “the struggles of workers to satisfy their many-sided needs –whether they are struggles, for example, to develop ‘*that which is needed for the common satisfaction of needs*, such as schools, health services, etc.’ or to preserve *Nature*⁸⁴ as a source of their wealth or to secure use-values in a commodity-form – are struggles against capital as mediator within society. They are class struggles – struggles of those who are compelled to sell their labor-power to satisfy needs; and, they are struggles against the results of capital’s ownership of the products of labor (which derives from its purchase of labor-power). Rather than directed only against *particular* capitals, they are struggles against the power of capital as a whole and against the ruling principle of valorization (*M-C-M_*).”

Doğan’s statement demonstrated that workers are not so eager to participate these actions. The reason behind the limited participation of workers was arises from the unions’ insufficient resources and due to this its inability to mobilize workers. As I discussed above, most of the time class interests of workers identified by some micro groups, unions and other kind of organizations.

⁸³ Sendikaların asli görevi işçinin haklarını savunmak, korumak, ekmeğini büyütmek. Yaşam hakkı savunuculuğu daha yeni başladı. Dolayısıyla bu yeni bir kavram ve sendikaların tüzüklerinde de yok daha. Bir çok sendikanın, bizim de dahil programımızda böyle bir şey yok. Çevresel olaylara duyarlı kalır. Tüzük maddesi. Geniş bir açılım yok... Bundan dolayı genel merkezden bu tür konular hakkında her hangi bir destek alıyoruz. Her hangi bir uzmandan destek falan almıyoruz, yeterli materyalimiz, insan gücümüz ve zamanımız yok. Yine de üyelerimizi bu tür konular hakkında daha duyarlı hale getirebilmeyi istiyoruz. Fakat üyelerimizin bu tür eylemlere katılımı çok sınırlı (Doğan, 51 yaş).

⁸⁴ The emphasis is belong to me.

After discussing worker’s collective action experience next I will examine their attitudes about privatization.

8.3. Attitudes of Workers Regarding Privatization

The attitudes of workers related to privatization offer some clues to what extent they conceive privatization in social class terms. As can be seen from the Table 8.3, 78.1% of the workers do not think that privatizations have beneficial consequences for workers. According to the Table 8.4, 64.2% of 23-33 years old workers, 80.3% of the 34-43 years of the workers and the 92.2% of the 44-55 years old workers do not think that privatization have beneficial consequences for workers. Departing from these figures, I can suggest that the elderly and middle-aged workers strongly against the idea that privatization have beneficial consequences for workers.

Table 8.3. Workers’ Attitudes about Privatization

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Privatization have beneficial consequences for workers.	2.5	6.7	12.7	25.7	52.4
Privatization have beneficial consequences for society.	3.8	9.5	11.7	26.3	48.6
The privatization of this enterprise have beneficial consequences for workers.	5.1	7.3	10.8	29.8	47
The privatization of this enterprise have beneficial consequences for society.	6.7	9.8	10.2	23.8	49.5

Table 8.4. Cohorts and Consequences of Privatization for Workers

Cohorts	Privatization have beneficial consequences for workers.						TOTAL	p
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree			
23-33 Count	3	13	32	35	52	135	.000	
Expected Count	3.4	9	17.1	34.7	70.7	135		
%	2.2	9.6	23.7	25.9	38.5	100		
34-43 Count	3	3	5	9	32	52		
Expected Count	1.3	3.5	6.6	13.4	27.2	52		
%	5.8	5.8	9.6	17.3	61.5	100		
44-53 Count	2	5	3	37	81	128		
Expected Count	3.3	8.5	16.3	32.9	67	128		
%	1.6	3.9	2.2	28.9	63.3	100		

According to the Table 7.5., 88.4% of the workers who started to work before privatization do not agree with the idea that privatization have beneficial consequences for workers. This ratio, however, decreases to 63.9% among the

workers who started to work after privatization. Accordingly, I can argue that workers who have been working in Petkim before privatization support the idea that privatizations do not have beneficial consequences for society stronger than the workers who have been hired after privatizations.

Table 8.5. Date of Hire and Consequences of Privatization for Workers

Date of Hire		Privatization have beneficial consequences for workers.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
1982	Count	4	9	8	42	118	181	.000
2008	Expected Count	4.6	12.1	23.1	46.7	94.5	181	
	%	2.2	5.0	4.4	23.2	65.2	100	
2008	Count	4	12	32	39	46	133	
2013	Expected Count	3.4	8.9	16.9	34.3	69.5	133	
	%	3.0	9.0	24.1	29.3	34.6	100	

Besides, I also examine workers' conception regarding the consequences of privatization on society. In this regard, 74.6% of the workers do not think that privatizations are beneficial for society. This attitude is higher among the older and middle-aged workers. For instance, 61.9% of the 23-33 years old workers, 73.1% of 34-43 years old workers and 89% of the 44-53 years old workers do not agree with the idea that privatizations have beneficial consequences for society.

The date of hire as well as age has influenced workers' attitudes about the social benefits of privatization. While 85.7% of the workers who started to work before privatization do not consider that privatization have beneficial consequences for society, this ratio decreases to 60.2% among the workers hired after privatization. Therefore, I can assert that elderly workers and workers hired before privatization mostly against the idea that privatization have beneficial consequences for society and workers.

In the interviews I identified three different views regarding privatization among the workers. According to the first view, workers agreed on the idea that privatization have positive impacts for workers as well as for society. According to the second view, workers are not totally against privatization but they rejected privatization of some 'strategic' enterprises due to 'anti-imperialist' and some 'nationalist' precisions. Finally according to the third view, workers were against privatization due to the reason that privatization undermines 'workers' acquired rights'. Workers

who espouse this view discuss privatizations as an assault to the acquired rights of the workers.

The proportion of workers who have supported privatization is very low. Albeit small differences workers are more inclined to think privatization has more adverse effects for workers comparing with its effects on society. Workers who support privatization are generally young workers and workers who started to work after privatization.

I do not know about the period before privatization. But older workers tell us about it. They were comfortable at that time. But I think there were too many workers. There were some workers who earned money without coming to work. Fortunately, when they heard about this, I think, the State privatized. There were lots of people earning money unjustly. I think everyone is working now. He has to. Now, it is not like before privatization. Employers fire those who do not work. Perhaps privatization upsets workers, but I think it's very good for the State (Altan, 28 years old).⁸⁵

I can argue that young workers mostly influenced by the ideological discourse of governments about privatization. However, I observed that in some cases their attitudes were changed after their relations with older workers. In this regard, a worker speaks as follows;

If I am not mistaken a young friends came to our factory in 2006. They were the most intense times of struggle. One day we were talking about privatization. He asked that "Was not state right? Did not you think that there were lots of workers earnig money without working?" I said him that "you were new here. Let's talk about this issue later". Hence, shortly after that we met at the local. We sat down and started to talk about privatization again. I asked him that "Did you still at the same idea?" He sadi "No". I was exhausted when I came home. I understand that they were lying to people. All of his ideas changed about privatization. They convinced majority of the people we were earning money without working" (Yıldırım, 51 years old).⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ben özelleştirme öncesi dönemi bilmiyorum. Ama ağabeyler anlatıyorlar o zaman çok rahattık diye. Ama düşünüyorum da, o kadar çok işçi çalışıyormuş ki, hiç işe gelmeden para alanlar. Arkadaşına kartını verip kart bastıranlar. Bunları da duyunca insan, iyi ki özelleştirmiş devlet diyor. Haksız yere para kazanan çokmuş. Şimdi bence herkes çalışıyor. Mecbur. Devletteki gibi değil artık hiçbir şey. Çalışmayı tutmaz işveren. Belki buradaki işçilerin rahatını kaçırmış özelleştirme ama devlet için çok iyi olmuş bence (Altan, 28 yaş).

⁸⁶ Yanılmıyorsam 2006'da bizim üniteye genç bir arkadaş geldi. O zamanlar mücadelenin en yoğun olduğu zamanlar. Bir gün özelleştirme hakkında konuşuyorduk. Ama abi devlet haklı değil mi? Sence çalışmadan para kazanan bir çok işçi yok mu dedi? Sen daha yenisin seninle sonra tekrar konuşuruz bu konuyu dedim. Nitekim, kısa bir süre sonra lokalde karşılaştık. Oturduk sohbet ediyoruz. Konu

I consider that due to lack of collective action experience, which was held by Petrol-Is especially 2000s to 2008, those workers are deprived of the means to break the ideological discourse of ruling classes. It should be reminded that young workers mostly have been hired after privatization. For this reason they do not have any chance to compare the working conditions before and after privatization. Their information about privatization only based on the narrations of old workers.

In the second view, workers do not totally argue against privatization, however, they were rejecting the privatization of some strategic enterprises. Proponents of this view, against privatization because they consider that the main aim of privatization was the occupation of Turkey by foreign powers. A worker expressed his thoughts in a very striking way;

Privatization, according to me, is enslavement. The enslavement of people by capitalism and Zionism. According to me, it is an enslavement strategy implemented by world states against small states. Look! I have eaten the bread of the private sector. I do not have any problem with the private sector. But if the big nations in the world want to establish hegemony over the little ones, there is enslavement. The big countries still want a share of our country. It is still the dream of America and England. I am against privatization. But not because it hurts me (Sedat, 38 years old).⁸⁷

Regarding the same issue another worker mention that privatization should be done by considering the national interests.

You will privatize, but what? Privatize ordinary things such as tea, sugar? Do not privatize your strategic institutions such as Tüpraş, Petkim, and your mines. They even attempted to privatize boron, but someone told them to stop. At that time, the military had influence, so they could not privatize.

yine özelleştirmeye geldi. Hala aynı fikirde misin? dedim. Yok abi ya. Eve geldiğimde pestilim çıkıyor. Gerçekten halkı kandırdıklarını anladım. Özelleştirmeye dair tüm fikirleri değişmişti. Toplumun büyük çoğunluğunu çalışmadan para kazandığımıza inandırdılar (Yıldırım, 51 yaş).

⁸⁷ Özelleştirme bana göre köleleştirme. Kapitalizmin, siyonizmin insanları köleleştirme. Dünya devletlerinin, bana göre küçük devletlere yaptığı köleleştirme stratejisi. Özel sektörün ben ekmeğini yedim bak. Benim özel sektör ile bir sıkıntım yok. Ama dünyada eğer büyük devletler küçük devletler üzerinde egemenlik kurmak istiyorsa, orada bir köleleştirme vardır. Bizim ülkemiz bölüşilemeyen bir ülke hala daha İngiltere'nin olsun, Amerika'nın olsun hayallerini süsleyen bir ülke. Bana göre bir köleleştirme sistemidir özelleştirme. Ben özelleştirmeye karşıyım yani. Bu bana zarar verdiği için değil (Sedat, 38 yaş).

They did everything for money (referring to the AKP government). Do you know about Bolivia? Have you ever heard of that? They made public again what they had privatized before (Hakan, 42 years old).⁸⁸

Even a young worker who consider that loss-making state enterprises should be privatized stated that he was against the privatization of some strategic enterprises.

I don't know about the period before privatization. But in the past, 4500-5000 people were working at Petkim. However, now, the same company is working with 2000 permanent staff and 500 contracted workers. Employment has decreased, but production has increased. Everyone has to think why this did not happen while it was under control of the State. Also, the workers have to think. As I see it, here, there is a very comfortable working life. Everyone is accustomed to comfort. There is no unemployment. I think people are rich here. When I was working in my hometown, the workers had to start work at eight in the morning and used to work until eight in the evening. Here, I see people do not want to work overtime (*mesai*). But we will see the effects of privatization slowly. People will have to work harder. There are still people who earn money but do not do anything. But I think this will decrease gradually. Anyhow, I still think that privatization of strategic enterprises such as Petkim and Tüpraş are wrong. Now imagine! If a war breaks out, we need these institutions. I am a nationalistic person. It would be better for me if the State owned these enterprises. But they did not appreciate this; the result is privatization (Fikret, 30 years old).⁸⁹

According to the third view, workers were against privatization because it means the erosion of workers' rights and their organizational power. In this regard a worker state as follows;

Honestly, when you ask what privatization is, what immediately comes to my mind is "unemployment and closing the workplaces". When workplaces are

⁸⁸ Özelleştireceksin ama neyi özelleştireceksin. Sıradan olan şeyleri çayı, şekerini özelleştir... Stratejik kurumları Tüpraş'ını, Petkim'ini, madenlerini özelleştirme. Bunlar boru bile özelleştirmeye kalktılar birileri dur dedi. O zaman askeriyenin sözü geçiyordu özelleştiremediler. Bunlar para için her şeyi yaptılar. Bolivya var bilir misin? Duydunuz mu hiç? Adamlar özelleştirdiklerini yeniden kamusallaştırıyorlar (Hakan, 42 yaş).

⁸⁹ Ben özelleştirme öncesi dönemi bilmiyorum. Ama eskiden 4500-5000 kişi çalışıyormuş Petkim'de. Şimdi aynı işyeri, 2000 kadrolu, bildiğim kadarıyla da 500 kadar taşeron elemanla çalışıyor. İstihdam düşmüş ama üretim artmış. Devletleyken niye böyle olmadı herkesin bir düşünmesi lazım bence. Buna işçiler de dahil. Burada benim gördüğüm çok rahat bir çalışma yaşamı var. Herkes rahata alışmış. İşsizlik. Bence insanlar zengin burda. Ben memlekette çalışırken elemanlar tam sekizde işe başlarlar, akşam sekize kadar çalışırlardı. Burada insanlar mesaiye dahi kalmak istemiyor benim gördüğüm. Ama özelleştirmenin etkilerini yavaş yavaş göreceğiz burada. Petkim'de hala iş yapmadan para kazanan insanlar var. Ama bu gittikçe azalacak diye düşünüyorum. Ama yine de Petkim, Tüpraş gibi stratejik işletmelerin özelleştirilmesinin doğru olduğunu çok düşünmüyorum. Şimdi düşünün bir savaş çıktığını bu kurumlar bize çok lazım. Ben milliyetçi bir insanım bu kurumların devlette olması benim için daha iyi olurdu. Ama kıymetini bilememişler, sonucu özelleştirme olmuş (Fikret, 30 yaş).

closed, so many people who earn their bread from them, unfortunately, are being pushed into the streets (Habip, 51 years old).⁹⁰

Another worker interpret the issue in terms of ‘exploitation’ and argue that due to the unlawful practices and assaults on workers’ rights unions are against privatizations.

If the legislators make real regulations about working life, the enterprises could be managed either by the State or privately. If job security and workers’ rights are framed with laws, I think it would not matter whose property these are. In this sense, there is no reason to oppose privatization. But unions oppose privatization because it upsets the present working lifestyle. Due to the lack of job security, unions are against privatization. Today, it is not important whether you produce for the State or for the private sector; exploitation is exploitation. Either the State or Ahmet has exploited you. The logic of exploitation is the same (Rıza, 34 years old).

Another workers’ narrative demonstrate that workers are aware of the results of privatization in general;

I am in favor of the State being much more active in most sectors, particularly energy, oil, education, and health. The privatization process of Petkim was not painful. Workers continued to work. There has not been a reduction in salaries. But in other privatizations, workers were dismissed. Laid-off workers were rehired again at lower salaries. Thus, workers lost many of their rights. I think there should not be privatization. These enterprises can best be operated by the State (Önder, 33 years old).⁹¹

I should mention that the distinction between the second and third view is not so sharp. They most of the times intermingles each other. Nevertheless, most of the workers are the proponents of the second view. I observed that, workers who are against privatization regarding class-oriented strategy mostly shop stewards, union officers and workers who has participated to union education program.

⁹⁰ Dürüst olarak, özelleştirme deyince aklıma ilk olarak; işsizlik, işyerlerinin kapanması geliyor... İş yerleri kapanınca oradan ekemek yiyecek insanlar sokaklara atılacak (Habip, 51 yaş).

⁹¹ Ben çoğu sektörde özellikle enerji, petrol, eğitim, sağlık da devletin daha etkili olmasından yanayım. Petkim’de özelleştirme süreci sancılı olmadı. Yine işçiler çalışmaya devam etti. Ücretlerde düşme yaşanmadı. Ama diğer kurumlarda yaşanan özelleştirmelerde direk işçiler işten çıkarıldı. İşten çıkarılan işçiler daha düşük ücretlere tekrar işe alındı. Dolayısıyla işçiler çok büyük hak kayıplarına uğruyorlar. Bence özelleştirme olmamalı. Bu gibi işletmeler en iyi devlet eliyle işletilebilirler (Önder, 33 yaş).

After discussing workers attitudes regarding privatization in next part I will examine class consciousness of workers from class identity through alternative social order.

8.4. From Class Identity to Alternative Social Order

Class identity is the first phase that the working class distinguish themselves from other social classes in society. For this reason, working class consciousness research firstly accentuate on this issue. I examine the formation of working class identity through three questions. Firstly I asked workers how identify themselves. Secondly, I try to understand workers' opinions regarding their children being a worker in future and finally I examine their relations between their workmates.

In order to understand the self-image of workers and working class identity firstly I asked workers an open ended question: 'how do you identify yourself? Most of the workers identify themselves in framework of some adjectives such as; ordinary, manful, social person. Besides some of them identify themselves as nationalist, religious, Atatürkist, laic and so forth. Only 22.2% of the workers identified themselves as 'worker', 'laborer', 'revolutionist', 'organized worker' and 'conscious worker'. The reason behind the low level of self-identification with working-class may be arises from individuals' hesitation to think about class with respect to their own sense of identity. Qualitative research on working class identity argued that people are reluctant to claim class identities and adopt a 'defensive', 'hesitant', 'ambivalent' or 'ambiguous' attitudes to class labels. Although people are still recognize the salience of inequality and talking about class as a political agent, they usually reject to identify themselves with a particular class (Savage, *et all*, 2001; Geoff and Clare, 2005). The second reason behind the weak identification with the working class may be related with the design of the question. As Hout (2008) argued individuals are more reluctant to answer through their class belongings in open-ended questions that do not prompt respondents with any answer categories.

However, the striking issue that takes my attention in the interviews was the workers' negative perceptions about being a worker. Although their high level of incomes and job security, workers' perception of being a worker consisted of lots of

pejorative images. For example two of the workers expresses their feelings about being a worker as follows:

Being a worker is to be '*kunta kinte*' (reference to the black slave leading actor of an American soap opera called 'Roots') (Cevat, 47 years old).⁹²

I think workers are the most oppressed part of the society (Mehmet, 39 years old).⁹³

Being a worker mostly associated with lack of autonomy and determination of oneself's life by 'others'. Regarding this issue two worker speak as follows;

I am suspicious of people who say that I enjoy being a worker. Nobody wants to be a worker. Why don't you want be one? A man comes in. You don't know his level of intelligence, his IQ. He says something to you. He is your chief. Nothing can be done. He is above you. What good is it to be a worker? If one asks, "Why are you a worker?" Because I am not anything else (Fikri, 48 years old).⁹⁴

If I come into the world again, I do not want to be a worker. Everything in your life is determined by somebody else. If you want to go on annual leave, the employer says no. Of course, it is much easier for us in Petkim compared to other factories. There is a settled system at Petkim. These kinds of things are not too much trouble. However, I would prefer being a teacher rather than a worker. Their working conditions are more comfortable. Everyone says, "But you earn a lot of money!" I do not think money is everything. People should have some ideals other than money (Kemal, 29 years old).⁹⁵

People accuses themselves due to their social class. In this regard Sennett and Cobb (1973: 96) argued that "self-accusation in adult life gives the worker a way to label

⁹² İşçi olmak '*kunta kinte*' (Bir Amerikan dizisi olan Roots'un siyahi köle başrol oyuncusuna gönderme) olmaktır (Cevat, 47 yaş).

⁹³ Bence işçiler toplumun en ezilen kesimi (Mehmet, 39 yaş).

⁹⁴ Ben işçi olmaktan zevk alıyorum diyen adama şüpheyle bakarım. Hiçbir insan işçi olmak istemez. Niye olmak istemezsin? Adamın biri gelir başına. Zeka seviyesi, IQ'su nedir bilmezsin. Bir şey söyler sana. Başına amir gelmiş. Yapacak bir şey yok. Adam senin üstündedir ya. İşçi olmanın neyi iyi olsun ya. Niye işçi oldun dersin? Hiçbir şey olamadığım için oldum (Fikri, 48 yaş).

⁹⁵ Herhalde bir daha dünyaya gelsem işçi olmak istemezdim. Hayatındaki her şey başkaları tarafından belirleniyor. Yıllık izne çıkacaksınız, işveren olmaz diyor. Tabi bizim Petkim'de biraz daha kolay işler başka yerlerle karşılaştırınca. Oturmuş bir sistem var ortada. Çok sorun olmuyor. Ama yine de işçilik yerine bir öğretmenliği tercih ederdim. Daha rahat çalışma koşulları. Herkes çok para alıyorsunuz ama sizde diyor. Bence her şey para değil. İnsanın paradan başka idealleri de olmalı hayatta (Kemal, 29 yaş).

his social class; the more he must follow orders, the lower he is, because, evidently, the more he lacks the inner resources to be independent.” Being a worker means that your life is determined by someone else; your boss, your manager, your chief and so forth. It means the loosing of ‘autonomy’ and ‘your self-respect’. Manual workers have almost no control over their own fate. Besides, most unskilled and many skilled jobs are boring, physically exhausting, and mentally debilitating, many workers experienced unemployment at least one in their working life (Marshall, 1983).

It can be argued that workers’ negative perception of being a worker is associated with privatization experiences since some of the workers that I interviewed came to Petkim after their workplaces were privatized. After privatization of the SOEs which they were working they were obliged to work in 4/C status in some state offices. Those workers were granted to apply state enterprises exempt from ‘Public Personnel Selection Examination’. Some workers benefitted from this opportunity and started to work in Petkim. However, after one or two years later Petkim was also privatized. They claimed that they were not much affected from privatization thanks to Petrol-Is.

The lives of these workers had changed suddenly against their will after their enterprises were privatized. Those workers generally talk about their grievances due to uncertainties while working in 4/C status. A worker explains his experience of uncertainty and his hopes to be employed in a state enterprise as follows:

I went to Istanbul during that period (when the factory privatized). I looked for a job. They paid us two minimum wages while we were out of work. It’s like an unemployment benefit until one gets a 4/C position. So I went to Istanbul and found a job. The man gave me a salary of 1.5 billion lira. It was a company in Avcılar which produced lathe packaging machinery (*torna paketleme makinesi*). He told me I could work overtime so my salary would be higher. I would have to accept 500 million lira. I had to make a decision. If you ask why: ‘Hope’. I wondered if there had been a reverse in the decision (on privatization). The situation then was that a cadre position could be given to 4/Cs at any time. We had worked 1.5 years. My colleagues are currently working. It’s been almost 10 years and they still don’t have cadre positions. At that time, we were searching the Internet daily to see if they gave cadre positions or not. We had been working at the District National Education Directorate (*ilçe milli eğitim müdürlüğü*) for 1.5 years (Sedat, 38 years old).⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Ben o dönem İstanbul’a gittim (fabrika özelleşince). İş aradım kendime. Çalışmadığım dönem boyunca bize iki asgari ücret ödeniyordu. İşsizlik parası gibi bir şey 4/C’ye yerleşene kadar. İşte gittim İstanbul’a, bir iş buldum. 1,5 milyar lira maaş verdi adam bana. Avcılar’da. Torna paketleme

Hence, privatization drastically affected workers' life structures. They obliged to abandon where they lived for many years and they lost their social networks, social relations. One of the respondents states what they experienced as follows:

My father had a house there. At least we could be spared the burden of the rent. I renovated the house using my compensation money. There had been renters there for a long time. Of course, they did not look after it as they would have their own house. It was very dilapidated. So you understand, we spent all the compensation money fixing up the house. It was very difficult to get used to living there. All our surroundings had changed. Fortunately, I was able to start working at Petkim (Mehmet, 39 years old).⁹⁷

The other factor that influenced these workers' conception of being a worker was their employment in jobs which were not associated with their abilities and knowledge.

Someone on television declared that vocational high schools (*meslek liseleri*) were a national issue. However, there are 1500-2000 vocational school graduates who now work at sweeping floors in schools. This is the kind of country we live in. Some of them are graduates from vocational colleges (*meslek yüksek okulları*) (Hakan, 42 years old).⁹⁸

Such experiences also have damaged the 'self-esteem' of workers. For example;

But I am a lathe operator (*tornacı*); I have my profession. One day, an inspector came. He asked about my job and what I was doing there. I told him everything. If you had sent me to a vocational school, I could at least have contributed to a revolving capital returns fund. All of us have a profession. We work with metals; we are electricians, operators and carpenters. It is as if we were ordinary, unqualified people with a contract saying, "Take them and use them wherever you want". If they had only sent me to a vocational high

makinesi yapan bir firmada. Bunun mesaisi de var daha da çıkabilir dedi. Ben burada 500 milyonu tercih etmek zorunda kaldım. Çatal yola düştüm. Nedeni ne dersin, 'umut'. Acaba geri döner mi? O zamanda 4/C'ye her an kadro verilecekmiş gibi bir hava yaratıldı. 1,5 yıl çalıştık. Arkadaşlar şu an hala çalışıyor, onuncu yıla girdiler halen kadro yok. O zaman her gün internetten araştırıyorduk, yok kadro geliyordu gelmiyordu. 1,5 sene İlçe Milli Eğitim'de çalıştık (Sedat, 38 yaş).

⁹⁷ Orada babamın bir evi vardı. En azından kira derdinden kurtuluruz dedik. Aldığım tazminat ile evin bakımını yaptırдыm. Tabi yıllardır kiracı vardı. Kendi evi gibi bakacak değil ya. Bir hayli yıpranmıştı ev. Bütün tazminatı evin bakımına yatırdık senin anlayacağın. Zor alıştık orada yaşamaya. Bütün çevremiz değişti. Allahtan Petkim'de işe girebildim (Mehmet, 39 yaş).

⁹⁸ Kimi çıkıyor meslek lisesi memleket meselesi diyor. Ama meslek lisesi 1500-2000 kişi okullarda süpürge yapıyor. Biz böyle bir ülkede yaşıyoruz işte. Kimisi meslek yüksekokulu mezunu (Hakan, 42 yaş).

school. The salary would still be the same. It does not matter. All of us have accumulated skills, and in the end, we are all experienced workers. We have spent five to ten years in the profession. That counts for nothing. What do we do? “Bring that paper. Take this paper. Clean up. Someone has come- greet them. Bring us tea.” Things like that (Sedat, 38 years old).⁹⁹

As seen from the narrative of the workers, work is not only means earning money but it also a process of building one’s own ‘self-esteem’ and ‘dignity’. Work contributes to society as well as it involves an expectation of respect from society. In this regard Hodson (2002: 4) argued that “workers from all walks of life struggle to achieve dignity and to gain some measure of meaning and self-realization at work. The achievement of dignity at work thus depends on creative and purposive activity on the part of workers. Dignity can be achieved through taking pride in productive accomplishments, even if the accomplishments may be modest by someone else’s standards”.

The other reason behind the negative perception of being a worker was the mistreatment of their managers while working in 4/C status. These mistreatments sometimes caused workers to get into depressions. In this regard a worker speaks as follows;

There, the administrators did not look after us. Many of my friends have suffered nervous breakdowns. They fell into depression. Some of them are still taking medication. The administrators give us all kinds of work, saying, “You received a lot of money for lying about (referring to Petkim), now let’s see you work!” (Hilmi, 49 years old).¹⁰⁰

Although wages and working conditions had not so much changed by privatization of Petkim, some workers, especially those who graduated from primary school were

⁹⁹ Fakat ben tornacıyım, bir meslek sahibiyim... Bir gün müfettişler geldi. Sen dedi. Ben böyle böyle dedim. Beni okula verseydiniz en azından döner sermayeye katkımız olurdu. Hepimiz meslek sahibiyiz. Metalle uğraşmışız, elektrikçimiz var, işletmecimiz var, marangozumuz var. Hepimizi sanki sıradan, vasıfsız insanlarmışız gibi, alın bunları kullanın der gibi bir sözleşme. Verseydi beni Meslek Lisesi’ne, ücret yine aynı olsun, fark etmez. Bizimde bir birikimimiz var sonuçta, yetişmiş insanlarız. Bir beş on yılımız geçmiş meslekte. Oda yok. Ne yaptık. Kağıt getir, kağıt götür. Temizlik yap. Ne bileyim işte o geldi hoş geldi. Çay getir. Böyle şeyler (Sedat, 38 yaş).

¹⁰⁰ Orada bize müdürler hiç iyi bakmıyorlardı. Birçok arkadaşım sinir krizleri geçirdi. Depresyona girdi. Hala ilaç kullananlar var. Müdürler şimdiye kadar yatarak çok para aldınız şimdi de çalışın bakalım deyip her türlü işi bize yaptırıyorlardı (Hilmi, 49 yaş).

forced by their chiefs to sign 4/C contract. In this regard a worker express his feelings as follows;

Managers and engineers would come and try to convince us to change to 4/C. One of our friends was on Hajj. They called him during his Hajj and said to come and sign his contract. Managers and engineers at the meetings asked us, "Ahmet, tell me what you think about the 4/C issue". The manager asked a question and you replied! Look, look! What did you say? Would you say you do not want it? Come on and say it. They were waiting for you to make a decision about your future on the spur of the moment. They said to sign the contract. It would be better for you. I said I had signed a contract once to come here from Yarımca. I did not sign anything. I said there were 4.5 years left before my retirement. I will work. I did not sign. Some of them signed, even if they had only one or two years left. We asked them why they had signed. They said they did not have a future here. Why should they stay on? (Cevat, 48 years old).¹⁰¹

Another practice that cause worker's feel themselves 'worthless' is the conception of all their demands as a costing factor by employer. In this regard a worker speaks as follows;

Each of them who came (referring to the managers) told us, "The human factor is important to us". But they do not look at a worker as a human being. I still say it and will say it to the end. I told our last general manager: "We want to feel like human beings". But unfortunately, they have never looked at us like that. For them, the important things are the machinery and equipment. Our presence is nothing for them. That is how I think. They never respect us. The management calculate our meals. Really-- even to the soup! They have this understanding. Everything, all the economies, are at my expense. Of course, I mean on the workers. Heaven knows why! "How can I give the workers cheaper boots, cheaper clothes?" All the savings come from my account. Privatization is just such an understanding; this is the logic of the private sector. It is in pursuit of putting more work on us, and inhuman conditions. I am speaking generally of privatization in Turkey, but it is the same in Petkim too. We see similar examples in Petkim (Habip, 51 years old).¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Müdürler, mühendisler gelirlerdi, bizi 4/C'ye ikna etmeye çalışırlardı. Arkadaşımızın biri Hac'daydı. Adamı Hac'da aradılar, gel 4/C sözleşmeni imzala diye. Müdürler, mühendisler toplantılarda Ahmet söyle bakalım sen ne düşünüyorsun bu 4/C muhabbeti konusunda diyorlardı. Müdür soru soracak sen de cevap vereceksin bak, bak. Ne diyeceksin ya. Ben istemiyorum diyebilir misin? Hadi de bakalım. Geleceğinle ilgili senden bir anda karar vermeni bekliyor. İmzalayın sözleşmeleri sizin için en iyisi bu olacak diyorlardı. Ben dedim, Yarımca'dan buraya gelmek için bir defa imza attım. Bir daha imzalamam hiçbir şeyi dedim. Benim 4,5 senem var. Ben çalışacağım dedim. Ben imzalamadım. Bir iki senesi kalan bile imza attı. Ya niye imza atıyorsun dedik. Ya geleceğim yok, neden durayım daha buralarda dedi (Cevat, 48 yaş).

¹⁰² Her yeni gelen (yöneticileri kastediyor) bize şunu söyledi: "İnsan faktörü bizim için önemli." Ama çalışana insan gözüyle bakmıyorlar. Bunu hala söylüyorum sonuna kadar da söyleyeceğim. Bunu son

I got into contact with Cevat by the help of a worker who I interviewed previously. We met in a coffeehouse. I can assert that he was the one who had the most pejorative sense of being a worker. The most important reason of this was the devastating effects of privatization on his life.

Cevat, had worked at Yarımca Petkim (Yar-Pet) before Aliğa Petkim. He had to come Aliğa, after transition of Yar-Pet to Tüpraş in 2000. He felt the negative impacts of privatization on workers at that time. 600 workers was sent to Aliğa at that period. Cevat and some other workers stated that factory management, parliamentarians and union officers decided together who was sent to Petkim. Nobody asked us anything. Workers who had good relations with the factory management and union officers stayed there. His life had changed suddenly and he found himself in Aliğa.

Cevat, had to work in different units in factory without his own will. However, after privatization more hard times started for Cevat. Management, enforced Cevat and some other workers to pass other state offices as 4/C status staff. However, Cevat refused to pass 4/C. Many worker signed 4/C transition agreement, but Cevat and a few workers refused to sign the agreement. He said that I signed an agreement and had to come Aliğa. All my life changed. I broke away my family, my friends. I did not sign any other agreement. For Cevat, being a worker was not different from being a slave.

In this regard a young worker speaks as follows;

The mentality of privatization never dignifies a human being. It makes people work for 10, 12, 14 hours. I do not believe that they (the employers) think about workers. I mean, we have families, private lives (Mahsun, 34 years old).¹⁰³

The other question that I asked workers about their self-image is that: ‘Do you want your children be a worker in the future?’ Majority of the workers do not want their

Genel Müdürümüze’de söyledim: “Kendimizi insan gibi hissetmek istiyoruz.” Ama maalesef asla bu gözle bakmıyorlar. Onlar için önemli olan makineler ve ekipmanlar. Bizim varlığımız onlar için önemli değil. Bize asla değer vermiyorlar. Yönetim bizim yemeklerimizi, hatta yemekteki bir çorbamızı hesaplıyor. Bu anlayıştalar. Bütün tasarruflar benim üzerimden, yani, işçinin üzerinden demek istiyorum. Allah bilir neden! İşçiye nasıl ucuz bot, giyecek verebilirim. Bütün hesaplar benim üzerimden yapılıyor. Özelleştirmenin böyle bir mantığı var ya da özel sektörün mantığı bu. Bizi daha çok çalıştırmanın peşindeler, insanlık dışı koşullarda. Türkiye’deki genel özelleştirmeler hakkında konuşuyorum ama Petkim’de aynısı. Petkim’de de benzer uygulamaları görüyoruz (Habip, 51 yaş).

¹⁰³ Özelleştirme mantığı insana hiç saygı göstermez. İnsanları 10,12,14 saat çalıştırır. Onların (patronların) işçileri düşündüğünü zannetmiyorum. Ailemiz var, özel hayatımız var, o anlamda (Mahsun, 34 yaş).

children to be a worker in future. While 29.2% of the workers want their sons to be worker in the future, this proportion decreases to 13.3% for daughters. Although the proportion is low for both sex, the idea that girls become worker in future have much more negative connotations for workers. These findings are comply with Nichols' and Sugar's (2005) research which was carried out in Bursa.

Most of the workers wish their children to be employed in high status white-collor professions such as lawyer, engineer, doctor, teacher and so forth. As I discussed above the most important issue that workers mostly point out was determination of their life by others. For this reason, their wish for their children can be interpreted as a higher autonomy comparing with being a worker. A worker explain this as follows;

I am struggling for my child's education. Thanks to Petkim, I can cover his education expenses. I told him to be a lawyer, study international relations and be a governor, or a district governor (*kaymakam*). I never told him to study in a vocational school (*meslek lisesi*) and be a worker in Petkim. I didn't want it for myself, either. I don't want it for him. As long as he earns money, let him find his own profession (Adnan, 48 years old).¹⁰⁴

This attitude may also be considered as a resistance against 'proletarianization' and a struggle for 'dignity' and 'self-respect' (Coşkun, 2013).

Young workers have more negative attitudes against the idea of their children being a worker in the future. As can be seen from the Table 8.6, 77% of the 23-33 years old workers, 69.2% of the 34-43 years old workers and 64.8% of the 44-53 years old workers do not want their sons to be a worker in future. As I mentioned above, workers have more negative attitudes about their daughters to be a worker in future. According to the Table 8.7, 92.6% of the 23-33 years old workers, 82.7 of 34-43 years old workers and 82% of the 44-53 years old workers do not want their daughters be a worker in future.

¹⁰⁴ Çocuğumu okutmak için mücadele veriyorum. Petkim sayesinde okul masraflarını karşılıyorum. Çocuğuma avukat ol, uluslararası ilişkiler oku, vali ol, kaymakam ol diyorum. Hiçbir zaman Sanat Okulu'nu bitirde Petkim'de işçi ol demedim ona. Kendim için de istemedim. Onun için de istemiyorum. Para kazanırsa kendi işini kursun isterim (Adnan, 48 yaş).

Table 8.6. Workers Opinion Whether Their Sons to be a Worker in Future (%)

	23-33	34-43	44-53
Yes	23.0	30.8	35.2
No	77.0	69.2	64.8

Table 8.7 Workers Opinion Whether Their Daughter to be a Worker in Future (%)

	23-33	34-43	44-53
Yes	7.4	17.3	18.0
No	92.6	82.7	82.0

The negative perception of young workers comparing with older workers might be associated with their high level of education comparing with older workers. 55.6% of the 23-33 years old workers, 30.8% of the 34-43 years of the workers and only the 2.4% of the 44-53 years old workers are graduate from university. During the interviews, young workers said that if they cannot come into good positions in Petkim, they can leave and look another job. Comparing with the older workers, their carriers are much more important for them. For this reason they may have much more negative attitudes about their children being a worker.

Besides, the other reason of workers' negative attitudes against their children being a worker in future is closely associated with the hard working conditions and rising precarious employment relations day by day. Workers by common sense have grasped and experienced that precarious employment relations in working life increasing in every day. Accordingly they may assume that the working life will be much more difficult for their children in future. An old workers' statement summaries the situation:

At the beginning of the 1980s, workers who got the jobs were graduates of vocational high schools (*meslek liseleri*). Now, employers hire workers who have graduated from university. They are doing the same jobs as the workers. I think the main reason for this situation is unemployment and poverty. You graduate from university. But you are employed as a 'worker'. I wonder what will happen in the future. I think everything will be worse. But I hope not (Kubilay, 55 years old, retired).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ 1980'lerin başında işe girenler meslek lisesi mezunuydu. Şimdi işveren üniversite mezunlarını işe alıyor. İşçilerle aynı işi yapıyorlar. Bence bu durumun en önemli nedeni işsizlik ve yoksulluk. Üniversiteden mezun olacaksın. Ama işçi olarak çalışacaksın. Gelecekte neler olacağını merak ediyorum. Bence her şey daha kötü olacak. Ama umarım olmaz (Kubilay, 55 yaş, emekli).

May be workers cannot be conceptualized the transformation of capitalist production relations or they could not refer the existing social order as capitalism, but they feel and experience the pressure of flexible employment relations.

After analyzing workers' attitude regarding their children being a worker in the future, I also asked them their children's occupations. This data covers only the children who are in working age. Hence, children who are still continuing their education are not referred. 33.7% of the first children are workers like their fathers. Besides, 21% of them working as civil servants, 5% of them are self-employed and 38.7% of them are unemployed. Although workers do not wish their children to be workers in the future, significant portion of the children are working as wage earners. In this regard a worker expressed his feelings as follows;

I have two sons and a daughter. I did not want them to become workers. But they did. The boys barely graduated from vocational high school. One of them is working in an iron and steel factory. But the other is still unemployed. He has been looking for a job for about a year now. My daughter is still studying in high school. I hope she will go to university. I am still working because of her. Otherwise, I would have retired a long time ago (Yıldırım, 51 years old).¹⁰⁶

The solidarity among workers has important impacts on the formation of working class identity. In this regard, I asked them their relations with their workmates in the workplace. 73.4% of the workers stated that workers were helping and supporting each other in every issue. This finding demonstrate that solidarity between workers is strong. It can be suggested that this solidarity has enhanced their participation to collective actions. Besides, as I mentioned above vast majority of workers were living in public housings and they were mostly spend their time with their workmates in local, coffeehouse and union local. This situation also provides the development of class identity and common culture among workers.

After examining class identity, I try to analyze oppositional consciousness of workers. The formation of class opposition among the workers is directly related in

¹⁰⁶ İki oğlum bir kızım var. İşçi olmalarını istedim. Ama oldular. Erkekler meslek lisesinden zorla mezun oldular. Birisi demir çelik sektöründe çalışıyor. Fakat bir tanesi hala işsiz. Yaklaşık bir yıldır iş arıyor. Kızım hala lisede okuyor. Umarım üniversiteye gidecek. Hala onun için çalışıyorum. Yoksa çoktan emekli olacaktım (Yıldırım, 51 yaş).

what extend they conceive their interests in contradiction with capitalist classes. In order to explore the 'oppositional class consciousness' of workers, I think Lockwood's (1966) typology is useful.

Lockwood (1966) argued that we can conceptualize class structure in contemporary society in two different way: 'power' or 'conflict' or 'dichotomous' models on the one hand; and 'prestige' or 'status' or 'hierarchical models on the other. According to these two models Lockwood, developed two different typologies among working classes. The first type is '*traditional workers*' whose image of the society take the form of 'power' model. He distinguishes two types of traditional workers: '*proletarians*' and '*deferential*'. Proletarian social consciousness is centered on an awareness of 'us' in contradistinction to 'them' who are not a part of 'us'. 'Them' are consist of bosses, managers, white collar workers and the public authorities of the larger society.

However, deferential workers conception of society based on 'prestige' or 'hierarchical' rather than power or 'dichotomous' model. Deferential workers defer to their superiors or strive to reach their status. They mostly obey the paternalistic leaders. According to Lockwood, these workers are mostly working in service occupations, in small scale family organizations and in agriculture. The relationship between employer and worker is personal and particularistic. These working conditions brings him into direct association with his employer or other middle class influences and hinders him from forming strong attachments to workers in a similar market situation to his own.

The second type, is '*privatized workers*'. Their working conditions hinders them to develop close relations with the enterprise and his fellow workers. For them work is viewed as 'a means to an end' a way of acquiring income for life in the community. They are mostly employed in large factories and doing jobs which are highly specialized, repetitive and lacking in autonomy. They frequently isolated from their workmates by the constraints of technology and do not form cohesive groups inside the factory. They are not prone to form occupational communities outside the factory. Due to his socially isolated existence he enables to adopt a '*pecuniary*' model of class structure. Privatized workers, by contrast with traditional proletarians, join to union for instrumental rather than class solidaristic motive.

In order to explore oppositional consciousness of workers, I examine in what extent they conceive their interest contradiction with employers, their sense of social injustice through their attitudes about poverty and unemployment and their conception of working class interests in national and international level. In this respect I use the questions in Table 9.3, in order to explore the oppositional consciousness of workers.

It can be argued that the class contradiction is high when the Table 8.8 is generally examined. Referring to the Lockwood's (1966) typology it can be suggested that we are facing with a '*traditional proletarians*' instead of '*deferential or privatized workers*'.

For instance, 82.9% of the workers consider that managers think only to make profit without considering the demands and needs of the workers. In this regard a worker expresses his feelings regarding the issue as follows;

Well, we are players on different teams. I do not believe that employers think about workers. For example, I do not see any employer who says, "I got a 5% profit this year so I'll increase your salary 5%." There are some workers who love their boss very much! They want to take a photo with him. You are a worker, my friend! When he does not give you a salary raise, you shout, but when he comes in, you say, "Let's take a photo." (Mahsun, 34 years old).¹⁰⁷

As I discussed above many workers laid-off after privatization, precarious employment relations become widespread and unionization have been destroyed. All of these developments provides workers to become aware of the fact that their class interests are different from employers. A worker stated that privatizations provide him to understand that workers and employer have different interests.

To be honest, if you ask this question before 2000s, I immediately say 'yes'. I said the employer's and the worker's interests are common. But I grasp that this is not true. Privatization of Petrol Ofisi has led me to understand the truth. Our friends laid-off. Now there is even a union organized there. I think

¹⁰⁷ Valla biz ayrı takımların oyuncularınız. Ben işverenlerin işçilerini düşündüğünü hiç zannetmiyorum. Mesela bu sene %5 kar ettim. Sizde maaşlarınıza %5 zam yapıyorum diyen işveren görmedim...Ama bazı işçiler patronunu çok seviyor! Onunla resim çektirmek istiyor. Sen işçisin arkadaşım! Maaşına zam yapmayınca bağıryorsun ama yanına gelince fotoğraf çektiriyorsun (Mahsun, 34 yaş).

people do not understand if not they experience it. Employers told us that ‘we are a family’. I do not believe that. If we are a family, why they fire workers immediately after privatization. I do not believe that lie anymore. They only think their own money (Yıldırım, 51 years old).¹⁰⁸

Table 8.7. Class Opposition and Sense of Injustice among Workers (%)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Some people in Turkey and in the world are poor, the reason is their personal disabilities.	5.1	7.9	10.5	39.7	36.5
The main reason of poverty is private property and economic-social order based on profit.	21.3	31.1	20	19	8.6
The rich become this position by working.	2.9	5.4	14.6	40.3	36.8
For the wealth of someone, someone become poor.	25.1	31.4	11.1	20.3	12.1
The reason of unemployment is people dislike jobs and do not want to work.	3.8	16.8	15.6	36.2	27.6
The main reason of unemployment is private property and economic-social order based on profit.	18.7	29.8	22.5	20.6	8.3
I feel close to myself a worker/laborer in any part of the world more than a Turkish rich.	29.2	30.8	17.5	15.6	7.0
In many enterprise managers think only to make profit without considering workers’ demands and needs.	41.3	41.6	5.7	7.3	4.1
The relation between employer and worker is a mutual relationship. The more the employers gain the more the workers earn.	8.9	26.7	17.8	29.2	17.5
For a better life workers should act in unison in whole the country.	51.1	40.0	4.1	3.2	1.6
The interests of workers all over the world are common. For a better life workers in all over the world should unite.	47.3	30.8	13.7	6.7	1.6

While exploring the oppositional class consciousness of workers, I also examine the sense of injustice among the workers regarding the existing social order. Individuals find themselves in positions within ‘structured relation of production’ outside of their free will. These objective class positions contain irreconcilable antagonism and they at the same time determine the conditions of class struggle. With the suspension of these rules and codes that justifies the social inequality as a sense of injustice and moral indignation begin to swell among subordinated social classes. The different

¹⁰⁸ Valla ne yalan söyleyeyim! Bu soruyu 2000’lerden önce sorsan hemen evet derdim. İşçi ile patronunun çıkarlar ortak derdim. Ama gördüm ki öyle değil. Dibimizdeki Petrol Ofisi’nin özelleştirilmesi gerçeği anlamama sebep oldu. Bir çok arkadaşımız bir anda işsiz kaldı. Şimdi sendika bile yok orada. Galiba insan başına gelmeyince anlamıyor. Patronlar hep diyor ya ‘biz bir aileyiz’, hiç inandırıcı değil. Madem aileyiz, niye özelleştirme olunca hemen işçileri çıkarıyorlar işten. İnanmıyorum ben artık bu yalana. Patronlar sadece kendi paralarını düşünüyor (Yıldırım, 51 yaş).

shades of class consciousness, which form in this circumstance develop with the expression of this moral indignation and sense of injustice in terms of ‘exploitation’ (Özügurlu, 2010). In this regard, the sense of injustice give some clues regarding formation of working class consciousness.

I analyzed the sense of social injustice among the workers through their perception of ‘poverty’ and ‘unemployment’. As can be seen from the Table 9.3, the sense of social injustice among the workers is quite high. Only 8.3% of the workers consider that the wealth of the rich is based on their abilities and hard work. Besides, 76.2% of them do not think that poverty is associated with personal inadequacy and 56.5% of them are agreed on the idea that for the wealth of someone others, become poor. According to these figures it can be argued that the sense of injustice among the workers are too high.

In this regard a worker mentions his sense of injustice through minimum wage¹⁰⁹ in Turkey as follows;

In our country, bosses and politicians do not put themselves into the workers’ shoes. For example, ministers say that the minimum wage in this country is sufficient. If you go and look- it’s his children’s allowance for one day. The workers have children going to school, rent, and bills. The man says the minimum wage is sufficient! (Zeki, 38 years old).¹¹⁰

Another worker mentions his sense of injustice through the inequalities accessing to social services such as education and health in Turkey;

I think we are not equal in education and health. It seems like we are equal. But we are not equal. The government says: “Look! You can go to private hospitals. It is easier to go private school now.” I think only the rich can go. Where is the child of a poor man studying? Where is the child of a rich man studying? If there is equality, then let them change their positions, or else let everyone go to the same schools (Kemal, 29 years old).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ While the field research was carried out net minimum wage was 803 liras.

¹¹⁰ Bizde patronlar siyasetçiler kendilerini işçilerin yerine koymuyor. Mesela bir bakan çıkıyor diyor ki, asgari ücret bu ülkede yeterli. Gitsen baksan kendi çocuğunun bir günlük harçlığıdır o. Bunun okula giden çocuğu var, kirası var, faturası var. Adam diyor ki asgari ücret yeter (Zeki, 38 yaş).

¹¹¹ Bence eğitimde de sağlık da eşit değiliz. Eşitmişiz gibi görünüyor. Ama eşit değiliz. Hükümettekiler, ‘Bakın! Özel hastanelere gidebiliyorsunuz, özel okullara gitmek artık çok kolay

As I mentioned above only the 8% of the workers agree on the idea that rich are get their wealth by working. Hereof, a worker expresses his feelings about the issue according to his father's experience.

I do not believe all the rich achieve their situation by working. My father has been working since I myself can remember. Why can't we be rich? Most of them have family wealth. Rich mother, rich father. But when I think of Turkey. We are not Somalia. I think poverty in our country is not so great (Fikret, 30 years old).¹¹²

However, I cannot argue that the perception of poverty in the frame of structural relation is high among the workers. In this regard, I asked the workers that: 'Is the main reason of poverty is private property and economic-social order based on profit.' 52.4% of the workers think that the reason of poverty is private property and social order based on profit making. This result is similar with oşkun's (2013) research which was carried out among mine and textile workers in Zonguldak and Bursa. While 55% of the mine workers consider that the main reason of poverty is private property and economic-social order based on profit, this figure decreases to 40% among the textile workers. The workers in this research have similar conception of poverty with the mine workers of Zonguldak.

I observed that participation to union education program provides conception of poverty within the framework of structural relations. As can be seen from the Table 8.9, while 75% of the union trained workers were agree on the idea that the private property system is the main reason of poverty, this figures decreases to 40.6% among other workers. Therefore, it can be argued that participation to union education program pave the way for the comprehension of social inequalities much more in the frames of structured relations.

diyor.' Bence sadece işçiler gidebiliyor. Yoksulun çocuğu hangi okula gidebiliyor? Zenginin çocuğu nerede okuyor? Eşitlik varsa o zaman deęiştirsinler pozisyonlarını ya da herkes aynı okula gitsin (Kemal, 29 yaş).

¹¹² Ben zenginlerin çalışarak bu duruma geldiklerine inanmıyorum. Benim babam ben kendimi bildim bileli çalışıyor. Neden zengin olamıyoruz. Onların çoğunun aileden gelen bir zenginlięi var. Anne zengin, baba zengin. Ama Türkiye'yi düşününce, bir Somali deęiliz. Yoksulluk çok yok diye düşünüyorum bizim memlekette (Fikret, 30 yaş).

Table 8.8. Union Education and Structural Conception of Poverty

Union Education		The main reason of poverty is private property and economic-social order based on profit.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
Yes	Count	39	42	12	11	4	108	.000
	Expected Count	23	33.6	21.6	20.6	9.3	108	
	%	36.1	38.9	11.1	10.2	3.7	100	
No	Count	28	56	51	49	23	207	
	Expected Count	44	64.4	41.4	39.4	17.7	207	
	%	13.5	27.1	24.6	23.7	11.1	100	

I also examine the workers' attitudes regarding unemployment in the framework of social injustice. In this regard, 63.8% of the workers do not agree with the idea that the reason of unemployment is related with individual choices. 48.5% of the workers consider that the primary cause of unemployment is capitalist social order. Likewise, the conception of poverty workers do not comprehend the reason of unemployment in the framework of capitalist structural relations, too. However older and middle-aged workers and workers who have been started to work before privatization are more incline to consider the reason of unemployment in structural relations.

For instance, according to the Table 8.10, while 34.8% of the 23-33 years workers consider that the reason of unemployment is private enterprise system, this figures increases to 59.6% among 34-43 years old workers and 58.7% among 44-53 years old workers. Besides, 58.6% of the workers who have started to work Petkim before privatization and 35.4% of the workers who have been working after privatization agreed on the idea that social order based on private property is the main reason of unemployment (see Table 8.11).

Table 8.9. Cohort Analysis of the Reason of Unemployment

Cohorts		The main reason of unemployment is private property and economic-social order based on profit.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
23-33	Count	19	28	47	33	8	135	.000
	Expected Count	25.3	40.3	30.4	27.9	11.1	135	
	%	14.1	20.7	34.8	24.4	5.9	100	
34-43	Count	12	19	7	7	7	52	
	Expected Count	9.7	15.5	11.7	10.7	4.3	52	
	%	23.1	36.5	13.5	13.5	13.5	100	
44-53	Count	28	47	17	25	11	128	
	Expected Count	24	38.2	28.9	26.4	10.6	128	
	%	21.9	36.7	13.3	19.5	8.6	100	

Table 8.10. Date of Hire and the Reason of Unemployment

Date of Hire		The main reason of unemployment is private property and economic-social order based on profit.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
1982	Count	44	62	25	33	17	181	.000
2007	Expected Count	34	54.2	40.9	37.5	14.4	100	
	%	24.3	34.3	13.8	18.2	9.4	100	
2008	Count	15	34	46	32	8	133	
2013	Expected Count	25	39.8	30.1	27.5	10.6	133	
	%	11.3	24.1	34.6	24.1	6	100	

Workers are aware of the relationship between privatization and unemployment. As I mentioned above, employment has reduced approximately 40% after the enterprises privatized where Petrol-Is is the authorized union.

Politicians stated that “there are jobs. But people do not want to work”. They privatized lots of state enterprises. Workers became unemployed. 5000 workers were employed in Petkim before privatization. However, 2000 workers are working now. OK! Technology is so advanced now. But our number is still so low. Instead of privatization if they founded another Petkim, unemployment would decrease. However, their aim is increasing unemployment in order to exploit workers more easily. This is the logic of capitalism. They can do it more easily after privatization (Vedat, 47 years old).¹¹³

The other factor that I used to explore the oppositional consciousness of workers was their conception of working class solidarity in national and international level. On this topic, firstly, I asked workers that ‘the class interests of workers are common in Turkey’. As can be seen from Table 9.3, 91.1% of the workers think that for a better life, workers should keep company with the workers all over the country. However, 78.1% of the workers consider that the interests of the workers all over the world are common and they should struggle together for a better world. Thus, according to these findings it can be argued that workers are more inclined to consider working class solidarity much more in the scope of national boundaries. However, I have to mention that important portion of the workers also consider working class interest at the international level.

¹¹³ Politikacılar “aşlında iş var. Ama inanlar çalışmıyor diyor”. Bir çok yeri özelleştirdiler. Çalışan insanlar işsiz kaldı. Petkim’de önceden 5000’e yakın insan çalışıyormuş. Şimdi 2000 kişiyiz. Tamam şimdiki teknoloji daha gelişmiş. Ama bence bu sayı çok düşük. Özelleştireceğine, bir tane daha Petkim kursaydılar, işsizlik azalardı. Ama maksat işsizleri çoğaltmak, çalışanları daha rahat sömürmek. Kapitalizmin mantığı bu. Özelleştirince bunu daha kolay yapıyorlar tabi ki (Vedat, 47 yaş).

The conception of working class consciousness interests through international level arises among the workers, who have participated to union education program. As can be seen from the Table 8.12, while 97.2% of the union trained workers agreed that the interests of workers all over the world are common, this ratio decrease to 68.1% among the workers who do not participate to union education program.

Table 8.11. Union Education and International Solidarity

Union Education		The interests of workers all over the world are common. For a better life workers in all over the world should unite.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
Yes	Count	75	30	2	1	0	108	.000
	Expected Count	51.1	33.3	14.7	7.2	1.7	108	
	%	69.4	27.8	1.9	0.9	0	100	
No	Count	74	67	41	20	5	207	
	Expected Count	97.9	63.7	28.3	13.8	3.3	207	
	%	35.7	32.4	19.8	9.7	2.4	100	

A worker, who have participated to union education suggested that the interests of workers all over the world common and they only gain their rights by a unionized struggle. He expressed his thoughts through the example of Novamed¹¹⁴ where Petrol-Is is organized;

Certainly it is common. There are international union organizations with which our union is affiliated. There was resistance in Mersin, in Novamed, where most of the workers are women. According to what I have read, their demands were not only about wages, but about the enhancement of working conditions. The workers faced oppression both in the workplace and outside of work. The resistance lasted approximately 400 days. What does it mean? You do not make money during that time. You can't bring bread home. Finally, as far as I know, Petrol-Is solved it in the international context. How was it solved? Petrol-Is started to put pressure on other enterprises in other places. Petrol-Is solved it through global resistance (Önder, 33 years old).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Novamed operates in Antalya Free Trade Zone. The majority of the workers are women. The workers went on strike on 26 September 2006 and strike continued 448 days. They started to work again on 2 January 2008.

¹¹⁵ Kesinlikle ortaktır. Bizim sendikanın da bağlı olduğu uluslararası sendikal örgütlenmeler var. Mersin taraflarında bir direniş olmuştu. Daha çok kadın işçilerin çalıştığı Novamed'de. Okuduğum kadarıyla orda istekleri ücret değildi. Çalışma şartlarının iyileştirilmesi. Hem iş yerinde, hem iş dışında, çok büyük baskılar yaşıyorlardı işçiler. 400 küsur gün sürdü mücadelede. Bu ne demek. Sen o sırada para kazanamıyorsun. Evine ekmeğ götüremiyorsun. En son bildiğim kadarıyla Petrol-İş, bunu uluslararası bağlamda çözdü. Nasıl çözdü? O işletmenin sahip olduğu başka yerlerde de baskı yapmaya başladı. Bir nevi küresel mücadele ile bunu çözdü (Önder, 33 yaş).

Besides, I asked them “who they feel themselves closer; a worker in any part of the world or a rich in Turkey”. Important portion of the worker (60%) feel themselves closer to a worker in the world when comparing with a rich in Turkey. In this regard a worker speaks as follows;

Can I say Ali Ağaoğlu is precious than a worker in Hindistan. I cannot say that. It is not possible. Or a football player. He is living in luxury. How can he live in luxury? The money that you give to mach tickets. If he come from there, he will not recognize you. But you recognize him. He do not have anything common with you... Even an American worker is precious than Ali Ağaoğlu for me (Mazlum, 34 years old).¹¹⁶

Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that important portion (22.6%) of the workers feel themselves closer to a Turkish rich than a worker in world. These workers are mostly young and hired after privatization. For instance, 29.6% of the 23-33 years old workers feel themselves closer to Turkish rich these figures decreases to 17.3% among the 34-43 years and 17.2% among 44-53 years old workers.

After discussing the formation of ‘class identity’ and ‘oppositional class consciousness’ I explore how workers evaluate the wider structural relations in the frame of ‘class totality’.

In this regard firstly, I asked workers that ‘is there any distinction between the social groups in Turkey’, except from 5.5% of them say ‘yes’. 31.1% of the workers stated that the most important differentiation in Turkey is among the ‘laic’ and ‘religious’ individuals. This demonstrate that workers are sensitive about their life styles.

Secondly, 19.7% of the workers consider that the distinction between ‘rich’ and ‘poor’ is the most important differentiation in Turkey. As Aksit (1985) argued ‘rich-poor’ distinction points out a traditional sense of injustice. In this sense, it can be argued that a traditional sense of inequality is high among the workers. Besides, 12.4% of the workers put the first place the ‘Turk-Kurt’ distinction and 12.1% of the workers think that the ‘worker-boss’ distinction is more important than the other

¹¹⁶ Ali Ağaoğlunun nesini benimseyeceğim ben şimdi. Bir Hindistan’daki işçiden iyi diyebilir miyim? Diyemem ya. İmkani yok yani. Ya da bir futbolcuyu. Adam lüks içinde yaşıyor. Neyle yaşıyor. Senin benim maç biletlerine verdiğimiz parayla. Şuradan gelse seni tanımaz, sen onu tanırsın. Senle hiçbir şeyi uyuşmaz... Amerika’daki bir işçi bile Ali Ağaoğlu’ndan değerlidir benim için (Mazlum, 34 yaş).

distinctions. However only 2.2% of the workers conceive the social disintegration through ‘bourgeois-proletariat’.

Table 8.12. Social Disintegration in Turkey

Social Disintegration	Most Important	Important	Partially Important	TOTAL
Laic-Religious	31.1	15.2	13	59.3
Rich-Poor	19.7	19.7	17.1	56.5
Ruler-Ruled	10.8	9.2	21.3	41.3
Turk-Kurt	12.4	18.7	7.6	38.7
Worker-Boss	12.1	13.7	11.4	39.2
Rightist-Leftist	6.7	10.2	10.8	28.7
Alevi-Sunni	0	4.4	6.0	10.4
Women-Men	0.6	1.9	4.4	6.3
Bourgeois-Proletarian	2.2	1.0	1.9	5.1

Total is not 100 because participants asked to mark more than one answer.

Although workers have quite high oppositional consciousness, it is hard to argue that this conception provides the interpretation of social relations within the framework of structural relations. Considerably low portion of worker gave the answer ‘bourgeois-proletarian’ and ‘worker-boss’ which refers high level of class antagonisms comparing with that of ‘laic-religious’ and ‘rich-poor’.

The last factor of class consciousness that I focus in this research was workers’ perception of an alternative social order. In this regard I ask the participants following questions: Can modern society goes on without profit motive? Should the private enterprise system changed with a more egalitarian society? And should workers struggle for a more egalitarian social order?

Table 8.13. The Will to Social Change

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Modern society can goes on without profit motive.	26.0	28.6	18.4	21.3	5.7
Private enterprise system dominant in the distribution of social welfare system should be changed instead a more egalitarian social order should be established.	29.2	18.4	18.7	21.3	12.1
Workers have to fight for the establishment of a more egalitarian social order.	47.6	33.7	11.1	5.7	1.9

According to the Table 8.14, 54.4% of the worker consider that modern society can goes on without profit motive, 47.6% of the workers think that private enterprise system should be changed by a more egalitarian society and 81.3% of the workers are agree on the idea that workers have to struggle for the establishment of a more egalitarian society. Thus, I can argue that the desire to live in a more egalitarian and just society is quite high among the workers.

As we have seen while discussing the oppositional class consciousness important portion of the workers consider that we are living in injustice social order. It can be argued that the sense of injustice regarding the existing social order has influenced the idea that the existing social order should be changed with a more egalitarian one. Although the desire for establishing a more egalitarian social order is high among the workers, it cannot be argued that this desire is comprehended through the abolishing of private enterprise system. Older and middle aged workers and workers, who have employed before privatization have a more structural conception of establishing a more egalitarian social order.

For instance, while 35.5% of the 23-33 years old workers agreed on the idea that for a more egalitarian society private enterprise system should be changed, this rate increases to 51.9% among 34-43 years old workers and 58.6% among the 44-53 years old workers. According to the Table 8.15, 36% of the workers who have started to work in Petkim before privatization, and 55.8% of the workers hired after privatization agreed that for a more egalitarian society private enterprise system should be changed.

Table 8.14. Date of Hire and Changing of Private System

Date of Hire		Private enterprise system dominant in the distribution of social welfare system should be changed instead a more egalitarian social order should be established.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
1982	Count	66	35	25	39	15	181	.002
2007	Expected Count	53	32.9	34	38.6	21.9	181	
	%	36.5	19.3	13.8	21.5	8.3	100	
2008	Count	26	22	34	28	23	133	
2013	Expected Count	39	24.1	25	28.4	16.1	133	
	%	19.5	16.5	25.6	21.1	17.3	100	

The participation to union education also influence the conception of egalitarian society in contradiction with private enterprise system. For instance, according to the Table 8.16, 72.3% of the workers who have participated to union education program agreed that for a more egalitarian society the private enterprise system should be changed. However, this ratio decreases to 34.8% among the workers, who do not participated into the union education program.

Table 8.15. Union Education and Changing of Private System

Union Education		Private enterprise system dominant in the distribution of social welfare system should be changed instead a more egalitarian social order should be established.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
Yes	Count	49	29	13	8	9	108	.000
	Expected Count	31.5	19.9	20.2	23	13	108	
	%	45.4	26.9	12.0	7.4	8.3	100	
No	Count	43	29	46	59	29	207	
	Expected Count	60.5	38.1	38.8	44	25	207	
	%	20.8	14.0	22.2	28.5	14	100	

Thus, it can be argued older workers are more incline to consider that an egalitarian society is in contradiction with private enterprise system. In most of the cases, however, workers do not have exact ideas about how they can establish such an egalitarian social order and what it will be like and their egalitarian social order most of the time do not refer to ‘socialist’ social order. Workers’ demand for a more egalitarian society mostly framed with the boundaries of existing capitalist social order. Despite workers believe in that social income should be distributed more equally, very few workers express that the existing social order have to be removed and a socialist order must be established. Ranis (1991) also reached similar findings in his reseach on working class consciousness in Argentina. Ranis (1991) argued that “most of the workers see themselves as sharing liberal capitalist political system. Workers enjoy and value bourgeois-democratic ideology, liberty and consumerism, but this attitude does not necessarily weaken their sense of social justice. In this regard, Marshall (1983: 289) argued “class conscious workers, may in fact, go beyond the “economism” of wage claims to raise class issues and to press class demands for fundamental changes in the social order, but these issues and demands may not be in the particular direction of socialist alternatives. They can easily take the form of moment toward distributive social justice within the framework of the capitalist mode of production.”

The negative attitudes of workers against socialist social order was mostly based on ‘reel socialist’ experience. A worker expresses his feelings regarding the issue as follows;

The concepts are not important for me. Let everyone live as equals. Let us live as brothers. I want this. But we have the Russian example near to us. Collapse. I do not know why it collapsed. But we all know what the people, the women coming from there are doing. Liberalism, communism, capitalism all have some shortcomings (Sedat, 38 years old).¹¹⁷

Even workers who identified themselves as ‘leftist’ have some doubts about socialist social order and abolishing private ownership. A worker stated as follows;

Yes, I would like live in a more egalitarian society. But I have some doubts about abolishing private property. We saw Soviet Union. What happened? It was fragmented. Everyone spread somewhere. I do not think that the problem is private property but sharing the social income equally. In Soviet Union everything belonged to state. But everything did not share equally. There were also rich and poor. Socialism does not solve everything (Fikri, 48 years old).¹¹⁸

Even workers whose sense of injustice was high and eager to vote ‘leftist’ parties, have some doubts about workers role in the establishment of this alternative social order. In this regard, a worker puts this as follows;

Workers cannot change this world alone. They do not have such an opportunity. Workers can only use their power that comes from production. They either strike or stop work. They can do nothing apart from that. They have to do what the employers want. The NGOs and political parties have to fight for that. But is there such a party today? (a short pause) I think so... I like the pronouncements of the Turkish Communist Party (TCP) and Workers Party (WP). But do I vote for them? In truth, I do not. Because I know they

¹¹⁷ Benim için kavramların önemi yok. Ama herkes eşitçe yaşasın. Kardeşçe yaşasın. Ben bunu istiyorum. Ama tabi dibimizde Rusya örneği var. Çöktü. Neden çöktüğünü ben bilmem. Ama oradan gelen insanların, kadınların ne işler yaptığını biliyoruz hepimiz. Liberalizmin, komünizmin, kapitalizmin hep kusurları var (Sedat, 38 yaş).

¹¹⁸ Evet, daha eşit bir dünyada yaşamak isterim. Ama özel mülkiyetin kalkması konusunda şüpheliyim. Sovyetler Birliğini gördük. Ne oldu? Parçalandı. Herkes bir yerlere dağıldı. Mesele özel mülkiyet değil bence, üretileni eşit bir şekilde paylaşmak. Sovyetler Birliği’nde her şey devletindi. Ama her şey eşit paylaşılmıyordu ki. Orda da zenginler ve yoksullar vardı (Fikri, 48 yaş).

will not win the elections. I think my vote would go to waste. This electoral system serves the interests of the ruling party (Necati, 47 years old).¹¹⁹

Workers mostly believe in a social change within the boundaries in the existing political system. However the anti-democratic electoral system in Turkey prevent them even voting through their own choices.

After discussing the formation of class consciousness of workers through class identity, class opposition, class totality and the will to change the existing social order next I will discuss workers' attitudes about unionization and their social action experience.

8.5. Attitudes Regarding Unionization

Although it is not accurate to reduce the labor movements only to unions, they are the universal form of organization that workers develop in each social formations. The historical origins of trade unions goes back to Industrial Revolution. However, Hobsbawn (1962) argued that the class consciousness labor movement in history have become prominent with the beginning of 19th century. Trade unions are the main institutions which enhance solidaristic proletarian ideology among the laboring classes against the competitor individualism of capitalist social order (Therborn, 2008).

According to Hyman (cited in Simms, 2012) trade unions in general have three distinctive ideological and strategic orientations: as labor market regulators (market), as vehicles of rising workers' status and promoting social justice and as schools of war in class struggle. Thus defining the trade unionism according only in the framework of workers economic interests would be a reductionist evaluation. Unions can help to shape workers' own definitions of their individual and collective interests. In this regard, unions have pursued a wide and varied range of interests

¹¹⁹ İşçinin sadece tek başına bu dünyayı değiştirmesi mümkün değil. Öyle bir şansı yok işçinin. İşçi sadece üretimden gelen gücünü kullanır. Ya iş bırakır ya da iş yavaşlatır. Başka bir şansı yok işçinin. Patron ne derse onu yapmak zorunda. Bunun için mücadele edecek olan, sivil toplum kuruluşları, örgütleri, siyasi partiler. Ama günümüzde de öyle bir siyasi parti de var (Duraksıyor). Ben TKP ve İş Partisi'nin söylemlerini çok beğeniyorum ama. Oy verir miyim? Vermem vallaha. Çünkü kazanamayacağımı düşünüyorum. Oylarımın boşa gideceğini düşünüyorum. O da Türkiye'deki seçim sisteminde iktidardaki partiye yarayacak (Necati, 47 yaş).

from narrow workplace issues affecting to political issues affecting a national, sometimes international working class constituency (Hyman, 1994: 122).

The power of trade unions is directly related to the success of their capacity about the formation of 'collective identity' among working class (Offe and Wiesental 1985: 183). Collective identity "describes imagined as well as concrete communities, involves an act of perception and construction as well as the discovery of preexisting bonds, interests, and boundaries. It is fluid and relational, emerging out of interactions with a number of different audiences (bystanders, allies, opponents, news media, state authorities), rather than fixed" (Polletta and Jasper (2001: 298). The formation of collective identity cannot be considered separately from the definition of collective interests.

Although they have mostly focused on economic issues and institutionalized the class struggle, workers who are the members of a union exhibit high class consciousness (Zingraf and Schulman, 1984). Empirical evidence has suggested that unions have positive influence on working class militancy and mobilization. Besides workers are more likely eager to participate militant collective actions in big and organized industries (Dixon *et all*, 2004). Nevertheless, existence of trade unions should not be interpreted as an indicator of class consciousness.

A research carried out by Roth (2007) demonstrates that workers who participate to union education program are more inclined to define the relations between workers and employers in terms of 'exploitation' and they strongly believe that workers have to struggle together against capitalist classes to acquire their rights. However, the political inclination of the unions is very important in the determination of these education programs. Petrol-Is has given importance in educational activities since its foundation.

Petrol-Is defined its mission to "limiting and eradicating the exploitation" (Petrol-Is, 2000: 355). The education programs are organized in accordance with this mission. Petrol-Is (2000: 356) argued that "class consciousness does not occur spontaneously in practice. Class consciousness is learned. For this reason Petrol-Is has given great importance to union education program to improve the workers' union power. The

education understanding of Petrol-Is is different from the education understanding of this system. Its education understanding is towards the changing of this system.”

The aim of the education program of Petrol-Is is raising class consciousness workers through training programs. “The hegemony of capital over the working classes prevents workers from gaining class consciousness, legitimize the exploitation relations and make the workers a part of the system. Workers need education in which they are able to reinterpret the world. Petrol-Is do not consider their education activities as neutral. It is the biggest lies of our times that completely an objective and neutral viewpoint can exist. Therefore the knowledge that the workers have learned is not objective, too. In all processes, they have educated from the viewpoints of capital and its values. Certainly an education program of a union will not be ‘objective’. The main objective of this program is raising class consciousness of workers who are in class struggle” (Petrol-Is, 2000: 374).

Petrol-İş is organizing comprehensive education programs. Education programs are organized under four categories: *planned member educations*, *manager/shop steward education*, *strike education* and *educator educations*. ‘Active member education’ program is the most important among these programs for our research. 34.3% of the workers who participated this research have attended to these programs.

The trainings are often given by ‘union education experts’, who are employed by union. However, sometimes they get support from the other experts. The program is carried out in third periods and each period takes two days. For example 2014 education program is carried out in February-March, April-May and June. Training program began with 143 workers at the beginning and it was completed with 93 workers at the end of June.

Some examples of the topics of the training program are as follows: How should be an active member? How can subcontractor workers be member of union? What points take into consideration while organizing a meeting? What kind of relationships should be established with other unions and non-governmental organizations, women position in society and the situation of women workers (Petrol-Is, 2014).

It is surprising that the willingness to participate union education program among the workers is high.¹²⁰ Some of the workers are reproachful against the branch managers for not being participate to the education program.

I want to participate in education very much. But they (branch managers) do not send me. Perhaps because of political reasons. I am a member of MHP (Nationalist Action Party). I recently participated in an education program. Union education is good. Why is it good? There are lots of workers from all over Turkey. There were workers coming from Batman, Adıyaman, Kırıkkale, Tekirdağ, etc. It was very nice. You are with people from very different cultures (Zeki, 38 years old).¹²¹

Union education programs not only raise the awareness of workers about organizing and workers right but also encourage workers to participate into social and political activities. In this regard a young workers speaks as follows;

I think we have been trained not only about being workers, but also about being human beings. By approaching events objectively, I have learned to listen to people from the opposite side. I have learned to be a worker. My point of view has changed because I understand I am a worker. My interpretation of news has changed. I learned how to behave when faced with a social incident because I am not an individual, I am one of Turkey's 60 million. As are the working class, retirees, employees. I am a huge part of it, along with their families. I have become aware of my strength. I have learned that I can do many great things as a working class member. I have learned that I have to participate more in the community, for example, political parties and associations. It is really important to be active there. I have learned these things. I did not know what it was to be a worker. To be honest, I could have done what the employer said. I had also been made several promises, like 'we will get you to into the control room', and 'you will be foreman.' In addition, some other suggestions had been made. Look! Learn everything. This was not being said only by the employer, but by the older workers also. I felt it should not be like that and requested to go to training. In training I have learned what my rights are and what the limits of the employer

¹²⁰ However we have to keep in mind that only the 34% of the participants to our research have participated to the union education program.

¹²¹ Sendikal eğitime gitmeyi çok istedim. Ama onlar (yönetim) göndermedi beni. Belki siyasi nedenlerden dolayı. Ben MHP üyesiyim. Ancak yeni gidebildim eğitime. Sendikal eğitim güzel. Neden güzel? Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından gelen insan var. Batman'dan gelen var, Kırıkkale'den gelen var, Tekirdağ'dan gelen var, Adıyaman'dan gelen var. Çok güzel. Çok farklı kültürden insanlarla bir aradasınız orada (Zeki, 38 yaş).

are. I think I have learned these in the training program. I was a normal person, but now I see through worker's glasses (Önder, 33 years old).¹²²

Petrol-Is supports its education programs also through its publications: 'Petrol-Is Journal', 'Petrol-Is Women Journal' and for children a journal called 'Rainbow' have been published regularly. As well as these publications the 'Annuals' and 'Research Files' are the other publications that inform its member. These publications serves as an important function in the development of class consciousness.

The unionization experience of workers is very limited prior to Petkim. Only 21.3% of the workers have had an organized union at their previous workplace. However only 16.8% of the workers were member of a union. Because most of them were employed as contracted and non-unionized (*kapsam dışı*) status. The weakness of unionization experience of workers before Petkim arises from the general structure of unionism in Turkey. As I mentioned earlier, above 73% of the workers worked in private sector before Petkim and the unionization rate is too low in private enterprises in Turkey.

Some workers, who had worked in small enterprises before Petkim state that there were very few workers in their previous workplaces. It is quite difficult to organize a union in such small enterprises. Besides, the intimate relations between employer and workers are the other preventing factor of unionization in these small workplaces.

I had mostly worked at some small enterprises in İzmir, where there were 5-10 workers. Our number was changing constantly. Instead of worker-boss relations, there were brother-brother relations. I figured out how bad it had been for workers after I came here. There, rather than greater fundamental

¹²² Ben sadece işçi olma anlamında değil, insan olma anlamında da eğitim aldığımı düşünüyorum. Olaylara hakkaniyetli yaklaşmayı, karşıdakileri dinlemeyi öğrendim. İşçi olmayı öğrendim. Olaylara bakış açım değişti. Çünkü ben bir işçi olduğumu anladım. Haberleri yorumlama şeklim değişti. Toplumsal bir olayla karşılaştığımda nasıl davranmam gerektiğini öğrendim. Çünkü ben bir birey değildim. Ben Türkiye'nin 60 milyonuymdum. İşçi sınıfı olarak. Emeklisi, çalışanı. Aileleriyle birlikte çok büyük bir kısımdım. Ben gücümün farkına vardım. İşçi sınıfı olarak çok büyük şeyler yapabileceğimi öğrendim. Daha fazla toplumun içine girmem gerektiğini öğrendim. Örneğin siyasi partiler, dernekler oralarda etkin olmak gerçekten çok önemliymiş. Ben bunu öğrendim... Eğitim öncesi işçiliğin ne olduğunu bilmiyordum. İşverenin her dediğini yapabiliyordum doğrusu. Bana çeşitli vaatlerde de bulunulmuştu. Kontrol odasına alacağız, formen olacaksınız gibi. Telkinlerde de bulunmuştu ayrıca. Bak işte her şeyi öğren. Bunu sadece işveren temsilcisi değil, daha ileri yaştaki işçilerde söylüyordu. Baktım ki bu böyle devam etmiyor. Eğitime gitme talebinde bulundum. Ne talep edebilirim. Benim haklarım nelerdir. İşverenin sınırları nelerdir. Eğitimde bunları öğrendiğimi düşünüyorum. Ben önceden normal bir insandım. Artık işçi gözlüğünü taktım (Önder, 33 yaş).

rights at work, it was run according to mutual friendships. When we came, there were 3000-3500 working here. There was a clear working order. I saw the effect of the union here (Ali, 34 years old).¹²³

As I mentioned earlier, unions activities are not only restricted with economic issue, but also they are the means of ‘dignity’ and ‘self-esteem’. As Hodson (2001: 3) argued dignity is “the ability to establish a sense of self-worth and self-respect and to appreciate the respect of others. Dignity is realized in the political sphere by striving toward democracy and justice. In the economic sphere, it is realized in the demand for a living wage and equal opportunity. In the workplace, dignity is realized through countless small acts of resistance against abuse and an equally strong drive to take pride in one’s daily work.” Expression of a worker about unionization is a good example to show the importance of union for dignity;

I sued (his previous workplace) while I was working there in order to be transferred from ‘non-unionized’ staff (*kapsam dışı personel*) to ‘unionized’ staff (*kapsam içi personel*). We had been threatened by the employer. Non-unionized employees had no rights there. Everyone had been given different salary raises. This set the workers to quarreling with each other. They can give me a big raise in salary. I do not care about that. I am doing the same job as my workmates. Anyway, we went to the union. They said: “You are a foreman and if you want to join the union, you’ll have to resign.” We reported our resignations via a notary. The company’s management called us then. They accepted the salary increase. But we still insisted on joining the union. We went to the union again. But this time, heaven knows why, the doors were closed. We could not find any knowledgeable person to give us answers. Ours is a ‘yellow union’. I could not be a member of the union there (Murat, 34 years old).¹²⁴

¹²³ İzmir’de 5-10 kişinin çalıştığı küçük işletmelerde çalıştım ben daha çok. Sayımız çok değişiyordu. Buralarda işçi-patron ilişkileri değil, daha çok abi-kardeş ilişkileri vardı. Bunun işçi için ne kadar kötü olduğunu buraya gelince anladım ben. Oralarda işler çalışma yaşamındaki temel haklardan ziyade daha çok hatır-gönül ilişkisi üzerinden yürüyordu. Burada biz geldiğimizde 3000-3500 kadar işçi çalışıyordu. Belli bir çalışma düzeni vardı. Sendikamın etkisini burada gördüm ben (Ali, 34 yaş).

¹²⁴ Ben (eski işyeri) çalışırken (eski işyeri) mahkemeye verdim. Kapsam-dışılıktan, kapsam-içiliğe geçmek için. Ne tehditler aldık işverenden. Kapsam dışı personelin hiçbir hakkı yok. Herkese ayrı ayrı maaş zammı yapılıyor. Bu da işçiyi birbirine düşürüyor. Bana yüksek zamda verebilir ama ben bunula ilgilenmiyorum. Arkadaşımın aynı işi yapıyorum... Neyse biz sendikaya gittik. Üye olmanız için formlerden istifa etmeniz lazım dediler. Biz de noter kanalıyla istifamızı bildirdik. Şirket yönetimi bizi çağırdı. Zam vermeyi kabul ettiler. Ama biz yine de sendikalı olmak istediğimizi söyledik. Yine gittik sendikaya ama ne hikmetse bu sefer kapılar yüzümüze kapandı. Muhattap bulamamaya başladık. Sarı sendikayı bizimkisi. Ben sendika üyesi olamadım orada (Murat, 34 yaş).

In fact, this quotation is important to show the situation of trade unionism in Turkey. As I will discuss below due to the existence of such ‘yellow unions’ workers do not believe in unions. I asked workers questions in Table 8.17, in order to examine their attitudes regarding unionization.

Table 8.16. Attitudes of Workers about Unions

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Unions are institutions to find solutions to social problems.	23.8	37.5	21.6	13.0	4.1
Unions are democratic institutions providing solidarity and cooperation.	29.8	46.7	14.9	5.1	3.5
Unions are necessary to protect the rights and interests of the workers.	60.3	34.9	3.2	0.3	1.3
Unions in Turkey protect and develop employees’ right.	15.6	22.9	33.0	22.5	6.0
My union protect and develop workers right.	23.5	44.4	22.5	7.3	2.2
I am pleased with the activities of my union.	15.6	32.7	30.5	16.2	5.1
Workers should organize to achieve social, economic demands.	59.4	35.6	2.9	1.0	1.3

According to the Table 8.17, 95.2% of the workers are in the opinion that unions are necessary to protect the rights and interests of the workers. Besides, 95% of the workers also think that workers should organize to achieve their social and economic demands. These figures demonstrate that workers ‘organizational consciousness’ is very high. They strongly believe that workers can only protect their rights when they are organized against the employers. I think the most important reason of high belief among the workers to being organized is their economic and social acquisitions gained by their collective struggles.

The awareness regarding being organized is an important indication that unionization experience is transferred to next generation. Workers not only teach each other to keep a shift and the intricacies of the job but also the importance of being organized. In this regard a union official expresses his thoughts as follows;

Look at the world from wherever-from the right side or the left. Whatever the tradition is in the workplace, you hand it down. Whether one is rightist, leftist, Kurdish, Turkish, albeit Sunni or Alevi, he has heard about unionism from the older workers. They have told how activities are carried out here, what is done. Our workmates, while teaching us how to be an operator or a mechanical maintenance technician, they are, at the same time, teaching us

how to protect the union. So when one does not do it, even a young worker who does not see the world in the same way as you, they say, “But in the past, it was not done like that,” thus, involuntarily, leaving behind a legacy. Or perhaps it is not a special effort. A worker shares absolutely everything in his life. We used to do that at mealtime when there was a problem concerning one of us. Today mealtimes are very bad. Why don't we do it like that? It seems strange that we do not (İbrahim, 51 years old).¹²⁵

Workers consider the importance of being organized, however, they do not agreed with the idea at the same rate that unions can find solutions to social problems and they can provide solidarity among the workers. For instance, 61.5% of the workers think that unions can find solutions to social problems. This attitude is especially common among the older and middle aged workers. While 49.7% of the 23-33 years old workers think that unions can find solutions to social problems, this figure increases to 63.5% among the 34-43 years old workers and 72.7% among the 44-53 years old workers.

Besides, 76.5% of the workers think that unions are democratic institutions and provide solidarity among the workers. Here I have to mention that older workers are more prone to think that unions provide solidarity among the workers. For instance, 67.4% of the 23-33 years old workers, 78.8% of the 34-43 years old workers and 85.4% of 44-53 years old workers think that unions are democratic institutions and provide solidarity among workers. Considering these two figures together, I assert that older workers conceive the function of unions much more related with social relations whereas young workers are a little bit pragmatist regarding unions.

Besides the attitudes of workers about unionization, I also examined the workers attitudes about unions in Turkey. 38.5% of the workers think that unions in Turkey are able to protect workers right. I can indicate that workers have negative attitudes about trade unions in Turkey. Most of the research about unionization in Turkey

¹²⁵ Dünyaya nereden bakarsan bak. İster sağdan bak, ister soldan bak. Bir işyerindeki gelenek nasılsa onu da miras bırakıyorsun. Sağcı da olsa, solcu da olsa, Kürt'de olsa Türk'de olsa, Alevi de olsa Sünni de olsa ağabeylerinden duymuş sendikacılığı. Burada faaliyet nasıl yürütülür. Ne yapılır. Anlatmışlar. Bizim kuşak arkadaşlarımız bir işletme operatörlüğü, bir mekanik bakım teknisyenliğini öğretirken aynı zamanda bir sendikaya nasıl sahip çıkılması gerektiğini de anlatmışlar. Dolayısıyla yapmadığında, senin gibi dünyaya bakmayan genç işçi dahi, ama eskiden böyle yapılmıyormuş ki, diyor. Dolayısıyla irade dışında bir miras bırakma. Özel bir çaba değil belki de. Bir işçi yaşadığı her şeyi bir bütün olarak anlatıyor. Biz eskiden yemekle ilgili bir problem çıktığında böyle yapıyorduk. Bugün yemek çok kötü, bugün niye yapmıyoruz. Dolayısıyla yapmadığında yadırgıyor (İbrahim, 51 yaş).

demonstrate that majority of the workers are in the opinion that in Turkey unions are unable to protect workers' right. For instance in Urhan's and Selamoğlu's (2008) research carried out in Kocaeli only the 8.9% of the workers think that unions are able to protect workers' right in Turkey. This figure increases in Uçkan's and Kağnıcıoğlu's (2009) research which was carried out in Eskişehir. In their research, 26.5% of the unionized workers think that in Turkey unions are able to protect workers right. All of these research's findings including mine demonstrated that workers do not believe in unions in Turkey.

The most important reason for this attitude among workers towards trade unions in Turkey is the unions' inability to protect and develop the workers' rights and their 'bureaucratic' structures. In some of the unions even the shop stewards are appointed from the head office. The professional union organizers break off their relations with the realities of working life and their relations with their members become weakened. In this regard, a young worker expresses his opinions about union bureaucracy as follows;

I think in Turkey and the rest of the world, trade union movements have retreated. The inner workings of the unions should be questioned. Their rules should be reviewed. Their delegated elections and structure. Although it is not like that in our union, many union representatives are determined by appointment. How are you going to fight such unions? I think these are 'yellow unions', so to speak. Why is this happening like that? In the unions there is a great amount of undeserved income. I think the salaries and lifestyles of the professionals should be questioned. The professional trade unionists have forgotten under what conditions I am working. Then they come to collective bargaining and afterwards speak like an employer, saying, "The situation of the world is already evident-it's a global world" (Ali, 34 years old).¹²⁶

Another worker expresses his ideas about bureaucratization around the issue of the union leaders, who have been presidents for a long time.

¹²⁶ Bence Türkiye'de ve dünyada sendikal hareket geriye gidiyor. Bence sendikaların iç işleyişleri sorgulanmalıdır. Tüzükleri yeniden gözden geçirilmelidir. Delege seçimleri ve yapısı. Bizim sendikada olmasa bile birçok sendikada temsilciler bile atamayla belirleniyor. Böyle sendikalarla nasıl mücadele edeceksin ki. Bunlar tabiri caizse sarı sendika bence. Bu neden böyle oluyor. Müthiş bir rant var sendikalarda. Oradaki profesyonellerin ücretleri, yaşamları bence sorgulanmalı. Profesyonel sendikacı benim ne koşullarda çalıştığımı unutmuş. Sonra geliyorlar toplu sözleşme sonraları, onlarda işveren ağzıyla, zaten dünyanın hali belli, global bir dünya gibi laflar ediyorlar (Ali, 34 yaş).

Today look at associations and unions. There are those who have been heads for 40 years. He has been a head for 40 years. They asked the man, “What is your job?” The man answered, “I am a trade union president”. They get this as an occupation for 40 years. But the people are afraid of to say that ‘the emperor has no clothes’. They prevent anyone from speaking (Zeki, 38 years old).¹²⁷

Workers mostly consider that bureaucratic unions become alienated regarding their members’ class interests. Thus, most of the workers do not consider that unions could achieve to protect and enhance their members’ economic, social and political rights in Turkey. The narratives of two worker demonstrate the impacts of negative influence of neo-liberal policies on trade unions. While neo-liberal policies have weakened the influence of unions they also has led alienation among the workers against unions.

However, workers’ consideration about their own unions is much more positive comparing with the unions in Turkey. For instance, in Urhan’s and Selamoğlu’s (2008) research, 17.7% of the workers consider that their unions can protect their rights. In this research workers have much more positive attitudes towards their union. 67.9% of the workers agreed on the idea that Petrol-İs is able protect and develop workers right. Comparing with Urhan’s and Selamoğlu’s (2008) research the workers in this research more believe in their own unions.

I think the motives behind the positive attitudes among the workers in my research is based on two reason. The contentious tradition of Petrol-İs and the effective union democracy. A worker, who thinks that Petrol-İs is a democratic union speaks as follows;

I think Petrol-İs is superior to other unions. It is sensitive to every issue. But in other unions, everyone is busy protecting his own seat. For example Turk-İs presidents have all gone into politics (Mehmet, 39 years old).¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Bugün odalara, derneklere, sendikalara bakın. 40 yıldır başkan olanlar var. Kırk yıldır değişmemiş adam. Adama soruyorlar senin mesleğin ne? Adam ben odalar birliği başkanım diyor ya da sendika başkanım diyor. 40 yıl bu adamlar meslek edinmişler. Ama insanlar kral çıplak demekten korkuyorlar. Diyenlerinde bir yerlere gelmesini engelliyorlar (Zeki, 38 yaş).

¹²⁸ Petrol-İş’i diğer sendikalardan üstün görüyorum. Her konuda duyarlı. Ama diğer sendikalarda herkes kendi koltuğunu koruma peşinde. Mesela Türk-İş başkanları her biri siyasete atıldı (Mehmet, 39 yaş).

Petrol-İs has a more positive image, especially among the workers, who worked in some other SOEs before starting to work in Petkim.

The union has to resist until the end. It has to struggle. It was not like that in (his previous workplace). The union is a community against the employer. If you are alone, the employer can do whatever he wants. But the union does not allow this. For example, I am working as a plumber. But if the employer orders me to work in AP (the name of one unit in Petkim), after this, what can I do if I am alone? But the union has to tell them they cannot send this worker there. The union protects my rights. Petrol-İs is more democratic compared to other unions. It struggles a bit harder. There are lots of differences when compared with my previous union. That union was at the bottom. This one is near the top. Real unionism in Turkey is found with DİSK, TES-İs and Petrol-İs. The other unions do not protect their members' rights. They only work for their own interests. The unions take dues from their members, but instead of protecting their rights, they always think what advantages they can gain for themselves (Hakan, 42 years old).¹²⁹

Above quotation implies that union democracy in Petrol-İs is well-functioning.¹³⁰ Demirdizen and Lordođlu (2013) defined trade union democracy as; voting of union members in elections and decision-making process and the ability of union members to change the managers when necessary. Almost every worker mobilizes around the branch elections, which will be made in December, while the field research of this dissertation was carried out. They were preparing to elections in such a democratic environment that I could not imagine that this can be done in any other unions in Turkey. Even the branch management, who are working together more than three years enters to these elections with a few candidates. Each group organizes their meeting in branch office and in the factory. In this process, as far as I could observe, even a slightest tension did not occur between the groups. However, I do not have a

¹²⁹ Haklı olduđu her konuda sonuna kadar direnecek. M¼cadele edecek. (*Önceki işyeri*) öyle değildi. Sendika işveren karşısında bir topluluk. İşveren bireysel olarak sana istediğini yapabilirler. Ama sendika buna müsaade etmez. Mesela ben tesisatta çalışıyorum. İşveren bana sen AP'ye (*Petkim'de bir ünitenin adı*) git dese, gitçem, benim etim ne budum ne, ama sendika hop bu adamın işi bu sen bunu buraya nasıl gönderiyorsun demeli. Benim hakkımı arayabilmeli. Buradaki sendika, diğer sendikalara göre biraz daha demokrat. Biraz daha mücadeleci. Bizim Seydişehir'deki sendikayla kıyaslarsam arada şu kadar fark var. O sendikannın dibiydi. Buda hemen hemen üstü. Türkiye'de zaten sendikacılık DİSK, TES-İş ve Petrol-İş. Diğerleri işleri hep kendi taraflarına yontma gayretindedeler. Sendika işçiden aidatını alıyor, onunla besleniyor ama işçinin hakkını aramaktan çok kendisine nasıl bir avantaj sağlarımın peşine düşmüş (Hakan, 42 yaş).

¹³⁰ However I have to mentioned here that the worker use the term 'democrat' very close to the 'contentious' rather than the real meaning of the term.

chance to participate to these meetings. This democratic process is preventing workers from alienation to their unions and provide the establishment of strong ties with unions and their members. However, I limited this experience to Aliaga because I do not have adequate information about other branches of Petrol-Is.

In the interviews workers stated that they can easily reach shop stewards, union officers and branch president whenever they want. My observation in the field also supports this discourse. The branch office of the union which is located at Aliaga at the same time is using as a local belongs to union. This local is an important place where workers spend time with the union shop stewards and other union leaders. I think such relations between union officers and workers in everyday life can be interpreted as an indication of union democracy. Besides, this kind of relation in everyday life also provides the reproduction of the union democracy.

The strong union democracy and contentious tradition has arises the positive attitudes among the workers towards their unions. I have to mention here that the confidence towards their own union is lower among younger workers and workers who have been working in Petkim after privatization. According to the Table 8.18, while 75% of the 44-53 years old and 75% 34-43 years older workers think that Petrol-Is can protect and develop their rights, this rate decreases to 58.5% among the 23-33 years old workers. Besides, according to the Table 8.19, 76.2% of the workers who have been working before privatization, and 56.4% of the workers, who have been working after privatization think that Petrol-Is can protect their rights.

Table 8.17. Cohort Analysis of Confidence to Union

Cohorts	My union protect and develop workers right.						p	
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL		
23-33	Count	18	61	44	10	2	135	.003
	Expected Count	31.7	60	30.4	9.9	3	135	
	%	13.3	45.2	32.6	7.4	1.5	100	
34-43	Count	18	21	7	5	1	52	
	Expected Count	12.2	23.1	11.7	3.8	1.2	52	
	%	34.6	40.4	13.5	9.6	1.9	100	
44-53	Count	38	58	20	8	4	128	
	Expected Count	30.1	56.9	28.9	9.3	2.8	128	
	%	29.7	45.3	15.6	6.2	3.1	100	

Table 8.18. Date of Hire and Confidence to Union

Date of Hire		My union protect and develop workers right.						p
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	TOTAL	
1982	Count	54	84	26	11	6	181	.000
2007	Expected Count	42.7	80.1	40.9	13.3	4	181	
	%	29.8	46.4	14.4	6.1	3.3	100	
2008	Count	20	55	45	12	1	133	
2013	Expected Count	31.3	58.9	30.1	9.7	3	133	
	%	15	41.4	33.8	9	0.8	100	

The most important reason behind the displeasure of young workers against their union is the inability of the union to find drastic solution against the unfair wage policy applied to workers, who have been employed after 2006. During the interviews the most important issue that most of the young workers expressed was the injustice of this wage gap. This gap was reduced up to 20% difference in the collective agreement which was signed in 2011. The expectations of the workers is the removal of this wage gap completely in 2013 collective bargaining. However, it was not achieved in collective agreement. For this reason young workers have some complaints against the union officers.

However, displeasure of young workers cannot be explained only due to economic reasons, because young workers are also displeased with the process of signing the collective agreement. They mostly complained about that union leaders did not inform them regarding the bargaining process. They suggested that union leaders behave as bureaucratic leaders that they mostly criticize. A young worker indicates this as follows;

Not only me, but everyone has absolute musts. For example, the differences in wages (referring to the salary differences between ‘new’ and ‘old’ workers), the technical teachers. There are lots of administrative things. It was a strange form of agreement (referring to the 2013 collective bargaining), touching none of these issues. The next day (after the signing of the collective agreement), we gathered in the dining hall. The General Secretary came in. He made a statement. We told him, “You could have gathered people earlier, as you are doing now”. To contact everyone in Petkim takes a maximum of half an hour. I choose the representative. They have to listen to me. But what happened? It’s like the classical way things are carried out in Turkey. They said it. We were forced to accept. Our anger, our rebuke is about this. We are the same people who struggled with the last collective agreement (the 2011 agreement). Even the people who liked it the least were grateful. But now!

Are they forced to inform us? Perhaps it is easy for me to say this because I am not a unionist. But as a member, there are some things I need to know (Ali, 34 years old).¹³¹

I do not think that we can explain this demand only by economic reasons. I think it is much more convenient to interpret this as a demand of ‘*self-esteem*’ and ‘*dignity*’ of young workers. Although they are doing the same jobs, the wage gaps cause the development of sense of injustice among the younger workers.

This wage policy is the most important attempts of employer to divide the workers. As Lebowitz (2003: 184) argued “capital power rests in large part upon its continued ability to divide and separate workers –its ability to put workers into competition with each other, to turn difference into antagonism. Accordingly, an essential part of class struggle by workers involves the efforts to combine and to reduce the degree of separation among them.” Trade unions should have to struggle against such attempts of employers in order to develop cultures of solidarity among their members.

During the interviews I have identified two different views among the workers about the relations between unions and macro politics. According to the first view, unions have to deal only with workplace issues and the rights and interests of their members. However in the second view, workers argue that, unions do not limit themselves to workplace issues on the contrary they should involve and have to encourage to participate their members in every issue in social life.

The workers, who think that unions should not be interested in political issues apart from their member’s rights also feel uncomfortable about political leanings of union leadership. These laborers, who are mostly ‘right-wing’ are critical against the activities of ‘left-wing’ union administration.

¹³¹ Benim değil herkesin olmazsa olmazları var. Örneğin, teknik öğretmenler, ücret farkları (eski ve yeni işçiler arasındaki ücret farklarına gönderme yapıyor). Birçok idari şeyler var... Bu konuların hiçbirine dokunmadan garip bir imzalama (2013 toplu sözleşmesine gönderme). Ertesi gün (topluların imzalanmasından sonraki gün) yemekhanede toplandık. Genel Sekreter geldi. Bir açıklama yaptı. Ona ‘şimdi yaptığımız gibi daha önce de insanları toplayabilirdiniz’ dedik. Petkim’de iletişim sağlamak yarım saat. Yöneticileri ben seçiyorum. Beni dinlemek zorundalar. Ama ne oldu? Türkiye’deki klasik uygulamalara benzedi. Onlar söyledi. Biz kabul etmek zorunda kaldık. Bizim kızgınlığımız, sitemimiz buna. Biz 2011 toplu sözleşmesinde mücadele eden aynı insanlarız. En sevmeyen insanlar bile teşekkür ettiler. Ama şimdi! Bize bilgi vermek zorundalar mı? Sendikacı olmadığım için bunu söylemek bana kolay geliyor. Ama bir üye olarak, bazı şeyleri bilmek zorundayım (Ali, 34 yaş).

In my opinion, unions should defend their members' rights only. They should not engage in politics. Our head was in the front ranks at the Gezi Park Actions meetings held in Aliğa. Is the aim of the union to overthrow the government? We have recently seen our head in a meeting attended by BDP parliamentarians. There are videos everywhere. You can see it. I do not say he should not participate. He can participate privately, but not as a union leader. It does not concern me. Here, the union is in the hands of the 'leftists'. We have recently demanded a mosque from the union. They pay no attention. You are a huge union. You take three-quarters of my daily wage. Is it so hard to give an 'iftar' (fast-breaking meal) in Ramadan? Why don't you do that? Because it is against their political views. That's why I am angry (Serdar, 28 years old).¹³²

Some workers have criticized 'left-wing' union leaders for their usage of union accordance with their political aims. They express that this political orientation undermines their union's defending of their member's right;

My expectation from unions is that they should defend the rights of workers and civil servants. But I see here that everyone uses unions for his political activities. Here the union is always directed by leftists. They use it for their own purposes. I think they should not interfere in politics. For example, look at the civil servants union. They are all divided due to politics. I do not think that any of them are interested in the rights of the civil servants. All of them are in pursuit of their own interests (Yavuz, 34 years old).¹³³

A worker, who does not criticize the politics of Petrol-Is also thinks that unions should stay away from politics. However, by politics he refers to the parties in the political life of Turkey.

When politics enters into the union, people are separated from each other. Now, here are nationalists, rightists, and religious people, those who vote AKP or CHP. For this reason, I am against politics in the unions. You can do

¹³² Bence sendikalar üyelerinin haklarını savunmalılar sadece. Siyasete bulaşmamalıdır. Bizim başkanımız Gezi Parkı Eylemleri'nde Aliğa'da yapılan toplantılarda en öndeydi. Sendikalar hükümeti devirmek için mi varlar? Geçenlerde BDP Milletvekillerinin katıldığı bir toplantıda gördük bizim başkanı. Her yerde videoları var. Ben demiyorum ki katılmasın. Ama sendika başkanı olarak değil, kişisel katılsın. O beni ilgilendirmez. Sendika solcuların elinde burada. Geçenlerde bir mescit istedik sendikadan. Hiç orali olmadılar. Koskocaman sendikasının. Benim yevmiyemin 4/3'ünü alıyorsun. Ramazanda bir iftar vermek çok mu zor? Niye yapmıyorlar bunu, çünkü siyasi görüşlerine ters. İşte ben bunlara kızıyorum (Serdar, 28 yaş).

¹³³ Benim sendikadan beklentilerim, işçinin memurun haklarını savunmaları. Ama ben burada şunu gördüm; herkes sendikayı kendi siyasi faaliyetleri için kullanıyor. Burada da hep solcular yönetmiş sendikayı. Hep kendi çıkarlarına kullanılmış... Siyasetle ilgilenmez bence sendikalar. Mesela bak memur sendikalarına hepsi siyaset yüzünden bölünmüş, hiçbirinin memurların haklarıyla ilgilendiği yok bence. Hepsi kendi çıkarının peşinde (Yavuz, 34 yaş).

whatever you like in private. The unionists should stand at an equal distance from all kinds of people (Sedat, 38 years old).¹³⁴

As the quotations above demonstrate that especially the ‘right-wing’ workers are uncomfortable with the ‘left-wing’ leader’s practices. However some workers concern has to be considered with the upcoming union elections. As I mentioned earlier, the existing branch management enters into the union elections with two different candidates. Thus a separation among the workers have occurred about the elections. Sedat thinks that such a split would weaken the union against the employer.

The attitudes among some workers that unions should not deal with politics is very associated with the general tendency in Turkish unionism. After the 12 September military coup every political actions of unions prohibited by Union Law and unions deal only with their members economic interests.¹³⁵ Thus, unions do not able to explain their members that workers interests –economic, social and political- are associated with the general political tendency in Turkey (Uçkan, 2009). However, political parties in Turkey always try to dominate unions. The most important reason of political parties’ interference to unions is the lack of strong union tradition in Turkey (Lordođlu, 2003).

Contrary to these arguments, workers who evaluate unionist activities in a wider perspective argued that unions should involve issues outside the workplace. According to this view, unions are political even they do not declare this;

The union itself is political. Because you are struggling for labor, for bread. Because you are involved in the struggle for bread, you are a part. Because you are a partisan, you are political. For example, the union should be on the side of the truth in the Gezi Park incidents (Mehmet, 39 years old).¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Sendikalara siyaset girerse insanlar birbirinden ayrılır. Burda, milliyetçiler, sağcılar, dinciler, AKP’ye CHP’ye oy verenler var. Bu yüzden sendikalarda siyasete karşıyım. Kişisel olarak her şeyi yapabilirsiniz. Sendikacılar her türlü insana eşit mesafede olmalılar (Sedat, 38 yaş).

¹³⁵ However it has to be mentioned that unions are not able to protect their members’ economic interests as well as their social and political interests.

¹³⁶ Sendikanın kendisi politiktir. Emegın olduđu yerde zaten politika olur. Çünkü emek mücadelesi veriyorsun, ekmeđinin mücadelesini veriyorsun. Ekmeđinin mücadelesini verdiđin için tarafsın. Taraf olduđun içinde politiksın. Gezi Parkı eylemlerinde mesela, sendika gerçeđin yanında taraf olmalı (Mehmet, 39 yaş).

Even some workers argued that Petrol-İs were more interested in political issues in the past but now it abstains from involving to political issues. According to a worker the most important reason behind of this withdrawal is the changes that has occurred in the structure of the union members;

Unionism does not stop at workplace issues only. You must also get involved in outside life. I am living and my life continues. Some people accuse unionist of being political. They have asked why unionists don't just defend workers' rights and not get involved in politics. I do not think that it is right. Petrol-İs Aliğa Branch has already been involved in all kinds of political events. Aliğa was also involved in the Gezi Park demonstrations. It is the tradition of Petrol-İs. There is a Democracy Platform in Aliğa. Petrol-İs is in line with decisions taken in the platform. The participation in actions was greater in the past. But after 2006 and privatization, I think the people they hired were different. They look at life from a different perspective. Some of them are scared. In reality, being afraid is quite normal. But if the headquarters (referring to the union) supports you, you get strength from it. The stronger your organization, the more you have confidence in yourself (Vedat, 47 years old).¹³⁷

Vedat's argument is expressed by most of the union officers during the interviews. They said that "no longer we have old members. How can you held a social action with such a member profile?" I consider that this argument is true to in a certain extent. However, these kind of narratives might be seen as the defensive responses of union leaders. As Vedat mentioned in his speech, the fear of workers can be considered as "normal". This fear can transcend only by collective identity which can be developed through collective action.

However this collective identity should not be limited only with the members. That is to say, unions have to struggle for their member's rights as well as for the other groups in society (Çelik, 2010: 43). The gain and loss of workers in any of a

¹³⁷ Sendikacılık sadece işyerinin sorunları ve işyeriyle bitmiyor. Dışarıda da hayata müdahil olmak zorundasın. Ben yaşıyorum, hayatım devam ediyor. Bazı insanlar sendikacıları siyaset yaptığı için eleştiriyor. 'Neden sendikalar sadece üyelerinin hakları ile ilgilenmiyor siyaset yapıyor' diyorlar. Bunun doğru olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Petrol-İş Aliğa Şubesi her türlü siyasi olaya müdahil olur zaten. İşte Gezi Parkı eylemlerinde Aliğa'da yine müdahildi. Petrol-İş'in geleneğinde de bu var. Aliğa'da Demokrasi platformu var. O platformda alınan kararların hepsine Petrol-İş uyuyor. Eskiden çalışan sayısı fazlaydı, katılım çok oluyordu. Ama 2006'dan ve özelleştirmeden sonra işe alınan kişilerin de değiştiğini düşünüyorum. Hayata çok farklı bir pencereden bakıyor onlar. Bazısı korkuyor. Korkması aslında son derece doğal. Ama örgütün genel merkezi sizin yaptıklarınızı desteklerse siz ondan güç alırsınız. Örgütünüz ne kadar güçlüyse, o denli kendinize güveniniz olur (Vedat, 47 yaş).

workplace has affected the other workers in local and global dimension. It is possible to catch the awareness of this situation in a workers expression;

In my opinion, unions exist to improve the rights of workers. But not only their own members. Who are the worker? Workers are people. In reality, you organize around an issue of public concern. You are not only an organization of 2000 workers here. The union represents my interest, my future. For this reason, I think, unions should be involved in every kind of social process. For example, in Europe, people are members of associations and non-governmental organizations. We do not have this kind of practice. If you are organized, you defend your rights much better. But here, we made a few facile actions for Gezi Park (Önder, 33 years old).¹³⁸

8.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, firstly I examine the impacts of anti-privatization struggles on class consciousness of workers. In the most general sense, I can argue that workers become aware of their class interests by means of these collective actions.

Secondly, I examine worker's attitude regarding privatization. As I mentioned earlier, privatization is the most concrete assault of neo-liberal policies against working class and whole society. While privatization means precarity and featurelessness for workers, it also means the colonization of life word by market for whole society.

Most of the workers associated privatization with unemployment and uncertainty. Especially, older workers are more clearly oppose to privatization. This may have two reasons. First, the older workers have been employed for a long time at State so they are experienced working in a State owned enterprise and they have a chance to evaluate the current conditions via their past experiences. Second, the attitudes of older workers regarding privatization have developed around the struggles against privatization. These struggles, provide them to grasp the negative consequences of privatization.

¹³⁸ Bence sendikalar işçinin haklarını geliştirmek için var. Ama sadece kendi üyelerinin değil. İşçi kim? İşçi halk. Bütün toplumu ilgilendiren bir konuda örgütlenmişsin sen aslında. Sadece buradaki 2000 kişinin örgütü değilsin... Benim çıkarımı, geleceğimi temsil ediyor sendika. Bu yüzden her türlü toplumsal süreç müdahil olmalıdır diye düşünüyorum. Avrupa'da mesela insanlar bir çok derneğe, sivil toplum kuruluşuna üyeler. Bizde böyle bir süreç yok. Örgütlü olursan haklarını daha iyi savunuyorsun. Fakat burda, Gezi Parkı için birkaç göstermelik eylem yaptık (Önder, 33 yaş).

In the interviews, I identify three different point of view regarding privatization. According to the first opinion, few in numbers, some of the workers think that privatization have positive consequences for workers as well as society. These are mostly young workers and are influenced by neo-liberal discourse of governments. On the other hand, a group of workers are against privatization through nationalist and some anti-imperialist discourse. Finally, some workers especially shop stewards, union officers and workers who have participated to union education program are against privatization through class-based discourse.

It has to be mentioned that second and third consideration of workers regarding privatization sometimes very close to each other. In some societies, factors such as nationalism and religion have important influences on the formation of working class consciousness. However, it should not be ignored that in some cases nationalist and religious thought soften the class contradictions (Çoşkun, 2013). In this regard, Ozugurlu's (2005) research demonstrate that employers sometimes help the organization of nationalist workers in the factory in order to weaken the unionization attempts of workers. Most of the time, organization of nationalist unions supported in Turkey. For instance, while Turk-Metal had have 60.000 member in 1979 before the military coup, it has reached 200.000 member in 1987 by the influences of military coup (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). In Turkey, governments has supported nationalist unionist in order to prevent the development of leftist and revolutionary unions.

Thirdly, I explore the formation of class consciousness through class identity to an alternative social order of workers. Very few workers identify themselves as worker/laborer and they have a pejorative perception about being worker. Due to this negative perception of being a worker, important portion of worker do not want their children to be worker in the future. I also identified in this part that privatization experience undermines 'self-respect' and 'dignity' among the workers. In this part I also identified that oppositional class consciousness is quite high among the workers. Almost every worker think that the existing social order consists lots of injustice practices. However they do not conceive the reason of this injustice through its structural relations. Also workers are aware of the fact that working class interests are common in Turkey and worldwide. However they are more inclined to define

working class interest in national level. However this class oppositional consciousness do not in relation with class totality. In this chapter, I also explore the workers sense of an alternative social order. Most of the workers wants to live in a more egalitarian society. However their willingness most of the time do not refer to a socialist world order.

This chapter also explore the workers attitudes regarding unionization and collective action experiences. Workers mostly agreed on the idea that they have to be organized in order to protect their economic, social and political rights. Also I asserted that workers do not believe in unions in Turkey especially because of their anti-democratic structures. Yet, their conception of Petrol-Is differs from their perception of unions in Turkey.

Participation to collective actions has increased the class consciousness of workers. Most of the workers are eager to participate in any kind of collective actions. However, older workers are more inclined to participate collective actions comparing with young workers.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The dissertation analyzed the impacts of struggles against privatization on the formation of working class consciousness in Turkey. The workers who are working at Petkim in Aliğa was chosen as a sample group, because they had struggled against privatization from the beginning of 2000s to 2008. In this study, I conceptualize working class consciousness as a process through class identity, class opposition, class totality and a sense of alternative social order. However, this does not mean that there is a linear relation between the different phases of class consciousness. Working class consciousness most of the time is formed with interlocking of different phases and it is ‘ambivalent’ and ‘uncertain’ most of the time (Marshall, 1983). Thus, it should be kept in mind that these are analytical distinction and in real life they are mostly intertwined each other.

The most significant outcome of this study is that class consciousness of workers, who were hired before privatization and participated to those collective actions against privatization, was more obvious than comparing with that of workers who were hired after privatization. Thus, most of the time workers become aware of their class interests and class identity by means of such collective actions. According to Biazar, critical praxis occurs when people participate to collective actions to change existing social relationships. This may occur in a political party, in a union or in a collective action (cited in Türkmen, 2012). In this study I observed that anti-privatization struggles plays a vital role in the development of critical consciousness among the workers. This critical awareness not only aimed at existing social inequalities but also their own histories, their own conceptions of class relations and sense of class solidarity.

Privatization is often discussed regarding its macro impacts to economy. In this study, I have witnessed how these macro policies change the lives of ordinary

people. Some of the participants experienced privatization before Petkim. Those workers had to work in precarious employment conditions and sometimes become unemployed. Besides, some of the workers during the privatization of Petkim was compelled to 4/C status. Such practices has engendered the changing of their life without their own will. Hence, it can be suggested that privatizations have negative impressions on the formation of these workers' class identity. Although their relatively high wages and job security, being a worker do not have positive connotations for most of the workers regarding their past experiences.

However, negative connotation of being a worker does not prevent the development of oppositional consciousness among the workers. By means of collective actions against privatization workers realize the fact that their class interests are different from employers. Workers are well aware of the fact that the main aim of privatization is to make more profit and they also recognize that this can only be achieved by cheaper labor. This awareness developed especially during the privatization. Because they notice that their numbers decreasing continuously and new workers did not hire in place of retired workers.

Besides, I argue that everyday life practices of workers also increase the oppositional consciousness. They are mostly living in the public housings or in Aliğa very close neighborhoods. The workmates are also have close relations outside of work. Thus the grievances, injustice practices of the employer most of the time are the main topics of conversations of daily life. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the construction of public housings in a hierarchical way also contributes to the unfolding of oppositional consciousness.

Struggles in the labor process has also important impacts on oppositional consciousness. I observed that the suggestion system which employer was trying to implement within the framework of total quality management had met with great resistance of the workers. Against the enforcement of employee, workers demonstrated a strong solidarity.

Another outcome of the research is that the sense of injustice which is an important indicator of class consciousness is also quite high among the workers. Significant

portion of the workers do not consider that the main reason of poverty arises from individual inabilities. It should be mentioned here that the association of high sense of injustice with anti-privatization struggles will not be so realistic. However, I observed that those workers who participated to collective actions against privatization were more incline to conceive social inequalities in frame of structured social relations.

Following Lockwood (1966) typology I argued that we are facing with ‘traditional proletarians’, who are mostly conceived the social structure of existing social order through in terms of power relations. Despite high oppositional consciousness and high sense of injustice, it is hard to suggest that there is a strong relation between these two and class totality.

Besides, it is hard to argue also that workers have a high sense of alternative social order. Even though high sense of injustice bring together a desire for a more egalitarian society, this desire do not reach the idea that in order to establish a more egalitarian society they have to change the existing social order with a new one. Hence, following Gramsci’s (1971) tripartite distinction, I argue that these workers have failed to establish themselves as a hegemonic class in which a class become intellectual and a moral leadership of a given society. Nevertheless, I consider that they transcend their economic-corporate (professional group consciousness) interests and reached in the consciousness that they have to establish solidarity among members of working class.

This study also reveals out that workers have high organizational consciousness. That is to say, significant portion of workers consider that workers have to be organized and struggle in order to gain their rights. I think the most important reason behind high level of organizational awareness arises from the existence of contentious trade unionism tradition. Important portion of workers are pleased with their union’s activities. They mostly consider that Petrol-Is is struggling to enhance their economic and social rights. In this regard, I can argue that collective actions against privatization has important impacts on the high sense of organizational consciousness. Unlike other unions Petrol-Is has carried out a very tenacious struggle against privatization. Despite the fact that workers lost their struggle against

privatization, they were so aware that if they do not struggle, they would much more influence negatively from privatization.

One of the other outcomes of this study, is the positive impact of union education program on the formation of working class consciousness. Those workers who have participated to union education programs are more incline to analyze social events in class terms. Thus, being a member of a union do not guarantees a class consciousness worker, political preferences and the content of education program also have important influences on the formation of class consciousness.

Another important fact that I observed is the high willingness of workers to participate collective actions. This may have several reasons. Firstly, due to high level of job security turnover rates is quite low in Petkim. Quite a few workers have been working in Petkim since the beginnings of 1980s. Hence, collective action experience could be transferred to younger workers. Besides, as far as I observed any worker was fired due these collective actions neither factory belongs to the state nor after privatization. Therefore, I can argue that high job security increases workers' participation to collective actions. Furthermore, workers' confidence to their unions also enhance the participation of workers to collective actions. In this regard it is important to emphasize that for most of the workers these collective actions were their first experience. Besides, very few workers have unionization experience before Petkim. In this sense, for most of the workers Petrol-Is function as a 'school'.

I also can be argued that these collective actions contributed to the development of class solidarity. They are well aware of the fact that governments' achievements regarding privatization arises from lack of solidarity among unions. This awareness acquired during the privatization struggles enabled the development of critical attitudes against trade union movement in Turkey.

Although most of the young workers did not participate to privatization struggles because they were mostly hired after privatization, collective actions during the 2011 collective bargaining have important impacts on young workers consciousness. It is the first time that old and young workers organized influential actions against employer and got some concessions. Although this struggle was carried out around

economic demands, it has provided the development of collective identity and solidarity among the workers. Marx, refers to the importance of such struggles as follows;

I am convinced' that 'the continual conflicts between masters and men...are...the indispensable means of holding up the spirit of the laboring classes...and of preventing them from becoming apathetic, thoughtless, more or less well-fed instruments of production.' Indeed, without strikes and constant struggle, the working classes 'would be a heart-broken, a weak-minded, a worn-out, unresisting mass'. His position was the same in 1865 when responding to Citizen Weston's argument against the effectiveness of the wage struggle. Should workers renounce the struggle against capital's tendency to lower wages? 'If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation.' Workers who gave way in daily struggles 'would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement" (cited in Lebowitz, 2003: 182-183).

Most of the time workers are participating to these collective actions by the encouragement of some workmates. Therefore, I can suggest that confidence amongst the workers play a crucial role in the participation to collective actions.

For most of the workers wage is the only source of income. In this sense, I can suggest that due to workers' weak rural ties we are facing with a "modern working class". I also observed that township and kinship relations are also quite weak among the workers. These kind of relations were only high among the workers who are townsman of CEO. These workers are mostly young and hired after privatization. I observed that these workers mostly spend their free times in their fellow countrymen association. However, it is hardly possible to suggest that these workers constitute a homogenous unity. Because, among these workers whose working experience in Petkim is older have close relations with other workers. In the scope of this study, it can be suggested that lack of such solidarity networks provides the increasing of class solidarity among the workers.

Final Sentence

This study focuses the impacts of privatization on class consciousness. It should be noted that there are really significant differences between older workers who participated to privatization struggles and the younger workers who were mostly hired after privatization. However, collective actions which was carried out in 2011

collective bargaining process has an important place in the narratives of young workers. Hence I can say that studying on class consciousness through collective actions provides researchers to reach a more comprehensive data. This study was carried out approximately six years after the privatization of the enterprise. Anyhow, it is possible to identify the impacts of these struggles on workers.

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APPENDIX A

Some Collective Actions of Petrol-Is

Date	Aim of Action	Social Action Repertoires
23.07.2014	Against subcontracting	Work Stoppage (1 Hour)
15.07.2014	Protesting Sūtaş anti-unionization policy	Marching
16.05.2014	Protesting Soma	Work Stoppage (1 Day)
12.05.2014	Protesting firing contracted workers working in municipality of Aliğa	Press Statement
11.04.2014	Solidarity with Greif workers	Press Statement
12.01.2014	Solidarity with Standart Profil workers who are struggling to unionization	Solidarity Night Activity
29.12.2013	Protesting privatization of Yatagan thermal power plant	Meeting
05.05.2012	Solidarity with the workers fired from Billur Tuz Company	Solidary visit
19.04.2012	Protesting Thermal Power which will be established in Aliğa	Meeting
17.04.2012	Solidarity with 'Savranoglu' workers fired due to unionization	Press statement
12.03.2012	Protesting Thermal Power which will be established in Aliğa	Meeting
11.01.2012	Protesting Thermal Power which will be established in Aliğa	Press statement
22.12.2012	Solidarity with KESK strike	Solidary
22.11.2011	Some problems in workplace	Starting job late (1 Hour)
28.10.2011	Some problems in workplace	Work stoppage (1 hour)
06.06.2011	Collective Bargaining	Work stoppage (2 hour)
12.01.2011	Against bag bill (<i>torba yasa</i>)	Press Statement
02.02.2010	Remembrance activity of Sivas massacre	Remembrance night
15.06.2010	Remembrance 15-16 June worker resistance	Remembrance night
04.02.2010	Solidarity with TEKEL workers	Work Stoppage (1 Day)
15.01.2010	Solidarity with TEKEL workers	Work Stoppage (1 Hour)
24.08.2009	Solidarity with Kent A.Ş. workers	Solidarity visit
04.05.2009	Collective bargaining	Starting Work late (1 hour)
28.04.2009	Collective bargaining	Starting Work late (1 hour)
06.11.2008	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting work late (1 hour)

29.07.2008	For new recruitments in Petkim	Marching/Press Statement
03.06.2008	Remembrance activity of Nazım Hikmet famous poet of Turkey	Remembrance Day
28.05.2008	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting Work late (1 hour)
27.03.2008	Against Privatization of Petkim	Starting Work Late (1 hour)
04.03.2008	Against Privatization Petkim	Starting Work Late (1 hour)
22.02.2008	Solidarity with YÖRSAN workers fired due to unionization	Solidarity visit
14.12.2007	Solidarity with YÖRSAN workers fired due to unionization	Solidarity visit
01.12.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Marching/Press Statement
23.11.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting work late (1 hour) / Press statement (in front of the factory gate)
12.11.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting work late/Press Statement (in front of the factory gate)
03.11.2007	Solidarity with Telekom workers' strike	Solidarity meeting
16.11.2007	Solidarity with Turk Telekom workers' strike	Solidarity visit
28.09.2007	Collective bargaining	Marching
14.06.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Press Statement in İzmir
05.07.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Work stoppage / Press Statement (in front of the factory gate)
03.07.2007	Against privatization Petkim	Marching
02.07.2007	Collective bargaining	Marching
29.06.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Work Stoppage/press statement
11.05.2007	Solidarity with fired workers due to unionization in Esen Plastic	Solidarity visit
09.05.2007	Collective bargaining	Starting work late (1 hour) marching
19.04.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting work late (1 hour) marching
18.04.2007	Solidarity with fired workers due to unionization in Esen Plastic	Solidarity visit
03.04.2007	Against privatization of Petkim	Starting work late (1 hour)
18.11.2006	Solidarity with Dema Textile workers' unionization struggle	Solidarity visit
03.03.2006	Against privtization Petkim	Collectively faxing
17.02.2006	Anniversary of transferring the SSK hospitals to Ministry of Health	Press statement
26.01.2006	Against privatization of Tupaş	Starting work late

11.10.2005	Against privatization of Tupaş	Starting work late (2 hours)
12.09.2005	Against privatization of Tupaş	Work stoppage
08.09.2005	Against privatization ('Homeland Watch Tent')	Marching
02.09.2005	Against privatization of Tupaş	Solidarity visit to Tupaş
19.07.2005	Against privatization of Turk Telekom	Starting work late (1 hour)
25.05.2005	Against privatization of Seydisehir Alüminyum	Press statement
13.05.2005	Solidarity with the Tibet Factory workers' unionization struggle	Solidarity visit
05.04.2005	Against privatization Petkim	Foundation anniversary (the families also participated)
19.03.2005	Protesting the second year of USA Iraq occupation	Meeting in Istanbul (approximately 650 Petkim/Tupaş workers participated)
04.03.2005	Against privatization of SEKA	Not leaving the workplace
23.02.2005	Against privatization of Solidarity SEKA	Press statement
23.11.2004	Protesting the transfer of SSK hospitals to Ministry of Health	Press statement
10.06.2004	Against the privatization of Turk Telekom	Press statement
01.06.2004	Against privatization of Tupaş	Marching
10.02.2004	Against Privatization of Tupaş	Marching
07.06.2003	Against privatization	Meeting in (Izmit)
06.07.2003	Against privatization	Meeting in Ankara (in front of the Republic of Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury)
25.05.2003	Against privatization	Meeting (in Bursa)
19.04.2003	Against privatization	Meeting (in Aliğa)
03.05.2003	Against privatization	Meeting (in Kırkkale)

APPENDIX B

Case Summaries of the Participants

VEDAT

Vedat is 47 years old. He has been working in Petkim since the end of 1980s. His father was also a worker. He is living in public housing. He has participated to union education program.

ADNAN

Adnan is 48 years old. He came to Petkim after Yarımca Petkim had transferred to Tüpras in 2001. He was a union officer in the past. He was working actively for upcoming union elections. His father was also a worker. He has participated to union education program.

ALTAN

Altan is 28 years old. He is working in Star Refinery. His father is working as a civil servant in the municipality. He is graduate from vocational high school. He identified himself as a 'nationalist'. Petrol-Is, is his first union experience. He is one of the townsman of CEO. He do not participate to union education program.

EKREM

Ekrem is 34 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2009 after privatization. His father was a farmer. He is living in public housing. He do not participated to union education program.

HABİP

Habip is 51 years old. He has been working in Petkim since the beginning of the 1980s. He is a shop steward. His father was a farmer. He has participated to union education program.

SEDAT

Sedat is 38 years old. His previous workplace was privatized and he worked as 4/C staff in some other state offices. He has been working in Petkim since 2007. His father was a farmer. He is living in the public housing. He do not have participated to union education.

MEHMET

Mehmet is 39 years old. His previous workplace was privatized and he worked as 4/C staff in some other state offices. He has been working in Petkim since 2007. His father was also a worker and a union officer. He was so anxious during the interview. He did not want to call me even his previous workplace. He is living in the public housing. He has participated to union education program.

HAKAN

Hakan is 42 years old. His previous workplace was privatized. He has been working in Petkim since 2007. His father was a farmer. He is living in public housing. He do not have participated to union education program.

HİLMİ

He is 49 years old. After the privatization of Petkim he obliged to pass a public office in the status of 4/C. I contacted with him by the help of a worker. I hardly convinced him for an interview. He is so angry to union that they did not protect their rights. His father was a farmer. He is living in Aliğa.

CEVAT

Cevat is 47 years old. He came to Petkim after Yarımca Petkim had transferred to Tüpras in 2001. His perception of being a worker is most pejorative that I interviewed. He did not sign the 4/C staff contract and do not admit to pass another workplace. His father was a farmer. He is living in Aliğa. He do not have participated to union education program.

MAHSUN

He is 34 years old. He is graduate from vocational high school. He has been working in Petkim since 2006. His father is a civil servant. He has not have any union

experience before Petkim. He do not participate to union education program. He is living in public housing.

ERDEM

Erdem is 36 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2006 before privatization. His father was a worker. He is living in the public housing. He don not participate to union education program.

FIKRET

Fikret is 30 years old. He is graduate from Faculty of Technical Education. His father is self-employed and working as a contractor (*müteahhit*). Before Petkim he has worked with his father and some other private enterprises. In his previous jobs he mostly employed as a manager. He do not participate to union education program.

RIZA

Rıza is 34 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2006 before privatization. He is a shop steward. He has not any union experience before Petkim. His father is a worker. His wife is a teacher. He is living in the public housing. He has participated to union education program.

ÖNDER

Önder is 33 years old. His father was a teacher but he is retired now. He is graduate from Faculty of Technical Education. His wife is working as a civil servant. He has participated to union education program. He is living in Aliğa.

ALİ

Ali is 34 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2006. His father also is a worker. He had worked in small enterprises before Petkim. He has been living in public housing. He has participated to union education program.

MURAT

Murat is 34 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2009. His father was a worker and he is retired now. He has been living in public houses. He has not participated to union education program yet. But he wants.

ZEKI

He is 38 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2001. His father was a worker in abroad. After his persistence he can participate into union education program. Before Petkim he had worked in a big industrial company. However there were not an organized union. Petrol-Is is his first unionization experience. He is living in public housing.

HARUN

Harun is 56 years old. He is retired now. His father was also a worker. He is living in Aliğa.

SINAN

Sinan is 35 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2009 just after the privatization of the factory. His father is self-employed. He is living in public housing. His wife is a housewife. He is one of the townsman of CEO. He do not participate to union education program.

ILHAN

He is 35 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2008. His father is self-employed. He is living in public housing. He do not participate to union education program.

DOGAN

He is 51 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 1985. His father was a farmer. He is branch officer in union. He has participated to union education program. He is living in public housing.

ADIL

Adil is 47 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 1992. He is a shop steward. His father was a farmer. He has been living in Aliğa. He has participated to union education program.

FIKRI

Fikri is 48 years old. He came to Petkim after Yarımca Petkim had transferred to Tüpras in 2001. His father was also a worker. He do not participate to union education program. He is living in Aliğa.

KEMAL

Kemal is 29 years old. He has been working in Star Refinery since 2012. His father is self-employed. He is graduate from vocational high school. He has participated to union education program. He is one of the townsman of CEO.

KUBILAY

Kubilay is 55 years old. He is retired. His father was a farmer. He is living in Aliğa. He did not participate to union education program.

YILDIRIM

Yıldırım is 51 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 1992. His father was a farmer. He is living in public housing. He do not participate to union education program.

IBRAHİM

He is 52 years old. He is a union officer. He has been working in Petkim since 1985. His father was a farmer. He is living in public housing. He has participated to union education program.

SERDAR

Sedar is 28 years old. He has been working in Star Refinery since 2012. His father was self-employed. He is living in Aliğa. He do not participated to union education program. He is one of the townsman of CEO.

YAVUZ

Yavuz is 34 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 2006. He is graduate from vocational high school. His father is self-employed. He is living in public housing. He do not participate to union education program. He is married and his wife is working as a civil servant.

SAIT

He is 45 years old. He has been working in Petkim since the beginning of 1990s. His father was a farmer. He is living in public housing. He is married. His wife is a housewife. He do not participate to union education program.

ABDULLAH

He is 51 years old. He has been working in Petkim since 1985 before privatization. His father was a farmer. He is a branch officer in union. He is living in public housing. His wife is a house wife. He has participated to union education program.

OZGUR

He is 28 years old. He is graduated from vocational high school. He has been working in Petkin since 2012. He is living in Guesthouse (*Bekar Blokları*). His father is a teacher. He do not participate to union education program. He identified himself as a 'revolutionist'.

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire

Değerli Katılımcı;

Bu araştırmayı Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyoloji Bölümü'nde işçilerin kimlik oluşumları üzerine yürüttüğüm doktora tezi çerçevesinde yapıyorum. Bu konu kapsamında sizlerle konuşmak ve bazı sorular sormak istiyorum. Katılımınız tamamıyla gönüllü olmanıza bağlıdır, ancak araştırmaya katılmanız ve deneyimlerinizi bizimle paylaşmanız, Türkiye'deki çalışanların gündelik yaşam pratikleri ve kimlik algılamalarını analiz edebilmek ve karşılaştırmalar yapabilmek için önemli katkılar sunacaktır. Sorulara en uygun bulduğunuz cevabı vermeniz araştırmanın bilimselliği açısından son derece önemlidir. Ankete verilen yanıtlar gizli tutulacak ve bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacaktır. Anketin 35 dakika içerisinde bitmesi tasarlanmıştır. Bu çalışmaya sağlayacağınız katkı için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Çetin Yılmaz

Doktora Adayı

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

Sosyoloji Bölümü

A. KATILIMCININ HANE HALKI BİLGİLERİ

	YAŞ	CİNSİYET	MEDENİ DURUMU	EĞİTİM DURUMU	ÇALIŞMA DURUMU
KENDİSİ	...	<input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Kadın	<input type="checkbox"/> Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar <input type="checkbox"/> Dul <input type="checkbox"/> Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> Ayrı yaşıyor	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	X
EŞİ	...	<input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Kadın	X	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
BABASI	...	X	X	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
ANNESİ	...	X	X	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
ÇOCUK	...	<input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Kız	<input type="checkbox"/> Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar <input type="checkbox"/> Dul <input type="checkbox"/> Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> Ayrı yaşıyor	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
ÇOCUK	...	<input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Kız	<input type="checkbox"/> Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar <input type="checkbox"/> Dul <input type="checkbox"/> Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> Ayrı yaşıyor	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
ÇOCUK	...	<input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Kız	<input type="checkbox"/> Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar <input type="checkbox"/> Dul <input type="checkbox"/> Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> Ayrı yaşıyor	<input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar değil <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-yazar/Herhangi bir diploması yok <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> İlköğretim <input type="checkbox"/> Genel Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Meslek Yüksekokulu <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksekokul/Fakülte <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)	<input type="checkbox"/> İşveren <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzensiz İş buldukça) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretli İşçi (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Ücretsiz Aile İşçisi <input type="checkbox"/> Maaşlı Memur (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> Yevmiyeli (Mevsimlik, Geçici) <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Hesabına (Düzenli) <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz <input type="checkbox"/> Emekli <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)

6. 12'i yaşına kadar **en uzun süreli** olarak nerede yaşadınız?
 Metropol (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir) İl Merkezi
 İlçe Merkezi Bucak/Köy
 Yurtdışı Diğer (Belirtiniz)
7. Babanız hayatında **en uzun süreli** olarak nerede yaşadı?
 Metropol (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir) İl Merkezi
 İlçe Merkezi Bucak/Köy
 Yurtdışı Diğer (Belirtiniz)
8. Babanız geçmişte **en uzun süreli** olarak hangi sektörde çalıştı?
 Tarım Hizmetler
 Sanayi Bilmiyorum
 Diğer (Belirtiniz)...
9. Şu anda hanenizde siz dahil kaç kişi yaşamaktasınız?
10. Nerede ikamet etmektesiniz?
 Lojman Aliğa
 Menemen İzmir
 Diğer (Belirtiniz)
11. Yaşadığınız ev kime ait?
 Kira Kendi evimiz (13. Soruya Geçiniz)
 Lojman Ücret ödenmeden oturuluyor
 Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz)
12. Kendinize ait bir eviniz var mı?
 Evet Hayır
13. Hanenizin aylık toplam net geliri ne kadardır?.....
14. Siz ya da aileniz bu şehre başka yerden mi göç ettiniz?
 Evet Hayır (16. soruya geçiniz)
15. Kaç yıl önce göç ettiniz ve neden göç ettiniz?
16. Memleketinizle/köyünüzle ilişkileriniz nasıl devam etmektedir? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz).
 Memlekete/köyümdekilere para yardımı yapıyorum.
 Maddi/ayni yardım alıyorum.
 Toprağım var ama işlemiyorum.
 Toprağım var, kiracı-ortakçı işliyorum.
 Toprağım var, akrabalarım/kardeşim/oğlum vb. işliyorum.
 Toprağım var, kendim işliyorum.
 Sadece yıllık izinlerde akraba ziyareti yaparım.
 Memleketle hiçbir ilişkim kalmadı. Neden?
17. Kaç yıldır bu şehirde yaşamaktasınız?

B. İŞÇİLİK DENEYİMİ/ÇALIŞMA YAŞAMINA İLİŞKİN SORULAR

18. Şu andaki işinize giriş tarihinizi yıl olarak belirtir misiniz?
19. Bu işyerinden önce başka bir işyerinde/işyerlerinde çalıştınız mı?
() Evet () Hayır **(24. soruya geçiniz)**
20. Bu işyerinde çalışmaya başlamadan önce en uzun süre ne tür bir işletme sahipliğindeki işyerinde çalıştınız?
() Özel () Kamu
() Kendi hesabına () Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz).....
21. Daha önce çalıştığınız işyerinde/işyerlerinde örgütlü bir sendika var mıydı?
() Evet () Hayır
22. Daha önce çalıştığınız işyerinde/işyerlerinde sendika üyesi miydiniz?
() Evet () Hayır. Neden?
23. Daha önce çalıştığınız işyerlerinde herhangi bir sendikal eğitim aldınız mı?
() Evet () Hayır
24. Şu andaki işyerinizde yaptığınız işin niteliği nedir?
() Hizmet (büro vb.) () Üretim/işletme
() Laboratuvar () Bakım
() Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....
25. İş yerinizdeki görevinizi tanımlayabilir misiniz?
() Formen () Formen yardımcısı
() Panelci () Teknisyen ()
Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz)
26. Bu iş yerinde çalışmaya başlamadan önce **en uzun süre** ne kadar işsiz kaldınız?
27. Bu işi bulmanızda aşağıdakilerden hangisi etkili olmuştur?
() Akrabalarım () Hemşehrilerim
() Bölgede çalışan arkadaşlarım
() İşyerinin ilanı () Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz)
28. Bu işyerinde daha önce ya da şu anda hala çalışmakta olan bir akrabanız var mı?
() Evet () Hayır
29. Çalışma yaşamında şikâyet ettiğiniz en önemli konular aşağıdakilerden hangisidir? **(Lütfen ‘en önemli’ gördüğünüz seçeneği 1, ‘önemli’ gördüğünüz diğer seçeneği 2 olarak işaretliyoruz).**
() Ücret düşüklüğü
() Çalışma ortamının sağlıksız ve kötü koşullarda olması
() İş güvencesinin olmayışı
() Yeterli ücretli izin yapamamak

- Çalışma saatlerinin uzunluğu ve işin ağırlığı
 Kurumsal yönetim anlayışının gelişmemiş olması
 Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz).....

30. Eğer işçi olmasaydınız hangi işi/nasıl bir iş yapmak isterdiniz?
.....

31. Erkek çocuğunuzun şu anda çalıştığınız fabrikada çalışmasını ister misiniz?
 Evet Hayır

32. Kız çocuğunuzun şu anda çalıştığınız fabrikada çalışmasını ister misiniz?
 Evet Hayır

33. Erkek çocuğunuzun gelecekte işçi olmasını ister misiniz?
 Evet (**35. Soruya geçiniz**) Hayır

34. Eğer erkek çocuğunuzun işçi olmasını istemiyorsanız ne iş yapmasını istersiniz?

35. Kız çocuğunuzun gelecekte işçi olmasını ister misiniz?
 Evet (**37. Soruya geçiniz**) Hayır

36. Eğer kız çocuğunuzun işçi olmasını istemiyorsanız ne iş yapmasını istersiniz?
.....

C. SINIF KÜLTÜRÜ ve GÜNDELİK YAŞAMA İLİŞKİN SORULAR

37. İşyerinin size sunduğu sosyal ortamlardan yararlanıyor musunuz? (Lokal, spor salonu vb. gibi).
 Evet Hayır

38. İşten çıktığınız zaman vaktinizi daha çok nasıl geçirirsiniz? (**Size uygun gelen 2 seçeneği işaretleyiniz**).

- İş arkadaşlarımla kahveye/lokale giderim
 İş dışındaki arkadaşlarımla kahveye/lokale giderim
 Doğrudan eve giderim Ev işleriyle/çocuklarla uğraşırım
 Komşuya/akrabalara giderim Spor yaparım
 Sendikal faaliyetlere katılırım
 Üyesi bulunduğum dernek/parti faaliyetlerine katılırım
 Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....

39. Hafta sonu tatilinizi genellikle nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? (**Size uygun gelen 2 seçeneği işaretleyiniz**).

- Ailemle gezmeye giderim
 Evde dinlenirim
 Arkadaşlarımla birlikte geçiririm
 Kahveye/Lokale giderim
 Sendikaya giderim/faaliyetlerine katılırım
 Üye olduğum derneğe giderim/faaliyetlerine katılırım
 Televizyon izlerim

- Spor yaparım
 Ev işleriyle/çocuklarla uğraşırım
 Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....

40. Arkadaşlarınızla bir araya geldiğinizde en çok konuştuğunuz **iki konuyu** belirtiniz?

- Günlük konular hakkında
 Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve siyasal sorunları hakkında
 İş yeri sorunları hakkında
 Spor hakkında
 Magazin hakkında
 Siyasal konularda
 Ev işleri, çocuklar vb. konusunda
 Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....

41. Akrabalarınızla ne sıklıkla görüşürsünüz?

- Çok sık görüşürüz
 Ayda bir/birkaç kez görüşürüz
 Sadece önemli günlerde (bayram/yılbaşı vb.) görüşürüz
 Çok nadiren görüşürüz
 Hiç görüşmüyoruz
 Diğer (belirtiniz).....

D. BİLİNÇ ve ÖRGÜTLENMEYE İLİŞKİN SORULAR

42. Kendinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?.....

43. Şu andaki işinize girdikten sonra herhangi bir sendikal eğitim aldınız mı?

- Evet Hayır

44. Sendikanıza nasıl katkıda bulunuyorsunuz?

- Sadece aidatımı ödüyorum, faaliyetlere-toplantılara pek katılmam
 Yönetim kurulundayım
 Delege/temsilciyim
 Etkinlik komitesi içindeyim
 Bireysel olarak etkinliklerine katılıyorum
 Sık sık toplantılara katılıyorum
 Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....

45. İş arkadaşlarınızla sendika faaliyetleri ve iş sorunları hakkında konuşur musunuz?

- Evet Zaman zaman Hayır

46. Sendikalı olmanın size olumlu etkileri olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

- Evet Hayır

Aşağıdaki faaliyetlerden herhangi birine katıldınız mı? Ya da katılmak ister misiniz?

	Katıldım	Katılmadım Ama Katılmak İsterim	Kesinlikle Katılmam
Yasal grev faaliyetine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
İş bırakma eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
İş yavaşlatma eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
İşyeri işgaline eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
Yemek boykotu eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
Basın açıklamasına katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
Toplu imza verme eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()
Başka işyerlerinde gerçekleştirilen grevlere destek ziyareti eylemine katıldınız mı?	()	()	()

47. Sendika dışında başka bir derneğe/partiye üye misiniz?

- () Evet
() Hayır

48. Nasıl bir işletme sahipliğinde çalışmayı tercih edersiniz?

- () Yerli Firma () Yabancı firma
() Yerli-Yabancı ortak firma () Devlet-Kamu kuruluşları

49. İşgüvencesiz ve sendikası olmayan yüksek ücretli bir işi, işgüvencesi ve sendikası olan bir işyerine tercih eder misiniz?

- () Evet () Hayır () Fikrim yok

50. Sizce şu an içinde yaşadığımız toplumda **en önemli üç** ayrım hangisidir? (Lütfen size en uygun gelen seçenekleri; 1: 'en önemli', 2: 'kısmen önemli', 3: 'önemli' olmak üzere 1, 2, 3 şeklinde numaralandırınız).

- () İşçi-patron () Türk-Kürt () Laik-Dinci
() Zengin-Fakir () Burjuva-proleter () Sağcı-solcu
() Yöneten-yönetilen () Alevi-Sünni () Kadın-erkek
() Hiçbir ayrım yoktur () Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz).....

51. Sizce şu an Türkiye'de çözülmesi gereken en önemli **üç sorun** nedir? (Lütfen size en uygun gelen seçenekleri; 1: 'en önemli', 2: 'kısmen önemli', 3: 'önemli' olmak üzere 1, 2, 3 şeklinde numaralandırınız).

- () Enflasyon/Hayat pahalılığı () İşsizlik () Eğitim
() Ahlaki yozlaşma () Kürt sorunu/terör
() Bozuk gelir dağılımı () Ekonomik istikrarsızlık
() Çalışma hayatı ile ilgili sorunlar () Demokrasi/fikir özgürlüğü
() Rüşvet/yolsuzluk () Avrupa Birliği ile uyum
() Siyasi belirsizlik/istikrarsızlık () Sağlık/Sosyal güvenlik
() Eşitsizlik () Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz).....

Aşağıdaki ifadeler hakkında size en uygun olan seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
Özelleştirme işçiler için yararlı sonuçlar doğurur.	()	()	()	()	()
Özelleştirme toplum için yararlı sonuçlar doğurur.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu fabrikanın özelleştirilmesi işçilerin yararına olmuştur.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu fabrikanın özelleştirilmesi toplumun yararına olmuştur.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu işyerinde çalışmak beni mutlu ediyor.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu iş şu anda piyasadaki diğer işlerle kıyaslandığında bulabileceğim en iyi iştir.	()	()	()	()	()
İşimi yaparken kendimi de geliştirdiğimi düşünüyorum.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu işyerinde işçiler çalışma hayatında birbirleri ile rekabet halindedir.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu işyerinde işçiler çalışma hayatında birbirlerine devamlı yardımcı olurlar.	()	()	()	()	()
Bu işyerinde çalışanlar arasında iş dışında bir ilişki mevcut değildir.	()	()	()	()	()
Sendikalar toplumsal sorunlara çözüm bulabilecek kurumlardır.	()	()	()	()	()
Sendikalar dayanışma ve işbirliği sağlayan demokratik kurumlardır.	()	()	()	()	()
Sendikalar işçilerin hak ve çıkarlarını korumak için gereklidir.	()	()	()	()	()
Türkiye’de sendikalar çalışanların haklarını koruyup, geliştirebilmektedir.	()	()	()	()	()
Örgütlü bulunduğum sendika, işçilerin haklarını koruyup, geliştirebilen bir sendikadır.	()	()	()	()	()
Örgütlü bulunduğum sendikanın yürüttüğü faaliyetlerden memnunum.	()	()	()	()	()
Türkiye’de ve dünyada bazı insanlar yoksuldur, bunun nedeni kendi kişisel yetersizlikleridir.	()	()	()	()	()
Yoksulluğun temel nedeni, özel mülkiyet ve kara dayalı ekonomik-toplumsal düzendir.	()	()	()	()	()
Zenginlerin geneli çalışarak bu duruma gelmişlerdir.	()	()	()	()	()
Birilerin zenginliği için birileri yoksul olmaktadır.	()	()	()	()	()
İşsizliğin nedeni insanların iş	()	()	()	()	()

beğenmemelerinden dolayı çalışmak istememeleridir.					
İşsizliğin temel nedeni, özel mülkiyet ve kara dayalı ekonomik-toplumsal düzendir.	()	()	()	()	()
İşadamları yatırımlarını karlı gördükleri her yere yapabilmelidir.	()	()	()	()	()
Birçok işletmede, yöneticiler işçilerin istek ve ihtiyaçlarını göz önünde bulundurmaksızın sadece kar etmeyi düşünürler.	()	()	()	()	()
İşverenler ve işçiler arasındaki ilişki karşılıklı bir ilişkidir. İşverenler kazandığı oranda çalışanların kazancı da artacaktır.	()	()	()	()	()
Şirket yönetimlerinde işçilerin kontrolü daha fazla olursa, ürünlerin ve hizmetlerin kaliteleri muhtemelen daha yüksek olacaktır.	()	()	()	()	()
İşçiler, sosyal, ekonomik taleplerini elde edebilmek için örgütlenmelidirler.	()	()	()	()	()
İşçiler çalıştıkları işyerinde bir işyeri işgal eylemi gerçekleştirildiğinde bu eyleme katılmalıdırlar.	()	()	()	()	()
İşçiler, üyesi oldukları sendika işyerinde grev kararı alırsa bu greve katılmalıdırlar.	()	()	()	()	()
Dünya'nın herhangi bir yerindeki işçiyi/emekçiyi Türkiyeli bir zenginden daha fazla kendime yakın hissedirim.	()	()	()	()	()
Bir işyerinde çalışanlar, meşru haklarını elde etmek için greve çıktıklarında, başka işletmelerde çalışan işçiler bu grevi desteklemelidir.	()	()	()	()	()
Daha iyi bir yaşam sürebilmek için işçiler tüm yurttaki birlikte hareket etmelidirler.	()	()	()	()	()
Tüm dünyadaki işçilerin çıkarları ortaktır. Daha iyi bir yaşam sürdürebilmek için tüm dünyadaki işçiler birleşmelidirler.	()	()	()	()	()
Modern toplumun, kar güdüsü olmadan etkin bir şekilde işlemesi mümkündür.	()	()	()	()	()
Toplumsal refahın dağıtımında egemen olan özel girişim sistemi değiştirilmeli, yerine daha eşitlikçi bir toplumsal düzen kurulmalıdır.	()	()	()	()	()
İşçiler, daha eşitlikçi bir toplumsal düzen kurulması için mücadele etmelidirler.	()	()	()	()	()

APPENDIX D

TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ÖZELLEŞTİRME KARŞITI MÜCADELELER VE İŞÇİ SINIFI BİLİNCİ: ALİAĞA PETKİM ÖRNEĞİ

Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de işçi sınıfı bilincinin oluşumunu özelleştirme karşıtı mücadele çerçevesinde tartışmaktır. Çalışmanın örneklem grubu, Aliağa Petkimde çalışan işçilerdir. Böyle bir örneklemin seçilmesinin nedeni bu işçelerin 2000’li yılların başından, 2008 yılına kadar özelleştirmeye karşı çok güçlü bir mücadele yürütmüş olmalarıdır. Bu işçiler neo-liberal politiklardan çok doğrudan etkilenmişlerdir. Bu neo-liberal politiklardan akademik bilgi üretimi de çok doğrudan etkilenmiştir. Toplumsal eşitsizlikler gittikçe artmasına, sınıfsal çelişkiler derinleşmesine rağmen işçi sınıfı üzerine akademik çalışmaların azaldığına tanık olduk. 1990’lı yıllar ile birlikte özellikle İngiltere’de işçi sınıfı üzerine kültürel çalışmalarda bir canlanma yaşanmasına rağmen etkisi sınırlı kaldı.

İşçi Sınıfı Bilinci

İşçi sınıfı bilinci ve işçi sınıfı kimliği üzerine yürütülen araştırmaları üç tarihsel dönemde analiz etmek mümkündür: 1950’ler ve 1960’lı yılları kapsayan birinci dönemde gerçekleştirilen toplumsal tabakalaşma araştırmalarında ‘işçi sınıfı bilinci’ kavramı önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. 1970’lerin ortasından 1990’lı yıllara kadar geçen süreyi kapsayan ikinci dönemde ise, işçi sınıfı bilinci üzerine alan araştırmaları yürütülmesine karşın, kavramın sosyal bilimlerdeki önemini görece yitirdiği görülmektedir. 1990’ların sonu ile başlayan üçüncü dönemde ise, işçi sınıfı kimliği üzerine yürütülen alan araştırmalarında sınırlı da olsa bir canlanma meydana gelmiştir. Fakat bu dönemde araştırmacılar işçi sınıfı bilinci kavramından ziyade, işçi sınıfı kimliği algısı üzerine yoğunlaşmışlardır. Özellikle 1990’lı yılların sonu ile birlikte ‘sınıf oluşumlarını’ ‘kültür’ kavramı ile birlikte ele alan sınıf çözümlenmeleri, sınıf çalışmalarında bir canlanmaya sebep olsa da, bu sınırlı bir etki yaratmıştır.

Sınıf çalışmalarının azalmasının önemli sebepleri arasında, toplumsal üretim ilişkilerinin ve toplumsal sınıflar arasındaki çatışmaların bireylerin toplumsal kimliklerinin oluşumları ve bireylerin toplumsal gerçekliğe dair tutum, algı ve davranışları üzerindeki belirleyiciliğini yitirdiği iddiası vardır. Bu iddialar, özellikle Batı Avrupa toplumlarında görülen refah seviyesindeki görece yükselme ve aile geçmişi ile toplumsal konumun, toplumsal hareketlilik üzerindeki etkisini yitirdiği iddiaları ileri sürülerek desteklenmeye çalışılmaktadır. Bu toplumsal değişimlerin toplumsal mücadelenin ekseninin sosyo-ekonomik konulardan, sosyo-kültürel konulara doğru kaymasına yol açtığı ileri sürülmektedir. Özellikle mavi yakalı işlerde meydana gelen düşüş, ekonomik ve maddi konular üzerinden gelişen toplumsal mücadelelerin yerini daha çok “post-materyalist” temalar etrafında örülen bir mücadeleler alanına bırakmasına yol açtığı iddia edilmektedir.

Sosyal bilimlerde sınıf bilinci çalışmalarındaki azalmanın bir diğer önemli nedeni de ‘yeni toplumsal hareketler’1 kavramı çerçevesinde geliştirilen kuramlarda, sınıf ve toplumsal hareketler arasında herhangi bir belirlenim ilişkisinin kalmadığına dair olan varsayımdır. Dini, etnik, bölgesel vb. kimlik oluşumlarının, bireylerin toplumsal gerçekliği yorumlamalarında üretim ilişkileri çerçevesinde belirlenen sınıfsal kimliklerden daha etkili olduğu iddiası, modern toplumda sınıf ilişkilerinin etkisinin epistemolojik düzlemde göz ardı edilmesinin de önünü açmıştır. Kısaca, ‘yeni toplumsal hareketler’ teorisyenleri, günümüz (*post*)modern toplumlarında, bireylerin, üretim ilişkilerindeki konumları tarafından belirlenen nesnel sınıfsal pozisyonlarına daha az duyarlı hale geldiklerini ileri sürmektedirler.

Fakat toplumsal araştırmalar hala bireylerin, kendilerini bir toplumsal sınıfa ait hissettiklerini göstermektedir. Bireylerin, sınıfsal farkındalıklarının hala yüksek olmasına rağmen, işçi sınıfı bilinci üzerine araştırmalardaki azalma, sosyolojik ve tarihsel gelişmelerin kavramı geçersiz kılmasından ziyade, kavramın tanımlanmasında yaşanan zorluklardan kaynaklanmaktadır.

Sosyal bilimler literatüründe sınıf, birçok farklı tanımla yapılan, üzerinde uzlaşma sağlanamayan kavramlardan biridir. Kapitalist toplumlarda sınıf kavramını birbiriyle ilişkili dört düzey üzerinden tanımlamak mümkündür. Sınıfın ilk tanımlanma düzeyi,

kapitalist ekonominin yapısal işleyiştir. Bu aşamada toplumsal sınıflar daha çok üretim ilişkilerindeki nesnel konumları çerçevesinde, sosyal bilimciler tarafından kapitalist üretim ilişkilerinin yapısal analizinde kullanılan analitik bir kavram olarak ele alınmaktadır. Sınıfın ikinci tanımlanma düzeyi, birinci düzey ile ilişkili olarak, insanların üretim ilişkileri dışında da sınıfsal ilişkileri yaşama ve deneyimlemesine – yaşam biçimi- atıf yapmaktadır. Sınıfın üçüncü tanımlanma düzeyinde sınıflar, ortak düşünceleri, kültürleri paylaşantoplumsal grupları ifade etmektedir. Sınıf oluşumunun son aşamasını ise, ortak düşünce ve kültürel değerleri paylaşan toplumsal grupların, sınıfsal çıkarları doğrultusunda kolektif eylemde bulunma kapasiteleri oluşturmaktadır. Kapitalist toplumlarda sınıf oluşumlarının analiz edilebilmesi bu dört aşamanın birlikte değerlendirilmesi ile mümkündür. Bu çalışmada, sınıf oluşumunun daha çok üçüncü ve dördüncü düzeyleri üzerinde durdum.

Bu çalışmada sınıf bilincini Marksist bir perspektif ile ele aldım. Marksist gelenek çerçevesinde yürütülen işçi sınıfı bilinci çalışmalarında kavram; sınıf yapısı, sınıfsal konumlar, sınıf çıkarları, sınıf mücadelesi ve toplumsal değişim süreçleri ile ilişkileri çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. İşçi sınıfı bilinci, bireylerin genel sınıf sistemi içindeki konumlarının, bu konumlara uygun sınıfsal çıkarların farkındalığını ve kapitalist sistemi dönüştürecek toplumsal eylemlerin gerçekleştirilmesini ima etmektedir.

Bu çalışmada sınıfı bir ‘kategori’ ya da ‘yapı’ olarak değil, bir ‘ilişki’ ve ‘süreç’ olarak ele aldım. Sınıfın bu şekilde teorikleştirilmesi, sınıf mücadelesinin sınıf bilincine önceliğini vurgulamaktadır. Dolayısıyla sınıf mücadelesi, sınıf bilincinin ve aktif politik bir mücadelenin olmadığı durumlarda da var olabilir. Bireyler bu mücadeleler içinde sınıfsal çıkarlarının farkına vararak kendilerini sınıfsal kolektiviteler olarak örgütlerler (Thompson, 1966).

Toplumsal sınıflar, üretim ilişkilerindeki nesnel pozisyonlar çerçevesinde değil, mücadeleler üzerinden oluşmaktadırlar. Fakat geleneksel Marksist yaklaşımlar, sınıf mücadelelerini ya ekonomik yapının gölge fenomenine ya da her türlü belirlenmişlikten azade bir sürece indirgediklerinden dolayı sınıf mücadeleleri üzerine teorik düşünmeye izin vermemektedir. Sınıf mücadeleleri ne bir gölge

fenomen ne de her türlü belirlenmişlikten arınmış süreçlerdir. Ekonomik, politik ve ideolojik ilişkiler çerçevesinde belirlenen sınıf mücadelelerinin, sınıf oluşum süreçleri üzerinde özerk etkileri vardır. Fakat aynı zamanda bu mücadeleler, sınıf mücadelesinin çerçevesini belirleyen ekonomik, politik ve ideolojik ilişkilerin de dönüşümünü sağlamaktadırlar.

Geleneksel Marksist literatürde, sınıf bilinci teması üzerine yürütülen tartışmaların merkezini, kavramın felsefi ve metodolojik olarak ele alınışı oluşturmaktadır. Sınıf yapısı ve sınıf bilinci arasındaki ilişkinin ampirik olarak ele alındığı çalışmalarda, - birbirlerinden farklılıkları bulunmakla birlikte- sınıf bilincinin, bir süreç olarak kavramsallaştırıldığı görülmektedir. Bu çalışmada, Michael Mann (1973) sınıf bilincini dört kategoride operasyonelleştirdim. Sınıf bilinci ilk olarak, bir kişinin kendisini işçi sınıfının bir üyesi olarak tanımladığı sınıf kimliğinin (*class identity*) oluşumu ile başlar. İkinci süreç, kapitalistlerin ve onların temsilcilerinin işçilerin rakibi olarak algılandığı, sınıf karşıtlığı (*class opposition*) çerçevesinde gelişir. Sınıf bütünlüğü (*class totality*) olarak tanımlanan üçüncü süreç ise, bireylerin kendi toplumsal konumlarının ve tüm toplumun bütünsel olarak kavranmasını içerir. Sınıf bilincinin son süreci, sömürü ilişkileri üzerine kurulu olan kapitalist sisteme karşıt, alternatif bir toplumsal düzen anlayışının gelişmesidir. Tarihte ender rastlanan devrimci işçi sınıfı bilinci, tüm bu dört elemanın bir araya gelmesi ile oluşmaktadır. İşçi sınıfı bilincini bir süreç olarak ele almak, devrimci bilinç durumunun yokluğunda da sınıfsal aidiyet, tutum, algı ve davranışlarının üzerinde çalışma imkanı sunmaktadır. Böyle bir kavrayış, işçi sınıfı bilincini mücadele süreci içinde gelişen bir fenomen olarak ele almaktadır.

İşçi sınıfı bilincini bir süreç olarak ele alan çalışmaların ortak özelliği, işçi sınıfı bilincini sınıfsal bir kimlikle özdeşleşerek sınıfın doğrudan çıkarlarını ilgilendiren konulardan, egemen kapitalist sisteme alternatif bir toplumsal düzen yaratmaya doğru girişilen toplumsal eylemlere doğru bir ilerleme olarak ele almalarıdır. Fakat işçi sınıfı bilincinin yükselmesi, bir düzeyden diğer bir düzeye pürüzsüz bir geçişi, sıçramayı ima etmemektedir. Sınıf bilinci oluşumu, bu aşamaların hepsini aynı anda içinde barındırabilir. Çünkü sömürülen toplumsal sınıfların bilinçleri, biri kendi ait oldukları toplumsal sınıfların çıkar, arzu ve isteklerini yansıtan, diğeri ise geçmişten

getirdikleri ve daha çok egemen toplumsal sınıfların düşünsel dünyasının izlerini taşıyan ‘çelişkili bir bilinç’ (*contradictory consciousness*) halidir.

Sınıf Bilincini Etkileyen Faktörler

İşçi sınıfı bilinci bir çok faktör tarafından belirlenmektedir. Bunlar arasında en öne çıkanlardan birisi emek sürecidir. Kapitalist emek süreci, metaların üretilmelerinin yanı sıra, toplumsal sistemin ideolojik ve politik yeniden üretiminin de gerçekleştiği bir süreç olmasından dolayı, işçi sınıfı bilinci çalışmalarında üzerinde önemli durulan bir konudur. Fakat Harry Braverman’ın (1974) “*Emek ve Tekelci Kapitalizm*” (Labor and Monopoly Capitalism) isimli ön açıcı çalışmasına kadar, Marksist gelenek içinde emek süreci analizine yeterli ilginin gösterilmediği görülmektedir. Braverman’ın ana tezine göre, kapitalist üretim ilişkilerinin gelişmesi, işgücünün “vasıfsızlaşması”nı beraberinde getirmiştir. İşgücünün vasıfsızlaştırılması ile birlikte sermayenin vasıflı işgücüne olan bağımlılığı azalacak, dolayısıyla işgücü maliyetleri düşecektir. Braverman’a göre, sermaye emek sürecindeki denetimini artırabilmek için emek sürecinin Taylorist bilimsel yöntemler ile işi olabildiğince küçük parçalara bölerek, “tasarım” ve “uygulama” süreçlerini birbirinden koparmış ve emeği kendine tabi kılmıştır. Taylorist ilkeler, özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası Fordist birikim rejimi çerçevesinde yaygınlaşmıştır.

Fakat 1970’lerin sonlarına doğru dünya kapitalist sisteminde meydana gelen daralma sonucunda Fordist ilkelerin sorgulanmaya ve yerini daha esnek post-fordist sisteme bırakmaya başladığını görmekteyiz. Fordist birikim rejiminden, post-fordist birikim rejimine doğru gerçekleşen dönüşümde, firmalar piyasalardaki talep değişimlerine daha hızlı uyum sağlamak için daha esnek bir şekilde örgütlenmeye başlamışlardır. Esnek bir şekilde örgütlenen firmalar, işgücünü de, ‘merkez’ ve ‘çevre’ olmak üzere iki ana kampa ayırarak işçiler arasında kutuplaşmayı gittikçe artırmıştır. Merkez işgücü kalifiye ve işlevsel bir esnekliğe sahipken, çevre işgücü ise sözleşmeli, iş güvencesinden yoksun, kullanıp atılabilir bir konumdadır. Esneklik kavramı bir taraftan, üretim aşamasında bireysel inisiyatif ve yaratıcılığı imlerken, diğer taraftan işletmelerin ve devletin değişen politik atmosfere, piyasada değişen talebe göre işçileri kiralama, işten çıkarma, farklı işlevlerde kullanma gibi uygulamalarla çalışanların kazanımlarını ellerinden almanın önünü açmaktadır.

Esneklik uygulamaları aracılığıyla işletmeler ‘takım çalışması’, ‘kalite çemberleri’, ‘toplam kalite’ gibi uygulamalar aracılığıyla çalışanların yönetim sürecine katılımlarını artırmaya çalışmakta, fakat bu uygulamalar daha çok işçiler arasında rekabeti körüklemektedir. Geleneksel (despotik) fabrika rejimlerinde denetim, daha çok teknolojinin kullanımıyla teknik denetim mekanizmalarıyla kurulmuştur. Fakat günümüz esnek işletmelerinde denetim, işçinin zihninin ele geçirilmesini hedefleyen ideolojik söylemler aracılığıyla kurumsallaşmaktadır. Esneklik, farklı toplumsal kesimler için farklı anlamları çağrıştırmaktadır. İşverenler daha çok finansal ve sayısal esnekliğin kendileri için önemli olduğunu dile getirmekteyken, çalışan kesimler arasında özellikle gençlerin ve kadınların, esnekliğin kendileri için emek piyasasında daha çok imkanlar sunduğunu dile getirdikleri, fakat yaşlı işçilerin esnek uygulamalara daha kuşkulu yaklaştıkları görülmektedir.

Yürütülen alan araştırmalarında, emek sürecinin yapısı ve organizasyonunun – özellikle işçilerin emek süreci üzerinde kontrollerinin derecesi, iş güvenliği, çalışma koşulları, denetleme örüntüleri- sınıfsal tutum ve davranışlar üzerinde etkili olduğu ortaya konmuştur. Örneğin; işçi sınıfı bilinci, yönetsel kontrolün oldukça yüksek olduğu madencilik ve demir çelik sektörü gibi ağır sanayilerde yüksek, buna karşın, nakit bağının kısmen daha doğrudan ve açık olduğu örneğin, inşaat sektöründe daha düşüktür. Uzun zamandır bilinmektedir ki, sınıfsal algı, tutum ve dayanışma pratikleri fabrikaların büyüklüğü ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. Büyük sanayi işletmelerinde ücretli emekçilerin sınıfsal tepkilerinin yüksekliğinin ardındaki nedenler arasında, toplu çalışma deneyiminin işçiler arasında birlikte hareket etme imkanını sunmasının yanı sıra, sendikal örgütlenmenin küçük işletmelere göre daha yoğun olması ve genç kuşaklara işçilik deneyiminin aktarılmasının sağlanabilmesi yer almaktadır.

İşçi sınıfı bilincinin gelişmesini engelleyen önemli etkenler arasında kapitalist emek sürecinin, ‘içsel devlet aygıtı’ (*inner state*) ve ‘içsel emek piyasası’ (*inner labor market*) araçlarıyla bir ‘oyun’ (*game*) gibi örgütlenmesi vardır. Emek sürecinin bir ‘oyun’ gibi örgütlenmesi, egemenlik ilişkilerinin salt ‘baskı’ ve ‘zora’ dayanarak değil, aynı zamanda ‘rıza’ süreci aracılığıyla kurulması anlamına gelmektedir. Özellikle işletme içinde artan hareketlilik, sendikalar ve işverenler arasındaki toplu sözleşme süreçleri ve kimi işletmelerde uygulanan parça başı iş pratikleri kapitalistlerin, işçiler ve işverenler arasındaki çatışmayı azaltmasına ve işçilerde

kendi özgür iradeleri ile tercihlerde bulunabileceklerine dair bir yanılsamanın oluşmasına sebep olmaktadır.

Sendika üyeliği işçi sınıfı bilincini etkileyen diğer bir önemli faktör olarak ele alınmaktadır. Hyman'a (akt: Simms, 2001) göre sendikaların; emek piyasasının düzenleyicileri olmak, işçilerin statülerini yükseltmek, toplumsal adaleti sağlamak ve sınıf mücadelesinin okulları olmak şeklinde özetlenebilecek dört belirgin toplumsal, politik ve ideolojik işlevleri vardır. Bu özelliklerinin yanı sıra, sendikalar aynı zamanda işçi sınıfı çıkarlarını ve kolektif işçi kimliğinin oluşumunda etkin olan kurumlardır. Offe ve Wiesental (1985: 183) sendikaların gücünün kolektif kimlik oluşumundaki başarıları ile doğrudan ilişkili olduğunu belirtmektedirler.

Çalışan kesimlerin egemen toplumsal ilişkilerin meşruiyetini sorguladıkları örgütlenmeleri kurmaları, geliştirmeleri hiçbir zaman kolay olmamıştır. Örgütlü işçi hareketinin tarihi göstermektedir ki, işçiler arasında farklılıklar, bölünmeler ve ayrılıklar her zaman her yerde mevcut olmuştur. Bu sebepten dolayı işçiler arasındaki dayanışma hiçbir zaman doğal olarak gelişen ve sabit bir süreç olmamıştır. İşçiler arasında ve farklı işçi örgütleri arasında görece birleşmeyi sağlamak her zaman çaba sarf etmeyi gerektiren bir süreç olmuştur (Hyman, 1992: 166). Sendikalar, emekçi sınıflar arasında dayanışmanın geliştirilmesi ve sınıf deneyiminin gelecek emekçi kuşaklara aktarılması sürecinde çok önemli bir işlevi yerine getirmektedirler.

Son yirmi yılda sendikal hareketin gücünün ve etkinliğini olumsuz yönde etkileyen ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasal değişimler gerçekleşmiştir. 2000 yılında OECD ülkelerinde ortalama yüzde 20.2 olan sendikalaşma oranları, 2010 yılında yüzde 17.5'e gerilemiştir. Türkiye, %5,9'luk sendikalaşma oranı ile OECD ülkeleri arasında en düşük sendikalaşma oranına sahip ülke konumundadır. Fakat daha çarpıcı olan bir sonuç ise, on yıllık süreçte, Türkiye'de sendikalaşma oranındaki gerilemenin OECD ülke ortalamasında yaşanan düşüşten çok daha keskin olmasıdır.

Sendikalaşma oranlarındaki bu gerilemenin önemli nedenlerinden birisi, küresel ekonomik rekabetin baskısı sonucunda emek piyasasının kural dışılaştırılarak kamu ve özel sektörde sözleşmeli, taşeron, yarı-zamanlı çalışanların oranındaki artıştır. Emek

piyasalarının kuralılaştırılarak, ücretli ve maaşlı çalışanların iş güvencesinin her geçen gün ellerinden alınması sendikaların örgütlenmesi için nesnel koşulları aşındırmaktadır.

Küresel rekabet sonucunda artan işsizlik oranları da sendikal örgütlenmenin etkisini azaltan önemli faktörler arasındadır. Örneğin, Türkiye’de işçilerin her hangi bir sendikaya üye olmamasının ardındaki faktörlerin başında işsiz kalma korkusu gelmektedir (Buğra, Adaman ve İnel, 2005).

Bu nedenlerin yanı sıra işverenlerin ve devletin sendikalara karşı uyguladıkları baskıcı politikaları da değerlendirme dışı bırakmamak gerekmektedir. İşverenler çoğu zaman hukuk dışı, iş ahlakı ve çalışma barışına aykırı uygulamalarla işyerlerinde sendikal örgütlenmenin önünü kesmektedir. Türkiye özeline eğilecek olursak mevzuattaki örgütlenmeyi zorlaştıran hükümler, boşluklar ve yetersiz yaptırımlar işverenlerin baskıcı uygulamalarını daha da güçlendirmektedir (Yıldırım ve Uçkan, 2010).

Sendikal mücadelenin güçsüzleşmesi salt objektif şartların bir ürünü değildir. Aynı zamanda özne koşulları da göz önünde bulundurmak gerekmektedir. Sendikalar salt erkek, tam zamanlı çalışan işçilere yönelik örgütlenme faaliyetleri yürütmektedirler. Fakat diğer toplumsal kesimleri örgütlemeye yönelmemektedirler. Bu tercihten ötürü sendikaların emek piyasalarındaki hızlı dönüşüme adapte olamamaktan dolayı güçsüzleştiğini belirtmek gerekmektedir.

Daha çok ekonomik mücadeleye odaklanmaları ve sınıf mücadelesini kurumsallaştırma işlevlerine rağmen, sendika üyesi işçilerin daha yüksek sınıfsal bilinç sergilendikleri dikkat çekmektedir. Zingraf ve Schulman’ın (1984) Güney Amerika’da gerçekleştirdikleri alan araştırması göstermektedir ki, sendikal bir mücadele geçmişine ve örgütlenme deneyimine sahip işçiler arasında sınıf bilincinin daha gelişmiş olduğu görülmektedir. Alan araştırması gerçekleştirilmeden altı yıl kadar önce işçiler sendikal hakları için mücadeleye girişmişler, ancak işverenin sert tepkileri ile karşılaşmışlardır. İşçiler yasal yollara başvurarak ve ulusal kamuoyunun da desteği ile sendika haklarını elde etmişlerdir. Sendikal örgütlenmenin oldukça zor

olduğu tekstil sektöründe işçilerin bu başarıları, mücadele sürecinin işçi sınıfı bilinci üzerindeki etkisini göstermesi bakımından çok önemli bir alan araştırmasıdır.

Bununla birlikte, Roth (2007) tarafından Kanada'da gerçekleştirilen bir alan araştırmasında; sendikalar tarafından uygulanan eğitim programlarına katılan işçilerin diğer işçiler ile karşılaştırıldıklarında, işçi ve işverenler arasındaki ilişkiyi sömürü ilişkisi olarak tanımlamaya daha yatkın oldukları ve işçilerin haklarını elde etmek için birlikte mücadele etmeleri gerektiğine dair inançlarının daha güçlü olduğu görülmektedir. Fakat bu noktada sendikal eğitiminin içeriğinin, sendikanın politik tercihleri ve eğilimleri çerçevesinde şekillendiğini de göz ardı etmemek gerekmektedir.

Bunun yanı sıra, etnisitede sınıf bilincinin etkileyen önemli bir faktör olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Sınıf bilinci çalışmalarında, etnisite ve sınıf bilinci arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi göstermektedir ki, azınlık bir etnik gruba ait olmak genellikle daha yüksek bir adaletsizlik ve görece daha yüksek bir yoksunluk hissini, yüksek bir sınıf bilincini ve yüksek bir militanlık düzeyini beraberinde getirmektedir (Leggett, 1968; Zingraff ve Schulman, 1984; Wallace ve Junasbai, 2004). Zingraff ve Schulmann'ın (1984) Amerika'nın güneyinde tekstil işçileri üzerine yürüttükleri alan araştırması, siyahların sınıfsal tutumlarının beyazlarla karşılaştırıldığında daha belirgin olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu noktada Türkiye özelinin TEKEL Eylemleri çerçevesinde incelenmesi göstermektedir ki, Kürt emekçilerin, Türk emekçileri ile karşılaştırıldığında, örgütlenmeye ve direnmeye daha eğilimli oldukları gözlenmiştir. Bu durum, Türk işçiler arasında Kürtlere karşı sempatik bir tutumun gelişmesini de beraberinde getirmiştir. TEKEL Eylemlerinin, Türk/Kürt emekçileri arasında dayanışma bilincini geliştirdiğini, etnik ayrımcılığı sona erdirdiğini ileri sürmek çok abartılı bir iddia olacaktır, fakat bu tür deneyimlerin, ırkçı ve etnik ayrımcılığa dayanan politikaların emekçi sınıflar arasında gerilemesini de gündeme getireceği düşünülebilir (Koç, 2010).

Türkiye’de İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumu

Çalışmada Türkiye’de işçi sınıfı oluşumun iki ana tarihsel dönem çerçevesinde tartışım: 1923-1980 ve 1980’den günümüze. Her iki başlık altında da sınıf oluşumunu; kapitalist yapısal ilişkileri ve işçi sınıfı hareketini ayrı bşliklar altında tartışım.

İşçileşme, toplumda önemli oranda bir kesimin, üretim araçları üzerindeki hakimiyetini yitirerek, yaşamak için emek-gücünü satmak zorunda kalması süreci olarak tanımlanabilir. İşçileşme süreci, Avrupa’da son birkaç yüz yılda meydana gelen, dünyanın geri kalanında hala devam etmekte olan ve sıradan insanların hayatlarında büyük altüst oluşlar meydana getiren en önemli toplumsal değişimdir. Fakat işçileşmenin izlediği yol ve süreçler var olan üretim ve yeniden üretim sistemlerine bağlı olarak zamana ve mekana göre büyük farklılıklar göstermektedir (Tilly, 1979: 1).

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun diğer Avrupa İmparatorluklarından ayıran önemli bir özellik küçük köylünün geçimlik ekonomisinin yok olmamasıdır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, haneda karşı alternatif bir güç odağı olabilecek aristokratik bir sınıfın oluşumunu engellemiştir. Bundan dolayı bu süreçte küçük köylü mülkiyetinin yok olması doğrultusunda toplumsal ve ekonomik hayata müdahale etmemiştir. Zira, Avrupa özellikle İngiltere deneyimi göstermektedir ki, küçük köylünün topraksızlandırılması devletin zor gücü aracılığıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Köylüler ilkel sermaye biriki sonucunda topraklarında koparılmış ve kırsal proleterler haline dönüştürülmüşlerdir. Dolayısıyla Avrupa’da erken gelişen kapitalizm, küçük köylü üreticilerini de tarımsal proleterler haline getirmiştir. Fakat Osmanlı Devleti’nin egemenliği altındaki coğrafyaya kapitlizmin geç girişi ve devletin küçük köylülüğü korumaya dönük tercihleri tarıma kapitalist ilişkilerin geç girmesine sebep olmuş ve tarımsal yapıların çözülmesini engellemiştir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda işçi sınıfının oluşumunun modernleşme süreci ile eşzamanlı başladığı söylenebilir. Tanzimat Fermanı’nın imzalanması Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda liberal ekonominin hukuksal temellerini atmıştır. Modern anlamda sanayi yapılarının ancak bu dönemden sonra küçük çaplıda olsa oluşmaya başladıkları görülmektedir. Yeni kurulmakta olan modern ordunun temel ihtiyaçlarını

karşlamak için kurulan bu işletmeler devlet tarafından finanse edilmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla sanayileşmenin ilk adımları piyasadan kaynaklı motivasyonlardan ziyade, devletin ihtiyaçları çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir (Karakışla, 1995).

Osmanlı coğrafyasında büyük ölçekli sanayinin 19. Yüzyılın sonlarına kadar gelişmemesi, işçilerin daha çok un ve yağ fabrikaları gibi küçük işletmelerde yığılmasına sebep olmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra hatırı sayılır oranda bir işçi kitlesinin liman kentlerinde özellikle madencilik, inşaat ve ulaştırma sektöründe istihdam edildiği görülmektedir. Fakat bu ücretli çalışanlarında modern anlamda ‘işçi’ olarak adlandırılması pek mümkün değildir, çünkü özellikle madenlerde çalışan işçilerin önemli bir kısmının ‘asker işçi’ veya ‘köylü işçi’ oldukları görülmektedir (Akkaya, 2002).

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyetine geçiş sürecinde, yeni Cumhuriyet Kurtuluş mücadelesi sonrası erkek nüfusunun azalması sonucu emek gücü sorunu ile karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Bu dönemde devlet 1929 Dünya Bunalımı’nın etkisi ile devletçi kalkınma politikaları izlemeye başlamıştır. Yetersiz sermaye birikiminin de dayatmaları devleti Türkiye’deki en önemli işveren konumuna getirmiştir. Avrupa’da kapitalist gelişiminden farklı olarak Türkiye’de devlet bizzat sermaye birikiminin ana gücü konumuna gelmiştir. Türkiye’de kapitalizm daha başından devlet kapitalizmi şeklinde gelişmiştir. Devlet, ülkenin çeşitli yerlerinde sanayi yatırımları gerçekleştirmesine karşın, bu fabrikalarda istihdam edilecek kalifiye emek gücü bulma konusunda sıkıntılar yaşamıştır. Bu kurumlarda çalışanlar kelimenin modern anlamıyla proleterleşmemiş, “köylü-işçilerdir”. Bu “köylü-işçiler” için fabrika ana geçim kaynağını oluşturmadığından dolayı, bu dönemde bu fabrikalarda işçi devir hızları çok yüksek olmuştur (Akkaya, 2002).

Bu dönemde devlet emek hareketi üzerinde korporatist söylem aracılığıyla bir egemelik kurmaya çalışmıştır. Milliyetçilik ve halkçılık gibi ilkeler çerçevesinde sınıf farklılıkları ve dolayısıyla sınıfsal mücadeleyi reddeden cumhuriyetin kurucu kadroları bağımsız emek örgütlenmesine izin vermemişlerdir. 1936 yılında çıkarılan ilk İş Kanunu grev hakkını yasaklamıştır ve Cemiyetler Kanunu ile de her türlü sendikal örgütlenme yasaklanmıştır. Fakat bu dönemde sınıf örgütlerinden ziyade esnaf örgütlenmeleri desteklenmiş, işçilerde buralarda örgütlenmişlerdir.

İşçi örgütlenmesinin üzerindeki yasak 1946 yılında kaldırılmıştır. O dönemde kısa bir sürede olsa işçiler çeşitli sosyalist partilerinde etkileriyle bağımsız sendikal örgütlenmeler kurmayı başaramışlardır. Tarihe 1946 Sendikacılığ olarak geçen bu dönem çok uzun sürmemiş hükümet tarafından sendikaların faaliyetlerine son verilmiş sendika liderleri tutuklanmıştır. Dolayısıyla 1923-1950 dönemi arasında devlet sendikal mücadeleyi ideolojik olarak manipile etmeye çalışmış, bunu başaramadığı dönemlerde ise baskı aygıtını devreye sokmuştur.

1950'li yıllar ile birlikte Türkiye'de teknolojik gelişmelerin etkisiyle kırdan kente göç başlamıştır. Fakat sanayileşme ile göç aynı oranda gelişmemiştir. Bu durumda kente göç eden birçok emek piyasası ile ilişkilenmeleri daha çok enformel sektör üzerinden gerçekleşmiştir. Enformel sektör emek arzını emen önemli bir işlev görmekle birlikte var olan ikili yapı –bir yanda örgütlü, görece iyi koşullarda çalışan bir işçi kesimi bir yanda ise örgütsüz bir işçi kesimi- sınıf bilinci üzerinde de kimi olumsuz etkilerde bulunmuştur.

Türkiye'de 1960'lı yıllar ile birlikte ithal ikameci kalkınma modeli uygulanmaya geçirilmiştir. 1960 ve 1980'li yıllar arasında uygulanan bu model kırdan kenti göçü hızlandırmı, gümrük duvarlarıyla korunan üretim artmış ve geniş bir pazar kitlesi oluşmuştur. Fakat yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi Türkiye'de sanayileşme her zaman kentleşmenin gerisinde kalmıştır.

Bu dönem Türkiye emek hareketinin de canlandığı bir dönem olmuştur. Türkiye'de ilk işçi konfederasyonu olan Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Türk-İş) 1952 yılında kurulmuş olmasına rağmen, üye sayısı 1960'lı yıllar ile birlikte artmıştır. Bu dönem içinde Türkiye emek hareketi açısından önemli olan bir diğer gelişme 1967 yılında Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu'nun kurulmasıdır. Türk-İş'in Amerikan tipi bir sendicilik yaptığı literatürde sürekli kullanılmaktadır. Keni politikasını partiler üstü politika olarak belirleyen Türk-İş, daha çok kamu sektöründe örgütlenmiştir. Disk, ise daha çok özel sektörde örgütlenmiştir. Bu dönemde daha başka konfederasyonlar kurulmuş olsada işçi örgütlenmesinin ana gücü bu iki sendika olmuştur. Türkiye'de sendikal hareket 1980 askeri darbesi ile birlikte sendikaların faaliyetlerine son verilmiştir.

1980 askeri darbesi ile birlikte tüm dünyada olduđu neo-liberal politikalar ekonomik, toplumsal ve siyasal hayatı etkisi altına almıştır. Bu tür köklü bir dönüşüm ancak bir darbe aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilebilmiştir. Türkiye tarihindeki bu darbe gelenekleri burjuvazinin hegemonik bir sınıf olamamasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Hegemonik bir sınıf olamayan burjuvazi, baskı mekanizmasını daha çok kullanmaya başlamaktadır.

Neo-liberal politikalar çerçevesinde emek piyasaları kuralsızlaştırılmaya, istihdam ilişkileri esnekleştirilmeye başlanmıştır. Güvencesiz çalışma ilişkilerinin baskısı tüm toplumsal kesimlere tarafından hissedilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu dönemde, ithal ikameci kalkınma modelinden, ihracata dayalı kalkınma modeline geçilmiş, iç pazardan ziyade dış pazarlara yönelinmiştir. Dolayısıyla ir önceki dönem refahtan pay alamayı kısmen de olsa başarabilen emekçi sınıflar, neo-liberal politikalarında etkisiyle ekonomik ve toplumsal hayattan uzaklaştırılmışlardır.

Neo-liberal politikalar bir çok alanda etkili olmuş kimi zaman etkileri çok soyut kalmıştır. Fakat neo-liberal politikaların en somut etkileri özelleştirmeler ile birlikte hissedilmeye başlanmıştır. 1980’li yılların sonu ile birlikte birçok işletme özelleştirme kapsamına alınmıştır. Fakat Türkiye’de özelleştirmeler 2000’li yıllar ile birlikte daha çok gündeme gelmiştir. 1980’ler ile birlikte tüm dünyada egemen paradigma haline gelen neo-liberal ideoloji, özelleştirme uygulamalarıyla devletlerin istihdam yaratma kapasitesinin aşınmasına sebep olmuştur. Türkiye’de özellikle 2000’li yıllar sonrası gerçekleştirilen özelleştirmeler kamu istihdamında büyük düşüşlere neden olmuştur.

Bunun yanı sıra özelleştirme güvencesiz istihdamın işçilere dayatılmasında aracı olmuştur. Memur ve kapsam içi işçi statüsündeki görece güvenceli pozisyonlarda hızla bir gerilemeye gidilirken, daha güvencesiz, sözleşmeli personel sayılarında ise artışa tanık olmaktayız. Bunun yanı sıra, özelleştirilen kurumlarda da istihdam kayıpların yaşandığı görülmektedir.

1980 yıllar ile birlikte Türkiye’de işsizlik rakamları tüm dünyada olduđu gibi yükselmeye başlamıştır. Proleterleşme dalgası devam etmiştir. 1980’li yılların başında tarımsal işgücü toplam işgücünün %50’sini oluşturuyoreken bu rakam 2013’te %24 seviyelerine gerilemiştir. Bu oran proleterleşme dalgasını göstermesi

bakımından oldukça önemlidir. Fakat bunun yanı sıra kendi hesabına çalışan bir çok kişinin de proleterleştiğine aynı dönem içinde rastlanmaktadır. Tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye’de de hizmetler sektörü ekonomik faaliyetler arasında en yüksek istihdam oranına sahiptir. İşteki durum çerçevesinde bakıldığında da işçileşmenin belirginliği görülmektedir.

İşteki duruma göre ücretli emekçilerin parçalanma örüntüleri emek piyasasındaki faal nüfusun; ücretli/maaşlı, işveren, kendi hesabına çalışan ve ücretsiz aile işçisi kategorileri çerçevesinde analiz edilmektedir. Türkiye’de büyük bir hızla ücretli emekçiler kategorisinin diğer kategorilerin aleyhine olacak şekilde büyüdükleri dikkati çekmektedir. Tüm bunların yanı sıra emek piyasalarında kayıt dışı istihdamın önemli bir etkisi olduğunu unutmamak gerekmektedir. Zira, işçilerin örgütsel kapasitelerini düşüren en önemli etkenlerden birisi kayıt dışı istihdamın varlığıdır. Enformel sektörün düzensiz ve dağınık yapısından dolayı, bu sektörde ‘emek kültürü’ ve ‘işçi sınıfı bilincinin’ gelişimi formal sektör ile karşılaştırıldığında daha zor olmaktadır. Bundan kaynaklı da iki sektörde çalışan işçiler arasında ekonomik, siyasi ve ideolojik farklılıklar oluşmaktadır.

2000’li yıllar Türkiye’de özelleştirmenini en yoğun hissedildiği yıllardır. Özelleştirme salt bu işletmelerde çalışanları etkilememekte ama aynı zamanda işsizlik oranlarının artmasına da yol açarak tüm toplumsal kesimleri etkilemiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, özelleştirme işçi sınıfının örgütlü gücüne karşı en büyük darbeyi indirmiştir. 2000’li yıllar ile birlikte birlikte Türkiye sendikal hareketinin en önemli gündem maddesi özelleştirme karşıtı mücadele olmuştur. 1980’li yıllardan beri büyük bir güç kaybeden sendikal hareket özelleştirmeler karşısında birleşik bir mücadele yürütememiştir. Bundan dolayı da bir çok işletme sırasıyla kapatılmıştır.

Yöntem

Çalışmada nitel ve nicel araştırma teknikleri birlikte kullanılmıştır. Zira, sınıf bilincini salt nicel veri toplama teknikleri ile derinlemesine analiz edilebilmek mümkün değildir. Bundan dolayı iki tekniğin birlikte kullanılması daha derinlemesine bir analize imkan sağlamıştır. 2000 işçinin çalıştığı Petkim’de 315 işçiye anket uygulanmış ve 33 işçi ile de derinlemesine mülakat gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Çalışmada işçilerin işverene, sendikaya ve siyasi yönelimlerine yönelik sorular bulunduğundan işçiler ile işveren ya da sendika üzerinden ilişkilendirilmedi. Zira böyle bir ilişkilendirmenin araştırmacı ve katılımcılar arasında güven ilişkisini zedeleyeceği düşünülmüştür. Fakat bu kimi zaman işçilere ulaşmada zorluklar yaşanmasını da beraberinde getirmiştir.

İşçiler ile görüşmeleri işçilerin çoğunlukla yaşadıkları lojmanlar bölgesindeki Lokal'de, sendika lokalinde, kahvelerde ve kimi zamanda işçilerin evlerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Nitel örneklemin seçiminde kimi zaman -özellikle sendikal eğitime katılmış işçilere ulaşmak için- kartopu örneklem tekniğinden faydalanılmıştır.

Bulgular

Çalışmada, özelleştirmeyi işçi sınıfı ve kapitalist sınıflar arasındaki bir sınıf savaşımı olarak ele aldım. Zira özelleştirme işçilerin o zamana kadar ki kazanılmış bütün haklarını ellerinden alan uygulamaları içermektedir. Bu çalışmanın kapsamındaki işçilerin örgütlü olduğu Petrol-İs, Türkiye'de özelleştirme gerçeğini ilk gören ve bunu üyelerine ilk duyuran ve özelleştirme karşıtı mücadeleyi en ön plana çıkaran sendika olmuştur. Egemen sınıfların bu dayatmalarına karşı Türkiye'de emek hareketinin en önemli gündem maddesi 2000'li yılların başından beri özelleştirme olmuştur. Fakat egemen sınıfların bu saldırısına karşı birleşik bir emek hareketi örgütlenememiştir. Bu çalışmada, 2000'li yıllarının başından, fabrikanın özelleştiği 2008 yılına kadar özelleştirmeye karşı çok uzun soluklu bir mücadele yürüten Petkim işçilerinin sınıfsal bilinç durumlarını anlamaya çalıştım.

Özelleştirme sınıfsal kimliğin oluşumunda olumsuz etkilere sahiptir. Araştırmaya katılan birçok işçi için işçi olmak bir çok negatif anlamı içinde barındırmaktadır. Bu noktada en çok dikkat çeken konu işçi olmanın özerklik kaybı olarak değerlendirilmesi ve işçilerin kendilerini değersiz hissetmeleridir. Özelleştirme sürecinde yaşanan olumsuz deneyimlerin işçilerde böyle bir algının gelişmesine sebep olduğu ileri sürülebilir. Petkim, özelleştikten sonra işçilerin ücretlerinde, çalışma koşullarında pek bir değişiklik olmamasına karşın bazı işçiler özelleştirme sürecinde 4/C sözleşmesine imza atlamaya zorlanmışlardır. Bunun yanı sıra, bazı

işçiler Petkim'e gelmeden bir önceki çalıştıkları fabrikaların özelleştirilmesi ile 4/C kadrosunda geçici personel olarak kimi devlet kurumlarında çalışmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu işçiler Petkim özelleşmeden bir kaç yıl önce Petkime girmişlerdir. Özellikle bu işçilerin sınıfsal kimlik algılarının çok olumsuz olduğunu belirtmek gerekmektedir. Özelleştirme bu işçilerin hayatlarını alt üst etmiştir. Bu olumsuz algılardan dolayı işçilerin kendi çocuklarının işçi olmamalarını istemedikleri gözlenmiştir. Bu kendi hayatı üzerinde ki kontrolün kaybı yani özerkliğin kaybı işçilerin çocuklarının beyaz yakalı, yüksek statülü işlere yönelmelerini istemelerinde önemli bir payı var. Fakat işçiler kız çocuklarının işçi olması fikrine daha az benimsiyorlar. İşçilik erkeklik ile özdeşleştiriliyor.

Çalışmanın bir diğer önemli sonucu ise, işçilerin sınıfsal karşıtlık bilinçlerinin çok yüksek olduğudur. Özellikle özelleştirme öncesi işe giren ve özelleştirme karşıtı mücadeleyi deneyimleyen işçilerde sınıfsal çıkarlarının farkındalığının daha yüksek olduğu görülmektedir. Bu işçiler kendi sınıfsal çıkarlarının işverenden farklı olarak tanımlamaya daha yatkındırlar. Bu bulgu, kolektif mücadelenin sınıfsal farkındalığı artırdığını göstermesi bakımından önemlidir. Bu işçiler salt kendi işletmelerinin özelleştirmesine karşı değil, aynı zamanda başka işletmelerinde özelleştirilmesine karşı mücadele yürütmüşlerdir. Petrol-İş'in örgütlü olduğu yerlerdeki kimi işletmeler özelleşince buralarda istihdam önemli oranda düşmüştür. Bu yaşananlar karşıtlık bilincinin oluşmasında önemli etkilere sahiptir.

İşçilerde sınıfsal farkındalığı artıran önemli bir diğer sürecin gündelik hayat deneyimi olduğu ileri sürülebilir. İşçilerin önemli bir kısmı, fabrikaya yakın konumlandırılmış Lojmanlarda ikamet etmektedirler. Lojmanlar hiyerarşik bir biçimde kurgulanmıştır. Mühendisler ve işçilerin oturdukları bölgeler Siteler şeklinde bölünerek birbirlerinden çok keskin biçimde ayrılmıştır. Mühendisler Site 2'de otururken, işçiler Site 3 ve Site 1'de oturmaktadır. Mühendisler daha çok iki katlı müstakil binalarda otururken, işçiler çoğunlukla 4-5 katlı apartman dairelerinde oturmaktadır. Her sitenin kendine ait, işçilerin ve mühendislerin boş zamanlarının geçirebilecekleri, Lokali vardır. Yazılı bir kural olmamasına karşın özellikle işçilerin Lokal 2'ye gitmelerine çok sıcak bakılmamaktadır. Bunu özellikle özelleştirme öncesi işe giren işçilerin anlatılarında gözlemlemek mümkündür. Bunun yanı sıra, Lokallerdeki hizmet kalitesi de birbirinden oldukça farklıdır. Bu tür bir mekansal

kurgulanış işçilerin, toplumsal eşitsizliklerin sınıfsal olarak deneyimlere sebep olmuştur.

Gündelik hayatın karşıtlık bilincine bir diğer önemli etkisi ise, önemli oranda işçinin Lojmanlarda oturmasından kaynaklı olarak, iş arkadaşlarının iş dışında da birlikte zaman geçirmelerine imkan sağlamasıdır. İşçiler Lokallerde sadece çeşitli iskambil oyunları oynamamaktadırlar. Bu mekanlar aynı zamanda işte karşılaşılan sorunların, sendikal mücadelenin tartışıldığı ve siyasi sohbetlerin yapıldığı yerlerdir. Bu mekansal yakınlık işçiler arasında dayanışma kültürünün gelişmesine imkan tanımaktadır.

Araştırmanın önemli bulgularından bir tanesi özelleştirme karşıtı mücadelenin işçilerde dayanışma bilincini artırdığıdır. Bu mücadele deneyimini yaşamış işçiler haklarını alabilmek için birlikte mücadele etmek gerekliliğinin daha da çok farkındadırlar. Bu işçiler aynı zamanda dayanışmanın uluslararası anlamda da önemini bilincindedirler. Birçok işçinin anlatısında özelleştirmeye karşı gerçekleştirdikleri eylemler sırasında dayanışma bilincinin önemini kavradıklarını gözlemlemek mümkündür. Kimi eylemler bu noktada öne çıkmaktadır. Örneğin, Petkim'in özelleştirme ihalesini protesto etmek için gerçekleştirilen 'Ankara Yürüyüşü' bunlar arasında en önemlisidir. Özelleştirmey karşı yürütülen mücadelenin kaybedilmesinin en önemli sebebinin birleşik bir mücadele yürütülmesi olduğunun bilinceler. Bundan dolayı da dayanışmanın gerekliliğine inanıyorlar.

Araştırmada öne çıkan bir diğer önemli bulgu, işçilerin çok yüksek adaletsizlik hislerinin olduğudur. İşçilerin çok önemli bir bölümü var olan toplumsal düzenin çok eşitsiz olduğunu düşünmektedir. Birçok işçi zenginlerin bu konuma çalışarak geldiği fikrine katılmamaktadır. Derinlemesine görüşmelerde bu adaletsizlik algısının da özelleştirme sürecinde yaşanan deneyim ile yakından ilişkisinin var olduğunu gözlemledim. Fakat bu adaletsizlik algısının yapısal ilişkiler çerçevesinde kavrandığını ileri sürmek mümkün değildir. İşçiler, yoksulluğun ve toplumsal adaletsizliğin nedenini kapitalist üretim ilişkileri çerçevesinde değerlendirmemektedirler.

İşçilerin örgütsel bilinçlerinin de çok yüksek olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. İşçiler, sendikalı olmanın kendilerine çok büyük bir güven sağladığını düşünüyorlar ve işçilerin haklarını aramak için örgütlenmeleri gerektiğinin oldukça farkındalar. Bununla birlikte, işçiler Türkiye’de sendikaların işçilerin haklarını korumakta yeterince başarılı olamadığını düşünüyorlar. Buna karşın örgütlü buldukları Petrol-İs sendikasını ise daha farklı değerlendiriyorlar. İşçilerin büyük bir çoğunluğu Petrol-İs’in faaliyetlerden memnunlar. Fakat yine de genç işçilerin sendikaya yönelik kimi eleştirilerin de var olduğunu belirtmek gerekiyor. Genç işçilerin sendikaya yönelik hoşnutsuzluğunun en önemli nedeni, 2006 sonrası işe giren işçilere yönelik uygulanan ‘düşük ücret politikasına’ sendikaların yeterince çözüm bulamamasıdır. Özellikle, 2011 yılında imzalanan toplu sözleşme 2006 sonrası ve 2006 öncesi işe giren işçiler arasındaki ücret farkları yüzde yirmiye kadar geriletilmiş olmasına rağmen, 2013 toplu sözleşmesinde bu konuda her hangi bir iyileşme gerçekleştirilememiştir. Bundan dolayı genç işçilerin sendikaya yönelik daha eleştirel oldukları görülmektedir. Fakat bu işçiler aynı zamanda sözleşmenin imzalanma biçimini de çok bürokratik bulmaktadırlar. Kendilerine süreç hakkında hiç bilgi verilmediğini dile getiren işçiler, sendikayı bu konuda eleştirmektedirler. Genç işçilerin bu eleştirilerinin salt ekonomik sebeplerden kaynaklandığını iddia etmek çok doğru olmayacaktır. Bu işçiler için aradaki ücret farkı adil olmayan bir uygulamadır. Dolayısıyla işçilerin tepkilerinin adaletsizliğe yönelik bir tepki olarak okumak mümkündür.

Araştırmanın dikkat çekici sonuçlarından bir diğeri ise, sendikal eğitim programına katılan işçilerin sınıfsal bilinçlerinin daha yüksek olduğudur. Bu işçiler, toplumsal eşitsizlikleri sömürü kavramları çerçevesinde kavramsallaştırmaya daha eğilimlidir. Bu noktada, sendika üyeliğinin tek başına sınıfsal bilinci arttırmadığını, sendikaların siyasal yönelimlerinin üyeleri üzerinde önemli etkileri olduğunu iddia edebiliriz. Petrol-İş sendikası üye eğitimine en çok önem veren sendikalardandır. Fakat yine de araştırmaya katılan işçilerin %34’ünün eğitim programına katıldıkları görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu eğitim programlarının kapsamının geliştirilmesi daha mücadeleci bir işçi sınıfının oluşturulması anlamında oldukça önemlidir.

Yukarıda işçilerin yüksek bir adaletsizlik ve sınıfsal karşıtlık bilinçlerinin olduğunu belirtmişim. Fakat işçilerin var olan toplumsal eşitsizlikleri kapitalist üretim

ilişkileri çerçevesinde yani *sınıfsal bir bütünlük* ile kavrayabildiklerini ileri sürmek oldukça zordur. Dolayısıyla sınıf kimliği, sınıf karşıtlığı ve sınıfsal bütünlük arasında güçlü bir ilişkinin varlığından söz edilemez. Bunu işçilerin özelleştirmeye yönelik tutumları çerçevesinde değerlendirmekte mümkündür. İşçilerin çok yüksek bir oranda özelleştirmeye karşı oldukları belirtilmelidir. Fakat özelleştirmeyi sınıfsal terimlerle kavramsallaştıran işçilerin oranı oldukça düşüktür.

İşçilerin yüksek adaletsizlik hislerinin, alternatif bir toplumsal düzen kurmaya yönelik bir eğilime dönüşmediği belirtilmelidir. İşçilerin daha eşit bir düzen kurma istekleri var olmakla birlikte bu isteklerinin kapitalist toplumsal ilişkilerin sınırlarını aştığını söyleyemeyiz. Araştırmaya katılan işçilerin çok azı alternatif düzen hayallerini ‘sosyalizm’, ‘komünizm’ gibi kavramlara referansla tanımlıyorlar. Gramsci’nin (1971) üçlü ayırımından hareketle, işçilerin kendi korporatist çıkarlarını aşarak, sınıfsal bir dayanışmanın gerekliliğini kavradıklarını söyleyebiliriz. Fakat işçilerin, kendilerini hegemonik bir sınıf olarak örgütleyebildiklerini iddia edilemez. Sonuç olarak şunu söyleyebiliriz: Özelleştirme karşıtı mücadeleye katılan, görece daha yaşlı işçiler, daha yüksek sınıfsal bilince sahipler. Kolektif mücadele, işçilerin sınıfsal farkındalığını artırmasının yanı sıra geçmiş deneyimleriyle de eleştirel bir ilişki kurmalarına imkan tanıyor.

APPENDIX E

CURRICULUM VITAE

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BS	GAZI Unv., Public Relations	2000

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Year	Place	Enrollment
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2009-2011	Giresun Unv.	Lecturer

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

Türkiye’de Ücretli Emekçilerin Parçalanma Örüntüleri, *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 13 (50), 161-174.

İşçi Sınıfı Bilinci Üzerine Güncel Yaklaşımlar, *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 3 (38), 347-374.

APPENDIX F

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Çetin
Adı : YILMAZ
Bölümü : Sociology

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): **ANTI-PRIVATIZATION STRUGGLES and WORKING-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS THE CASE OF ALIAGA PETKIM**

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: