

CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE LABOUR PROCESS IN A
TURKISH FACTORY

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by
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To my mother, father, sister and brothers

ABSTRACT

The relationship between the capitalist labour-process and consciousness constitutes a major concern for the Social Sciences today. This thesis is an inquiry into that relationship in the context of an underdeveloped country, namely Turkey. It explores the mechanisms that are at work in a glass manufacturing factory and how these affect the nature of the workers' consciousness. The methods of participant observation, questionnaire and interview were utilised to study the structural aspects of the factory mode of production, and the workers' views and feelings about the labour-process. Utilizing a broad Marxist framework, the thesis questions some of the widely held assumptions about the degrading influence of the capitalist labour process on the workers. It suggests that in the context of underdevelopment, the tendency to fragment the workers' consciousness coexists with collectivizing forces. The agricultural background of the workers accounts for most of their resistance to capitalist habituation. The management, on the other hand, acts as the mediating agent of capitalist norms and values, and is an important source of reference for the workers in acquiring new identities. One major postulate is that the Turkish workers seek meaning and identity in the work situation and are not privatised. They thus have the possibility of transcending the alienating effects of the labour-process in the domain of consciousness. The key concepts throughout the thesis are control, responsibility and consciousness. The workers do have a relatively totalistic conception of the labour process, and to an extent exert control over it, yet this does not necessarily mean they have control over their lives. Therefore, the thesis argues that job consciousness and class consciousness are two separate phenomena, and the former does not necessarily lead to the latter. In so far as the capitalist labour process precipitates the split existence of the three domains of control, responsibility and consciousness, the transformation of job consciousness into class consciousness is severely impeded.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FAB: Short for the Turkish word FABRIKA (factory) used as a synonym for the site at which the research was carried out.

Province: The name given to the town where FAB is located.

Admin Block^{*}: The Administrative Block in FAB

BIC : Bottle and Industrial Containers Plant in FAB

SG : Sheet-Glass Plant in FAB

TBGI or) : The Holding Company of the Turkish Bottle and Glass Holding Co) : Industry.

TLB : Turkish Labour Bank

C.B. CONTRACT : Collective Bargaining Contract

C.W.U : Crystalworks Union

F.G.W. : Free Glass Workers (Union)

QE (A number) : The Questionnaire number (as indicated in brackets) representing a respondent

QC : Quality Control

PC : Process Control

* Admin Block is the term used by T. Nichols and H. Beynon in Living with Capitalism. For this label, as well as FAB and Province, I was inspired by their abbreviations.

"The dialectical method of inquiry is best described as research into the manifold ways in which entities are internally related. It is a voyage of exploration that has the whole world for its object, but a world which is conceived of as relationally contained in each of their parts."

Bertell Ollman

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I am looking at the labour-process in a glassworks factory in Turkey. The purpose has been to investigate the relationship between the labour-process and the consciousness of the workers. In order to do so, I examined various theories, primarily Marx's theory of the capitalist labour process and, within that context, B. Ollman's interpretation of Marx on the question of man, his work, and the relation between the two. The relation between 'time' as a capitalist concept and work-discipline is established by E.P. Thompson and his analysis provided me with tools that could be employed in the Turkish context. Similarly, A. Gouldner's 'unemployed selves' and 'utilitarian appraisal' concepts gave me framework for an analysis of the Turkish workers' newly acquired identities, and the nature of managerial ideology in FAB, respectively. The thesis also takes cognisance of material used in other (i.e., other than Turkish) social contexts. Among those I have found most useful and inspiring are the various works by T. Nichols and H. Beynon for the British context, and H. Braverman and S. Aronowitz for the United States. My approach to these works and various others cited throughout the text is not critical, but is one of seeking useful theoretical and analytical tools which can be applied to the Turkish context. By this method, I was able to lay the foundation of a framework with which I could analyse the labour-process in the Turkish context and meaningfully reconstruct the everyday reality of life in the factory. I should add that there is no other study in Turkey of a similar nature, which burdened the research with the weight of entering virgin territory.

This research is a theoretically focussed empirical work, and although I am well aware that from the findings of one factory it is not possible to extrapolate global truths, inferences have been made to

more general issues whenever this has seemed appropriate. Therefore, throughout the thesis, I am operating at different levels of analysis. What I mean by this is as follows: the analysis contains what is unique to the FAB factory in particular, and to underdevelopment in general, thereby constituting two distinct yet interrelated levels of analysis. At the same time, however, I am dealing with more 'universal' issues which comprise another level of analysis. Some of these issues are 'alienation', variations in the 'definition and scope' of 'concept of change', and 'sources of reference', especially for seeking and acquiring a new identity. Thus, the different levels of analysis can be summarised as follows:

1. One factory in particular,
2. Turkey in particular,
3. Underdevelopment in general particularity,
4. Theoretical abstractions - claims to universal truths (at the abstract level).

The aim of operating at four seemingly distinct yet closely interrelated levels of analysis is to attempt to reconstruct a total picture of the various mechanisms that have bearing on the workers' consciousness. Furthermore, this method enabled me to substantiate some of the theoretical arguments in the concrete situation of FAB and Turkey.

A variety of research techniques was employed in order to pursue the study's purpose. I was at the factory between January and September 1978; and for the first six weeks I worked as a trainee quality controller in two different plants. This was in order to acquire a sense of factory work, as well as to make preliminary observations for the conduct of the research. The findings of my participant observation are entered in a diary, which is the source of all the quotes in the text wherever no other source is referred to. A questionnaire was also used, which was followed by an in-depth interview with a sub-section of the questionnaire sample. Finally, some documents provided by the management were also included in the research material.

The presentation of the findings of the research is structured into two

parts. In a sense, each part constitutes a separate entity: in Part I, the empirical findings are presented, and in Part II, workers' own perceptions and reflections on the labour-process are given, and inferences about their consciousness are drawn from these. The connection between Parts I and II is that Part I, in providing the background information to the objective conditions of the workers, and the characteristics of the labour-process, lays the ground for the subjective assessment the workers make of the labour-process and their relation to it, as given in Part II. A detailed list of contents has been provided, hence here I shall not go into any further detail of the contents of each chapter separately.

In both Part I and Part II, some of the everyday material is given in detail. This is in order to give the actual feel of the everyday reality of the workers and managers, as it is lived by them. Similarly, it is the only way I can make a vivid reconstruction of these experiences, as I, during my participant observation, came to know them.

In what follows, I hope to demonstrate that there is a relationship between the labour-process and consciousness. The factory studied employs western technology, and both the organisation of work and managerial techniques are analogous to their advanced capitalist counterparts. In this respect, the labour-process in the FAB factory is a capitalist labour-process (CLP) in its essentials. However, it is demonstrated in the thesis that the CLP is modified because it takes place in the context of underdevelopment, and the particular history and culture of the Turkish society. Insofar as the relationship between workers' consciousness and the labour-process is concerned, one major proposition of this thesis is that the divisive nature of the CLP does imply a fragmented consciousness. However, there is room for transforming some of the separating forces in the CLP into collectivizing forces by workers consciously acting upon them. It is asserted that the workers are not mere subjects passively accepting the influence of the CLP. They are historical products as well as dynamic beings each of whom has his/her own uniqueness, his/her own totality which cannot be reduced to an element in an abstract theory. It is precisely this dynamism that generates the interrelationship between the life-processes and the consciousness of the workers who are both

the object and the subject of these processes. This dynamism was what I was interested in investigating, not only in its manifestations; but also, in the workers' consciousness of it.

This brings us to the leitmotif of this thesis. When I started to write the thesis in 1979, a piece of news on B.B.C. inspired me with an idea that seemed to provide the connecting thread between the CLP and consciousness. The news item* stated that the busmen were all out on strike because they wanted an official control after the buses were repaired. Their reason for wanting this was that buses which had been sent out after repair had proved to be faulty, and they had had to suffer the consequences.

It seemed that in this piece of news was concealed the nature of modern civilisations, and also the consciousness of this nature. The key word here is 'control'. To be more specific, I want to demonstrate that intensification of the control function under capitalism is realised, not by the desires and actions of the management alone, but also by the internalisation and practice of the same attitudes on the part of the workers themselves. This is clearly expressed in the above news. It seems that the next issue the strikes will be about is workers' demand for another 'controller' to control the worker who does the 'official controlling' of the repairman. The point is that both the controllers and the controlled are workers, and furthermore, the demand for more control is also made by workers. The problem arises for the bus-men because the maintenance and repair workers presumably do not perform their jobs 'properly'. The implication is that, the level of 'consciousness' that would make one aware of the consequences of doing one's own job properly or not, is lacking. Therefore, the bus-men demand more control which merely locates this necessary level of consciousness one step further up the hierarchy. Somehow, the maintenance and repair workers will not do their jobs properly, but the newly appointed controller will, and moreover, this will solve the problem. This seems to be the assumption made. What happens, in effect, is that 'responsibility' is transferred to another level; and if one stretches one's imagination, these levels can climb up almost

*7/3/1979, Radio 2, B.B.C. news at 11 a.m.

indefinitely.*

Ideally, the solution to the problem of the bus-men, and to similar problems that arise for the workers in FAB, is that everybody should do his job with commitment, and to the best of his ability. This is precisely what capitalism (or any other social system) aspires to achieve. However, it is precisely the same system that prevents this from happening. In depriving the workers of the 'control' of their own labour-power, its means and products, the CLP forces the workers to hand over the 'responsibility' for the labour-process to the capitalist, who owns the elements of the labour-process in the first place. Avoiding 'responsibility' however acts against the workers' interests, since the managerial solution to 'irresponsible' labourers is intensification of control. Furthermore, the 'need' for more 'control' is often internalised by the workers as in the case of the bus-men above.

In conclusion, three concepts, namely 'control', 'responsibility' and 'consciousness' seem to be the key concepts in the relationship between the worker and the labour-process, and they are used as connecting threads throughout this thesis. In what follows, I attempt to demonstrate that these three concepts were the crux of the problems expressed by the workers and managers alike, during my research in FAB. Finally, I hope to show by the end of the thesis that, inasmuch as FAB workers exerted control over the labour-process, they did not think it to be solely the management's responsibility and this, to an extent, prevented the development of a 'fragmented' consciousness.

* This phenomenon is finite if limited to the boundaries of the capitalist system; infinite if the individual's relation to life is considered. In the latter case, the ascent can reach 'God', which is an infinite concept itself. By thus referring to a concept like 'God', man also hands over the responsibility for his own life to a power over and above himself.

CHAPTER I

THE FACTORY

i) Introduction

'The body of the factory' can best be described as 'machinery organised into a system'¹ and the nature of this 'organisation' is determined by the mode of production. A factory also shows the characteristics of the social system in which it is set and contains, as a microcosm, the prevalent relations of the wider society. The factory form of industrial production, as we know it today, is historically specific to the development of capitalism. In this context it can be said that the factory form of industrial production assumes common structure, relations and appearances in all capitalist social formations.

However, this does not mean that the factory as a system of social relations is identical in every capitalist formation for, as has been said, it also displays the characteristics of the society and locality into which it is integrated. The stage of capitalist development, the nature of agricultural and industrial production, the history and the culture assign a significance to a particular factory (or to all factories in a particular country) which may not hold true for the model factory form of production.

The factory form of production in a transitional/underdeveloped economy shows differences to that in a fully developed capitalist economy in terms of its impact on the society. It can be said that, in an advanced capitalist society, the factory form of production, with all its implications, dominates the society, whereas the factory form of production, with all its inter-related aspects, does not dominate the whole of transitional/underdeveloped societies. In fact, it is argued in this thesis that the factory is itself dominated by, or rather dependent on, other forms of industrial production, i.e., on artisan and handicraft types of small scale production.

The study of a factory in a particular region of Turkey, at a specific point in history, will provide an empirical base for the argument

outlined above, as well as revealing many other important aspects of the factory form of production in Turkey. An essential first step, before looking at the workings of the FAB factory in detail, is to briefly consider the geographical and historical circumstances surrounding the establishment and setting of FAB.

ii) FAB Factory: The Background

a) The Locality

FAB is located about 12km. away from a large harbour town, Province, which is the second largest town in Çukurova, with its population of half a million. Çukurova, in the Mediterranean region of Turkey,² is one of the most fertile areas in the country and this, combined with its coastal access, may go some way to explaining why it experienced the impact of western capitalism earlier than any other region in Ottoman Turkey.³ The region has natural boundaries, drawn by the Taurus mountains and the Mediterranean coast. The only pass through the mountains (first discovered by Caesar the Great) links Çukurova with the Anatolian peninsular.

The intrusion of the British in the 1850's, to expand cotton production and establish plantations, marks the first introduction of capitalist relations to the region. From this time the British tried to introduce a rail network to Çukurova and were eventually successful in this by 1883,⁴ thus enabling the transport of cotton from the region to the harbour. In 1906 the railway company set up by the British was bought out by the Germans who continued to expand the system; in 1908 the railway line in Çukurova was officially linked with the famous Baghdad railroad. While the German imperialists thus gained access to the Mediterranean coast, the Çukurova region, and Ottoman Anatolia in general, experienced the replacement of feudal production relations with those of capitalist cash relations.

Since the arrival of the British, Çukurova has been a vast cotton field and this, to a great extent, has determined the region's subsequent development. Between 40% and 60% of the cotton production of the Ottoman Empire, during the second half of the nineteenth century, was exported from Çukurova and 1968 figures show that the region is still

the major centre for cotton production and export in Turkey.⁵ The harbour access of the region was, of course, of significant value in making it such a centre.

Indeed, the development of Province harbour can be seen to follow closely the phases of development of capitalism in Turkey generally.⁶ The harbour's development can be divided into three stages: the first was when use of the harbour was encouraged in the 1890's, tying in with the development of a transport network in the area by Britain and Germany described above. In the second stage, around 1953, the harbour was partially modernised to meet the refreshed needs of capitalist development in Turkey. This stage coincides with the second 'take-off' of Turkish capitalism generally, with the backing for this being provided by the Marshall Aid Programme. The third stage, which made Province harbour the second largest in Turkey after Istanbul,⁷ involved the complete reconstruction of the harbour in the period around 1969, in a time in which the development of capitalism in Turkey was gaining new impetus.⁸

Aside from being the most important cotton producer, Çukurova is also the main source of food in Turkey and this is reflected in the fact that 57.5% of its working population are employed in agriculture. The distinguishing feature of industry in the region is its heavy dependence on agriculture and, thus, industrial production is mainly concerned with textiles and oil extractions, although in recent years consumer goods industries have also developed.⁹

The rapid industrialisation the region is currently experiencing make it a source of both seasonal and permanent employment, consequently many people, especially the peasants freed of land in Eastern Anatolia, come to seek jobs in Province and Çukurova generally. The traditional seasonal migration from the Taurus mountains down to the plains, when whole villages, from a child of six to a grandmother of sixty, travel to look for work, especially on the cotton plantations, has given rise to many legends and formed the subject of several Turkish literary classics, e.g., Memet, My Hawk by Yashar Kemal. The hardships these people suffer during their journey, the scorching heat of the Mediterranean sun, the mosquitoes with the attendant risk of malaria, and the ruthless conditions they experience on arrival, working hours from dawn to sun-set, wages below subsistence level, have provided the

material for many works of art, poetry and, especially, films. The key theme in the cultural tributes to these people is their heroism, they are a people apart who have emerged from their sufferings as brave and reliable. (See also, the Çukurova types, below, as caricatured in Girgir, a Turkish weekly comic magazine)

The constant immigration into the region has given its population a unique composition: 'Turks', 'Kurds' and 'Arabs' co-exist while retaining some of their own ethnic and religious characteristics and, although actual manifestations of unrest occur only occasionally, the inter-group hostility gives rise to an ever-present but concealed uneasiness. It is these immigrants who provide the cheap labour for the already existing industries of the region and, in turn, reinforce the process of industrialisation.

It was the plentiful labour available in the area which was a prime consideration in the location of FAB in Province. Another important reason for its siting was the closeness of the harbour and the consequent reduction of costs. In addition there are certain parts of the Çukurova region which are priority areas for investment. Throughout the history of the Republic, the relative backwardness of East and South Eastern Anatolia has been a major cause of concern for state-planners, who attempted to deal with the problem by the use of economic incentives, graded according to priority level, combined with restrictions on the more popular sites for industrial development.¹⁰ FAB was thus able to take advantage of these incentives while the location was still sufficiently attractive to persuade higher grade personnel to live there.

The overwhelming disadvantage of the location of FAB is the very hot Mediterranean climate. While this does not affect the actual production process, it is of great importance to the working conditions of the employees. This is especially true in the summer when the heat outside the factory combined with the heat generated by the furnaces and newly-made glass inside together produce conditions which are unbearable, both physically and psychologically, for the workers. Sweat pours over their bodies and blinds their eyes, resulting in workers suffering from dizziness and fainting and many types of fungal diseases of the skin. These irritating and uncomfortable conditions lead to high levels of absenteeism, particularly in the summer months, and thus form a problem for management; yet climate was never a major consideration in the

indik
ÇUKUROVA
 THE PAGE FOR THOSE WHO ARE
 EVEN MORE FED UP WITH LIFE THAN YOU!!

Yazan: Galip TEKİN
 Çizen: Ergün GÜNDOZ



PEOPLE OF NOTE FROM ÇUKUROVA.....

Ferdi Tayfur *
 STARTED CRYING IN ARABESQUE STYLE AT BIRTH. HOPES FOR IMPROVEMENT WERE SHATTERED WHEN HE MADE EVEN STRANGER SOUNDS AS A YOUNG MAN. IT WAS ONLY WHEN HIS PARENTS TOOK HIM TO ISTANBUL FOR TREATMENT THAT HE WAS FOUND TO BE SINGING! SOON HE BECAME A HOUSEHOLD NAME IN TURKEY WITH RECORDS AND FILMS. THE CONTROVERSY WHETHER HE CRIES OR SINGS REMAINS. SCIENCE WILL NO DOUBT FIND AN ANSWER.

Sakip Sabancı **
 BORN INTO POVERTY IN ADANA, HE GRASPED THE PRINCIPLES OF MONEY-MAKING SO QUICKLY THAT AT 50K HE WAS SELLING TO SHOPS ALL THE CANDY HE WAS GIVEN AT PARTIES. SOON HE BOUGHT A SPADE, DUG A HOLE AND THUS QUALIFIED FOR STATE AID TO BUILD A FACTORY. SO GIFTED WAS HE IN FACTORY BUILDING AND KNOWING WHAT TO PRODUCE, HE SOON BECAME THE RICHEST MAN IN TURKEY. HE STILL PROTESTS "EMPTY POCKETS" AND EXHIBITS THEM DAILY AT THE NATIONAL EXHIBITION CENTRE

CLIMATE IN ÇUKUROVA



LESSER KNOWN FACTS ABOUT ÇUKUROVANS

WHY DO THEY LIKE THEIR FOOD SO HOT? FROM BIRTH THE ÇUKUROVA CHILD SWEARS. NEVER 'MUMMY' OR 'DADDY' - ALWAYS FOUR LETTER WORDS, AS A PUNISHMENT HIS LIPS ARE RUBBED WITH CHILLIES BUT HE GETS USED TO IT AND LATER CANNOT DO WITHOUT IT. (NOTE: IF YOU ARE NOT A ÇUKUROVAN WOMAN NEVER MARRY A ÇUKUROVAN MAN)



* FERDI TAYFUR: A FAMOUS POPULAR SINGER. HIS ARABESQUE STYLE IS REGARDED AS A POOR FORM BY THE INTELLECTUALS, AND SUBJECT TO RIDICULE
 ** SAKIP SABANCI: A MEMBER OF THE 2ND BIGGEST CAPITALIST FAMILY IN TURKEY. IN A T.V. INTERVIEW, SHOWING HIS EMPTY POCKETS, HE CLAIMED NOT TO HAVE A PENNY! THE IMPLICATION BEING THAT INDUSTRIALISTS TOO SUFFER IN THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

choice of location of FAB.

This aspect of the working conditions at FAB, of which more will be described later, shows that it does not have to be assumed a priori that capitalism's drive to make profit pushes forward at whatever human cost, this is revealed in what can actually be seen, such as in the case of FAB. It is ironic that no consideration is given by the company to the fact that the hundreds of individuals who work at FAB have to endure these conditions when why they are working is precisely to provide the means to make their lives more bearable and comfortable. Human well-being does not enter cost calculations and, therefore, does not directly affect profit rates. Thus climate was not a priority in choosing the location of FAB whereas closeness to a reserve army of unemployed people and a harbour, economic incentives and attractiveness to higher grade personnel were priorities.

The priorities operating in the location of FAB support the description of a factory as capital put to work in certain forms (e.g., tools, machinery, buildings), consuming human labour among other inputs, to produce profit rather than as a group of men organising the necessary elements into a whole, to produce, in order to satisfy their needs. In other words, the organisation of factors of production in the factory form, as it is seen here, is based on the profit motive and does not take account of the immediate needs of the labourers. Had the purpose of production been anything else but profits, certainly, one of the prime considerations would be the well-being of hundreds of workers who would undertake the production.

b) The Economic Base

When three provincial merchants decided to invest in the glass-works industry their aim was to make such profit. At the time of their initial investment, 1965, there was only one potential indigenous seller of the necessary technology, the Holding Company of the Turkish Bottle and Glass Industry. The glass manufacturing sites of the Holding Company, some of them among the oldest sites in the country, did not use the most up to date technology available. However, this was not a major factor in the merchant's choice to buy their technology, for the proposed FAB factory, abroad (from the Belgian firm, Graverbel). The two main purposes in this importation of technology seem to have been,

firstly, to break the monopoly power of the Holding Co. and, secondly, to obtain the credits provided by the State for the use of modern technology.

The merchants' original intention was to produce sheet glass only, therefore the project was prepared accordingly. Every such project is subject to control by the State Planning Organization (SPO), in order to obtain an Encouragement certificate which then entitles the entrepreneurs to state credits. During the 1966-1969 period, the Justice Party was in government, and its pro-Islamic religious wing had control over SPO. This caused an imposition of adding a bottle plant to the original project. SPO wanted the new company to be a serious rival to the TBGI Holding Co. This was explained by one of the top executives of the Holding Co. as attempts to 'help the Muslim brothers' (i.e., the three provincial merchants) against the Holding Co. executive, many of whom were known to be Masons. Hence SPO, by insisting on the establishment of a bottle-plant together with the sheet-glass plant aimed at breaking the monopoly of the Holding Co. since the latter was then most competent in the production of bottles. (Then, the Holding Co. only owned one sheet-glass factory in Istanbul.)

The merchants started their business with a capital of 10 million Turkish Lira (£1 = 50 T.L. at 1978 exchange rate) and the actual construction of the factory took place between 1970 and 1973. In April 1973, the beginning of production was marked by a ceremony at which a woman worker started the first fire in the furnace of the sheet glass factory - the furnace was then named after her. The ceremony saw a gathering of tired but happy people united by their satisfaction in having completed a job successfully and by their excitement and apprehension at seeing how the results of their labour would bear fruit. Regardless of rank or class, everyone was joined by their joy at having completed a difficult task together. These feelings still figure strongly in the memories of many.

Indeed, the whole set-up period is very significant in the memories of those, workers and managers alike, who have been working at FAB since that time. It is an interesting feature of 'industrialising' underdeveloped capitalist societies that it is common to find many individuals working for a firm who have worked there since 'the first foundation stone was laid', that is, there is a continuity in the human source.¹¹ These people possess a knowledge of the totality of the

production process irrespective of their specific jobs. More significantly, these people, at least in the case of the FAB factory, are very much aware of their participation in, and contribution to, industrialisation. To illustrate by comparison: a worker in England when seeking a job in industry finds industry already established, whereas the equivalent young man in Turkey is likely to experience what it is to establish that industry 'with his bare hands'. It is sufficient to just hear a batch preparation operator who explains why he is happy with his job in FAB:

"I am very happy (with my job) Thank God: a human needs to work. Previously I was a mine-worker, so I have done hard work. Therefore, here, I find it easier. The joy in having worked during the set-up - to have made everything with my hands - and then open it to production is something different!"
(My emphasis)

This aspect of underdeveloped countries, when examined within the context of Turkish society specifically, has a historical base with which it inter-relates and which still influences the men and women of Turkey in the 1970's, particularly in their conception of industry, work and development. This point is of great importance as it had many implications for the formation of working class consciousness, which will be drawn out later in this thesis, and the historical background to it is, therefore, outlined here.

The Turkish Republic, heir to the Ottoman Empire, was declared in October 1923.¹² This date also marks the completion of the change in relations between Turkey and European imperialism, for it was in this year that the war of independence, which was waged since 1919, was won. That this war was 'anti-imperialist' in nature was stated by the leader himself, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in his 'great speech'.¹³ However, the economic policies pursued by the Republic's ruling elite cannot be described as anti-capitalist. The Republic introduced reform measures to bring about 'Westernisation' and the following attempts at development ran parallel with endeavours at 'nation-building', as the school of Modernisation Theories would call it.¹⁴ Essential to the Kemalist ideology in the early years of the Republic was the creation of a 'national identity' as 'Turks'. The model of development to bring Turkey to 'the level of the West' was seen as capitalism.¹⁵ In the absence of an entrepreneurial class, however, the State had to take on the task of the creation of a national bourgeoisie to perform this function and, in the meantime, to undertake this rôle itself.

The establishment of the Turkish Labour Bank (TLB) by the then ruling People's Republican Party (PRP) was part of the programme for funding such entrepreneurial activities. TLB is the largest national quasi-private bank in Turkey and the largest shareholder in this bank is a Trust Fund of its employees, owning 34% of the shares. The remaining shares are distributed as follows:

- 28% Atatürk shares
- 26% Public shares (over 5000 persons)
- 12% National Treasury shares

The Atatürk shares are represented by the PRP, and the earnings on these shares go to two State institutions, namely, Turkish Institute of History (TTK), and Turkish Institute of Language (TDK).* These, as given above, are thus the distribution of the shares of the TLB.

TLB is in turn, the largest shareholder of the Turkish Bottle and Glass Industry Holding Co. (TBGI), such that TLB owns 86% of the latter's shares. 6% of the remaining shares are owned by its (TLB's) Trust Foundation of its employees, and 8% are owned by the Public.

The Holding Co. stood as a rival to FAB until 1976, in which year, by manipulation of the market mechanisms described below, the Holding Co. managed to gain ownership of FAB. Thus, only after the change of ownership the TLB together with the TBGI assumed control over 42% of all the shares of FAB. Following the take-over, the distribution of shares was thus:

<u>Shareholder</u>	<u>% of shares owned</u>
Turkish Labour Bank (TLB)	30
Turkish Bottle & Glass Industry Holding Co. (TBGI)	12
Turkish Construction and Credit Bank (TCCB)	20
International Finance Corporation (IFC)	6.5
BSN (French firm)**	6.5
Turkish Trade Bank (TTB)	2.5
General Public	fluctuates

** These shares were initially owned by the mother-Belgian firm, Graverbel, which were later bought by the French firm BSN.

* All these figures are obtained from the management of the Holding Co., they were also published in Tercüman (a Turkish daily) on 3rd April, 1979.

Notice that, the TLB and the Holding Co. together own 42% of the shares in FAB, which make them the largest single shareholder (remember that the TLB owns the largest shares of the Holding Co. itself), which means that they have, in effect, hegemony with regard to decision making about the running of FAB. That this is so, can be seen from an examination of the composition of the then (immediately after the change of ownership) executive body of FAB:

<u>Shareholders</u>	<u>Number of representatives in the Executive</u>
TLB	4
TCCB	2
Private Sector	1
Foreign Representation	1
*	

*There were 2 representatives of IFC initially, but after Graverbel changed hands, these two seats were left open.

The key fact to be drawn out from the above is that the TLB is the largest shareholder in FAB, and is itself controlled by the Union of its employees (as the largest shareholder by 34%). This means that one set of employees (the TLB employees) is organised such that it indulges in capitalist enterprises (shareholding in the TBGI Holding Co.'s sites), as a result of which they take a share in the profits made from the labour of all the employees of the plants of the Holding Co. This is explicable in the Turkish context by reference to what was explained earlier about the 'nation-building' attempts of the Etatist** policies of industrialisation. That is to say, it can be explained in terms of the aim of providing for primitive capital accumulation.

Change of ownership

The Holding Co. was and still is the largest manufacturer of glass in Turkey and has a monopoly of internal sales of glass in the country which it operates through a network of distributive agents. These agents guarantee not to sell glass except that made available from the Holding Co. In return, the Holding Co. guarantees that it will supply a sufficient amount of glass to meet the demands of these agents. The action of the Holding Co. when FAB started producing sheet glass and

** 'Etatism' = Statism: in Turkish literature, the term 'Etatism' is used, which derives from the French.

bottles is an interesting example of the utilisation of this agency system to control the market further. The Holding Co. reduced its prices by 20% and throughout Turkey glass was sold at this lower fixed price rate. At the same time, 'doing everything possible and utilising every possible source...'¹⁶ glass was stockpiled to meet the possible future demand from the internal market. Under such pressure, it was not long before the provincial merchants gave in and negotiations with the Holding Co. were begun. By the summer of 1976, after only three years of production, FAB was in the hands of the Holding Co. whose monopoly was thus able to continue.

The timing of the take-over was perfect as the workers were demoralised after an unsuccessful strike which had failed to make any significant difference to the collective bargaining contract offered to the union before the action. The union, having accepted the offer, were bound by it for two years and thus the Holding Co. had no such headaches as wage demands and strikes looming in the near future.

It is worth pausing here to consider the implications of the 'change of ownership' for the workers. Change of ownership exhibits the mode of operation of the capitalist system, and its implications are significant for the workers when they are regarded not merely as wage labourers but as human beings. Notice the sentence 'doing everything possible and utilising every possible source we kept the stocks full'. In times like this, for an industrial enterprise there is no quick way of increasing production which does not rely on human sources. In order, therefore, to achieve the excess production targets to fill the stocks, the Holding Co.'s management forced the workers on its many sites to work harder in order to produce more. This, for the workers means, more work in less time under higher levels of stress. It means cancelling holidays, reducing sick allowances and, generally, a much stricter implementation of the rules and regulations of factory discipline.¹⁷ Thus, the Holding Co.'s desire to break its potential rival resulted in thousands of workers in the Company's many sites working under such difficult conditions. Yet those workers did not know, let alone give their consent to the use of their labour to force another firm into bankruptcy. There are, of course, the jobs of the FAB workers to be remembered. These were at stake throughout the period of rivalry and were not safe (relatively speaking) until the Holding Co. actually bought out FAB. It is not uncommon in Turkey for sites to be closed

down after such inter-company disputes.

What all this means is that while the workers of the Holding Co. were working long and hard to increase production, which is bad enough in itself, they were also working against the interests of another group of workers, i.e., those of FAB. Both groups of workers were only working to earn a living for themselves and their families and had no notion of what other ends their labour was being used to obtain, that is, they had no control over their own labour power and what resulted from it. The decisions about such results are taken by capital owners whose aim is to make increasing levels of profit and, in the case of the Holding Co., protecting their monopoly power over the glass industry was essential to this.

Another point to be made here is that the two groups of workers, those of the Holding Co. and those of FAB, were not related to each other via human communication but through market mechanisms, i.e., through the goods they produce and the production relations they enter into thereby. This, I think, exemplifies what Marx meant by 'commodity fetishism',¹⁸ whereby relations between men and women under capitalism are not relations between people but relations between things. This is an exemplification of 'commodity fetishism' because, as Marx asserts, the commodity, being the production of alienated labour, becomes an entity, and exerts a force on the producer. The labourer (its immediate producer) -- for the reasons of not owning his product in the first place, and neither having control over its circulation and consumption once it is produced -- can only relate to his product through the market. In our case, what happened to the FAB workers (or what was a possibility but did not happen) is a result of this. The Holding Co. workers, by producing excess glass over a certain period of time, helped the company in its attempts to bankrupt FAB, therefore, also aided the threat to the FAB workers jobs. The indirect relationship through the market forces (through the glass -- the commodity -- produced) constituted the only relation between the two groups of workers. David Caute's description of 'commodity fetishism', although somewhat simplistic, elucidates the point neatly. He describes what Marx meant by it as 'man-made objects becoming alien and hostile to their creators',^{18a} which I think

underlines the nature of the relation between the two groups of workers in this case, caused by the 'commodity fetishism'.

iii) FAB Factory: Description of the Site

The journey to the site from Province takes around 25 minutes on the bus. The road from the main gate leads first to the Admin block. This gate is protected by one or two guards with pistols in their belts. An identity card has to be produced to gain entry. If you are a visitor, the porter rings the person with whom you have an appointment to ensure that your request for entry is valid. This only applies if you are wanting to see someone working in the Admin block or a site manager, otherwise you have to undergo a similar procedure at the workers' entrance on the north side of the site.

The car park is orderly and there are a few patches of flowers scattered around. The windows of the Admin block, facing the dual-carriageway between Province and the other large town of Çukurova, are made of a tawny coloured glass for protection against the scorching Mediterranean sun. The first impression as you enter the Admin block is that it is cool and quiet. The beautiful examples of Turkish ceramics ornamenting the walls and the big colt's foot plants dotted in the corners add to the general atmosphere of a well-cared for environment. Only as you come close to the far side of the Admin block can you hear a distant humming sound. It is this noise which makes you aware that this modern building is located on a factory site.

In the Redfearn National Glass handbook it is said that:

"Although techniques for making glass have steadily improved and become more efficient the actual materials of which glass is made have remained the same."¹⁹

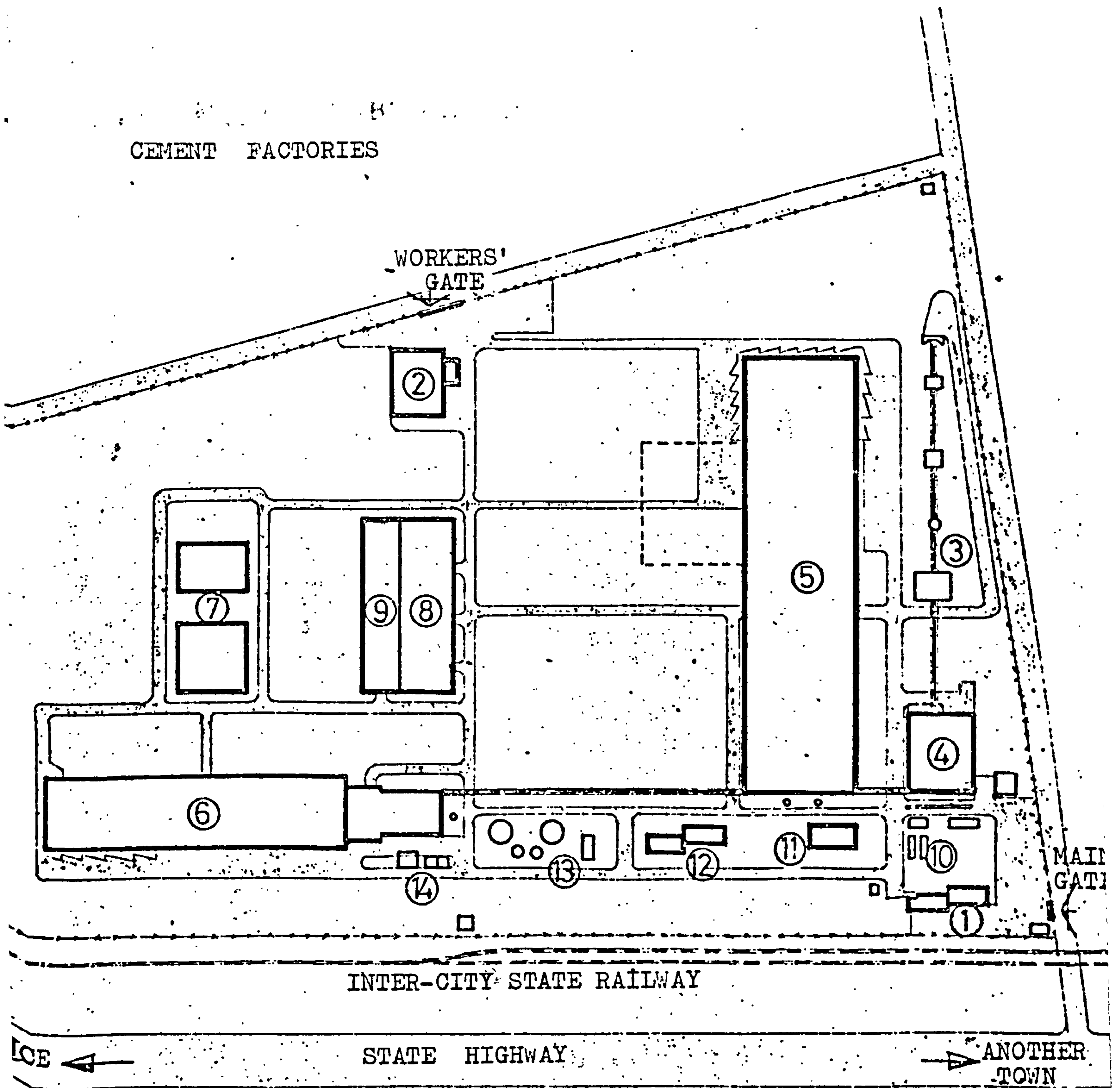
The FAB introductory brochure gives these materials as sand, cullet (i.e., clean broken glass), soda ash, limestone, coal sulphate, dolomite and various other minor additives. Glass is created by the blending and melting of these materials at around 1500°C. in blast-furnaces.

FAB owns a mine where quartz is extracted. Soda was, until recently, imported. The Turkish Labour Bank then invested in the soda industry, using Polish technology and know-how, and a soda-making factory was

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CEMENT FACTORIES



FAB. FACTORY: PLAN OF THE SITE

- 1- ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCK
- 2- SOCIAL UTILITIES
- 3- FLOTATION UNITS
- 4- BATCH PREPARATION UNIT
- 5- BOTTLE FACTORY AND WAREHOUSE
- 6- SHEET GLASS FACTORY AND WAREHOUSE
- 7- WOODWORK UNITS
- 8- WORKSHOPS
- 9- STOREHOUSES
- 10- LIQUID PETROLEUM GAS UNITS
- 11- DIESEL GENERATORS
- 12- WATER TANKS AND COMPRESSOR UNITS
- 13- FUEL OIL TANKS
- 14- WATER COOLING TOWER

established a few kilometres south of FAB. Today this industry supplies the soda for all the glass producing plants of the Holding Co. Indeed, the glass industry is self-sufficient, in that the essential raw materials and semi-manufactured goods are all available in Turkey, with only a few of the special additives having to be imported.

The physical appearance of the site can best be conceived of as a network of buildings connected by, a usually one-way, flow of conveyor belts, pipes and roads, with the flow from one building into another following the order of the production process. The two production plants are central to this network: The Bottle and Industrial Containers factory (BIC) and the Sheet Glass factory (SG). The remaining buildings and facilities are complementary and auxiliary to the main production process. That this is so is reflected in the location pattern shown on the map.

Quartz ore from FAB's mine at Ovacik is carried in lorries to the factory where it is subjected to various treatments in the Sand Preparation Unit (3).^{*} Flootation is the technical term for the preparation of sand for the Batch: a floating technique is used to clear sand of unwanted substances, e.g., aluminium. The purified quartz is then carried on conveyor belts to the Batch Preparation Unit (4). In this plant the cleaned sand undergoes more chemical processes to increase its purity and is then mixed with the other, previously mentioned, raw materials. When the Batch leaves this unit it is ready to be fed into the furnaces from belts located at the roof-level of the factories. The BIC has two furnaces, one for white-flint, the other for coloured glass, whereas the SG has only one. The melting capacities of the BIC furnaces are 180,000kg/day and 120,000kg/day for the white flint and coloured glass furnaces respectively. The capacity of the SG factory is 300,000kg/day. The Batch Preparation Unit has to continuously meet this daily requirement.

The work of Units 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 on the map is also directed towards the main production process as these departments provide the required inputs for the running of the blast-furnaces. Liquid petroleum gas is pumped into the furnaces where it is burnt to generate the required temperature of 1500°C. Pipes carry water from the cooling tower to the furnaces to cool their outer walls, with the help of six pumps

^{*} Numbers in brackets refer to the numbers in the plan of the site attached.

located beneath the Water Tank and Compressor Unit. There are four compressors in this Unit which provide pressurised air to be pumped to the BIC. The air initially leaves the compressors at 150°C. and is cooled down to 50°C. before being sent to the BIC. This Unit also produces the vapour used to create the necessary humid atmosphere to prevent glass from cracking. Again within this set of Units, attached to the fuel oil tanks, is a system for freeing water of lime, unless this is done lime layers form in the various tanks and boilers on the site.

The Woodwork Units and Workshops (7 and 8) make a more indirect contribution to the manufacturing process which I have, therefore, termed as 'complementary' above. In the Woodworks the process of making wooden boxes and pallets begins with the log. Logs are first cut into sheets, which are then fed into another machine, where they are further cut to the desired proportions. At the end of this process are the container-makers who nail the various wooden parts together to form pallets or boxes. These wooden containers are mainly supplied to the SG and especially used in the export of layers of glass which are laid in the containers with some sawdust and wood shavings between them to provide very secure packing. Unit 8 includes four workshops: Mould Production, Mechanical, and General Repair and Maintenance, Building Maintenance and Transport Maintenance. The Mould Production workshop is probably the only one of these requiring further explanation. Blocks of imported steel are carved into the shapes wanted for bottles and containers, the design of these shapes also being a responsibility of this workshop.

FAB is highly self-contained and has the whole manufacturing process, from quartz extraction to packing and marketing, as well as the production of intermediary goods, like containers and moulds, within its immediate control and does not need to have recourse to contracting firms or any other outside bodies.

FAB also tries to meet some of the needs of its workers on site; the social utilities therefore include catering services, changing rooms and showers, a small sick bay, a union office, a small co-operative shop and a lorry drivers' rest room.

The Admin block is exclusive to management, apart from the tea men and

the office orderlies,²⁰ the latter perform personal services for the office staff as well as carrying messages and doing the cleaning. Its exclusivity is reflected in its location; as has been explained, it faces the road outside and has its back to the site. Its isolation from the main works is maintained by checks on who enters among other rules and regulations. Its modern and distinguished looks separate it from the rest of the site which is, in comparison, disorganised, untidy, dirty, dusty and noisy; the only high-pitched sounds in the Admin block are those of the telephones ringing. Offices are smartly decorated, well lit and comfortable. It can be seen that the comfort of those who work here has been a consideration in its design unlike the rest of the site where the concept of comfort in design features nowhere.

It is on this site that glass is produced: flat glass of different sizes and thicknesses, for windows, greenhouses and displays; bottles and jars, big and small, necks wide and narrow, for raki,* beer, jam and medicine. The three furnaces make this glass; furnaces whose chimneys are constantly smoking and which must never be allowed to cool down. These furnaces are the symbol that the factory is alive and represent the sweat, tears, effort and energy which goes into keeping the factory that way.

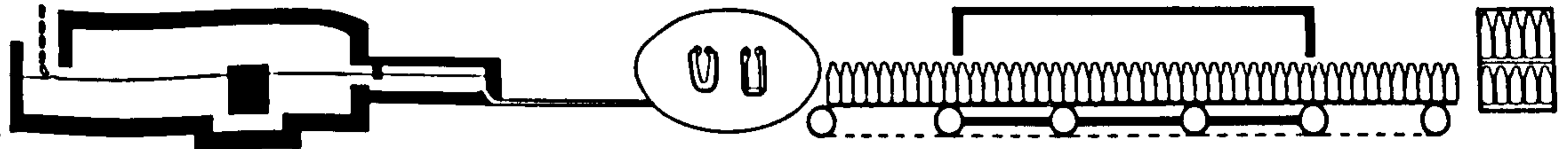
All the work done in FAB has only one aim: to produce glass of the desired quality and quantity at the required time. There are many tasks involved in the fulfilment of this aim and to accomplish these a wide range of skills, tools and machinery need to be used. From the cleaner to the General Director, everyone in FAB expends their physical and mental powers so that glass can be produced, sold and profit made. However, the amount and character of the labour expended, as well as the entitlements and benefits accrued in return, varies tremendously. The social system that FAB is an integral part of has determined this in advance. This differentiation, which operates to the advantage of the managers and the disadvantage of the workers, creates friction among the individuals who work under the one roof of the factory. The position of each individual in the production process, regardless of whether it is one of worker or manager, is of significance as a source of that friction. The very design and flow of the work carried out in the factory creates

* National Turkish drink - a double distilled spirit made of grapes with aniseed added.

Raw materials are automatically mixed and fed into the furnace where they are heated and fused at over 1500°C.

Molten glass is fed into a machine where it is automatically blown. Bottles are made in two stages. First a parison shape is blown. This is transferred to a second mould in which the bottle is blown to its final form.

Bottles are inspected and despatched for subsequent filling, capping and labelling.



Glass Melting Furnace

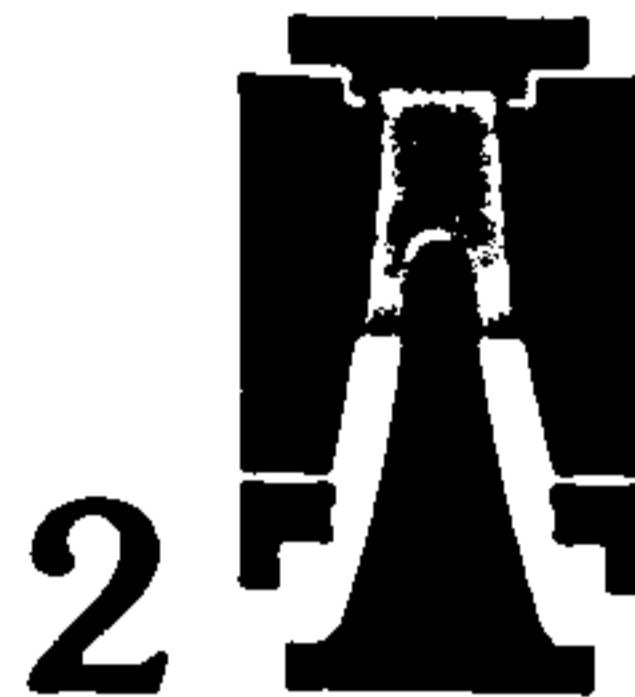
Annealing lehr in which bottles are reheated and gradually cooled to remove stresses.

Wide mouth containers are made by the press and blow process:—

The press and blow process



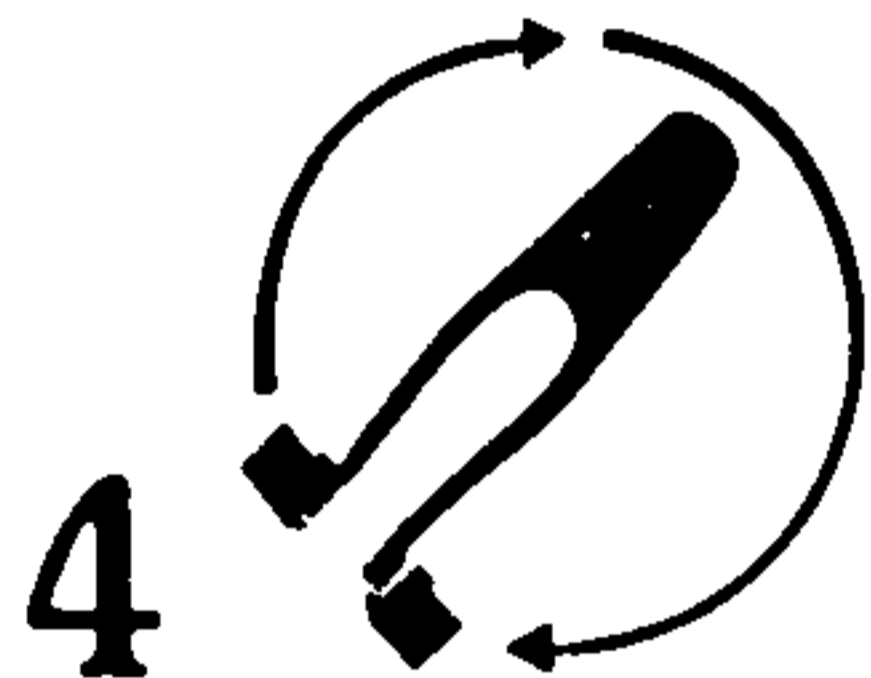
1 Scoops direct the gob to the mould.



2 A plunger presses the molten glass into the blank mould.



3 In this way the roughly-shaped container (the parison) and its neck-ring are formed at the same time.



4 The parison is now inverted —



5 — and placed in the blow mould.



6 Compressed air is forced into the parison, forming the jar.



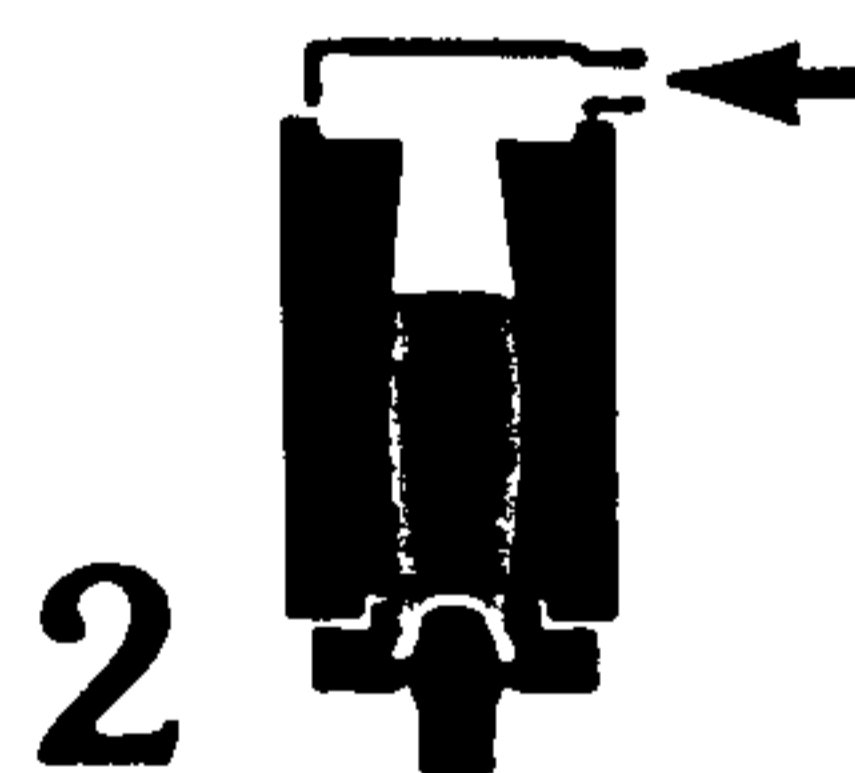
7 Released from the mould, the jar travels to the lehr.

Narrow mouth containers are made by the blow-blow process:—

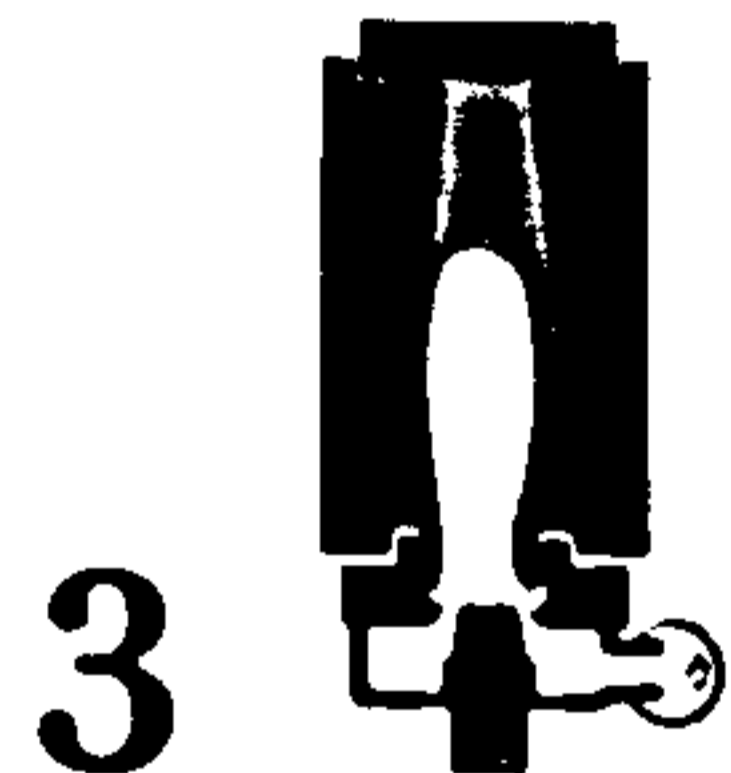
The blow-blow process



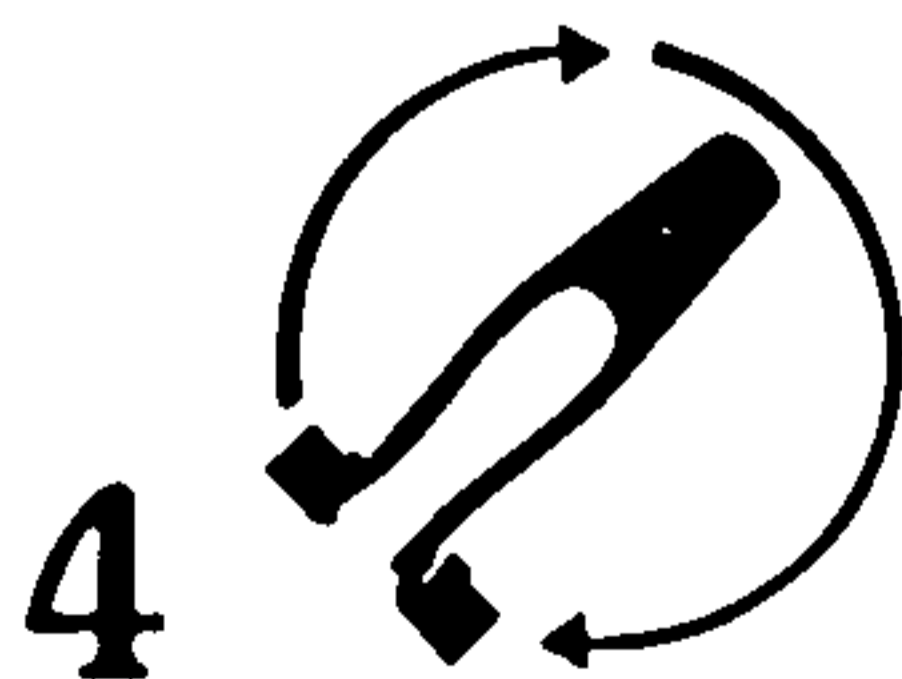
1 Scoops direct the gob to the mould.



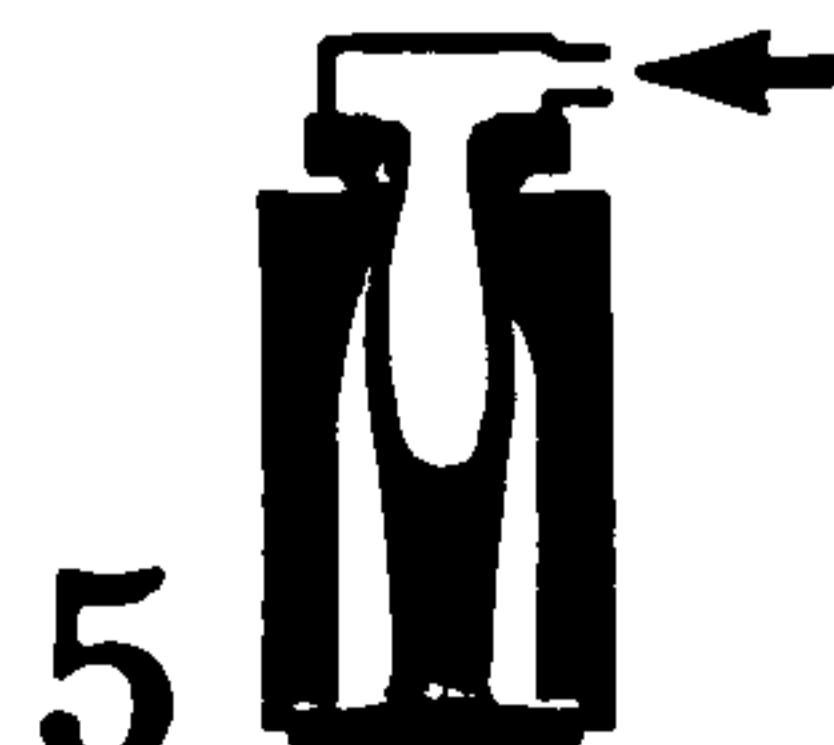
2 Air pressure forces the molten glass down into the blank mould and forms a ring finish (e.g. the screw thread at the mouth of the bottle).



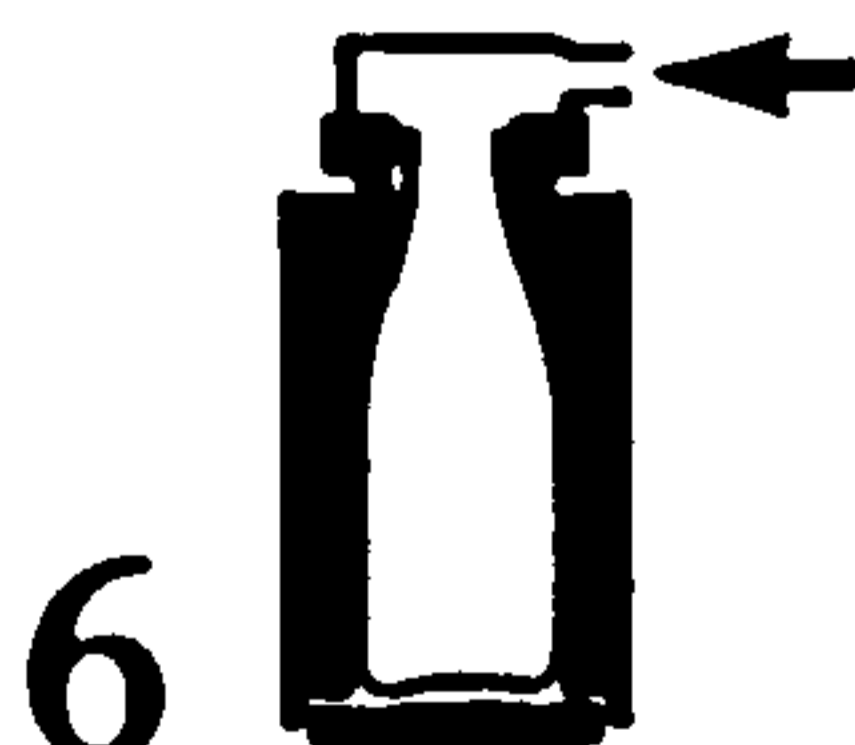
3 Now air pressure from below forms the roughly shaped bottle (the parison).



4 The parison is inverted, and placed in the blow mould.



5 In the blow mould, compressed air is forced into the parison —



6 — and the shape of the bottle is formed.



7 Released from the blow mould, the bottle travels to the lehr.

more possibilities for disharmony than harmony. That this is so can only be truly understood when the full analysis of the workings of FAB is complete.

CHAPTER II.

FAB FACTORY: COMPOSITION OF THE LABOUR-FORCE

It is a widely held assumption that factories are the potential sites wherein the working class develops a collective consciousness.²¹ The workers' identical situation with respect to capital and their similar experiences of working conditions are thought to cause the development of this collective consciousness. Whether or not this is the case in the FAB factory will be discussed in the last section of this thesis. What is important to note here is that workers come to a certain factory site with different work backgrounds and from different ways of life. Especially in an underdeveloped country like Turkey, the discrepancies between people in their previous employment experiences can be as wide ranging and as significant as the differences pertaining to their class origins.

In this section FAB workers will be presented by their demographic characteristics, class origins, rural/urban backgrounds, previous employment, education and training, incomes and housing and living conditions. These are important characteristics of the labour-force because they explain some of the differences in the way workers experience their present jobs even though they are 'all in the same boat'.

i) Demographic Characteristics

In 1978 women formed a very small proportion of all workers in FAB; there are thus only six women in my sample of a hundred and one workers. It is said that only four types of jobs are considered suitable for women: process control, quality control, secretarial, and of course those tasks generally associated with women - cooking and cleaning. Apparently, in 1973 there were more women workers than there are now, and the physically demanding conditions of the glass industry are held responsible both for the fall in numbers, and the current low proportion of women. However the difficult conditions of heavy industry are not the only reason why the numbers of women were reduced. Management believes that a workforce with a rural background are not able to work with women under the same roof. As one of them said, "Those peasants

have never even seen a woman by their sides and so they couldn't of course cope with working together. They just don't have the right manners."

During the initial stage of the factory's establishment there were many incidents of jealousy, assaults on women, either verbally or physically, and fights among men over women, even a stabbing occurred. The rumours that some of the secretaries sleep with the managers are still heard and these contradict tremendously the strict moral rules about men and women which the ex-peasant workers have brought with them to the site and are still sensitive about. All in all, the presence of women was just too much for many of the male workers to take. Therefore, the management found it wisest to employ the minimum number of women, preferably in those posts which require them to work in isolation from the rest of the labour-force. Women are indispensable for those tasks where the delicate handling of glass is required, so the majority of female workers are now employed in quality control, followed by packing, then process control.

An unwritten rule of management employment policy is that applicants for a job should not be over 25 years of age. Management can rationalise their avoidance of employing people older than 25 on the grounds of the physical requirements of most of the jobs in FAB.

The age distribution of the sample is given in the table below:

Table II, i, 1 - Workers by 'age'

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>%</u>
16-25	11.9
26-35	74.3
36-45	12.9
46-55	<u>1.0</u>
	100.0

(Base: respondents 101)

That the majority of workers in the sample are between 26 and 35 bears out the operation of such a management employment policy, given that all

but 10% have been working at FAB for between 3 to 8 years.²²

It is interesting to note that when people of over twenty-five were accepted by FAB this often followed a great deal of effort and 'pushiness' on the part of the applicant. Here is the case of a woman applicant who was thirty-five at the time of her application to FAB who eventually managed to obtain the position of assistant cook. She is married with three children between the ages of ten and seventeen. Her husband, a gambler, lost everything one day so that is why she started to look for a job for herself.

"When it was necessary for me to work, I went to the City Mayor, I went to the Banks. I couldn't find one (a job). The Director at the Bank told me they were looking for workers at FAB. Over three months, I went and went again to FAB. They first said 'you're too old, we don't want to take on old people here.' After that I went away, dressed up and made up, and went back to see the General Director. He sent a note telling the Department Manager to accept me but the day-manager of that department threw the (application) form in my face. I went to see the General Director again and that was it." (QE 18, Q 17)

Life expectancy is relatively low in Turkey (55/60 in urban areas, 50/55 in rural areas for men and women respectively)²³ But not so low as to make reasonable regarding "thirty-five" as 'old'. However, for management to want to only employ people of twenty-five or under is not an unrealistic target. This is firstly because of the high unemployment rate, around 2-3 million, that is, over one fifth of the whole labour force in 1978/79,²⁴ and secondly because of the demographic structure of Turkey. The population pyramid of the country shows that 60% are under twenty-five, 27.5% are between twenty-five and forty-nine (both inclusive) and only 12% are over these ages.²⁵ Thus management of any establishment has ample opportunity to select the age structure of their labour force they think is most suitable for their business. The management of FAB have clearly taken advantage of this opportunity.

It is important to realise that the recruitment of workers who are below 20/22 is not in the interest of management because every 'healthy' Turkish man has to do 2 years military service at the age of twenty. This service can only be postponed for educational reasons and then only until the age of thirty-two. As workers at FAB are not expected to have any such reasons, management makes the logical assumption that it is better to employ men when they have finished their period of conscription,

as this does away with the problem of men who have been trained and become experienced in their jobs leaving for military service at the time when most use can be made of them.

Age is also important because workers have their maximum capacity to work when they are young. The realisation of this capacity to labour is essential for the expansion of capital. Youth is able to respond to the unquenchable thirst of capital to set in motion the labour power continuously, and in changing forms to expand. The strong muscles of young men and women, their ability to endure the worst physical conditions certainly serve best the needs of capital. By the same token, as young workers are generally the healthiest, they demand less of the sickness benefits and medical services. Their age may make them more enthusiastic about the job, and, because they marry early and have new homes, wives and children to look after, they can be expected to be more responsible in their work. (Responsibility of course depends upon a particular perspective. In this case it is the perspective of the management.)

The majority of workers in my sample are married, 89 out of 101, and of that 89, most have children: 11% have no children, 69% have 1 to 3 children, 19% have 4 to 6 children and only one worker has more than 6 children. With a population increase of 2.4 per thousand Turkey has one of the highest population growths in the world. The relatively low numbers of children among FAB workers has two main causes: firstly, the relatively young average of the workers and secondly, the effects of urbanisation. The birth rate in rural areas is much higher than that in urban centres, although that of people living in the squatter housing areas of towns is distinct from, and falls somewhere between, the two.²⁶

ii) Class Origins.

The workers of FAB are composed mainly of first generation industrial workers. Only 2% of my sample had fathers who worked in industry and for about two thirds, 67%, their background was agricultural with their fathers being mostly small producers. Of the remainder, 11% had fathers who were wage earners, usually in the service sector, 12%'s fathers were self-employed and 8% had fathers in salaried employment.

That peasantry is the class origin of the majority of workers of FAB is of great importance for the way they experience work, for how they conceive of being a worker, and forms a very significant dimension in the examination of the formation of working class consciousness inside the factory.²⁷ It is necessary to keep in mind that FAB workers are often industrial workers with an immediate experience of peasantry. The implications of this for their consciousness will be examined in depth later.

iii) Migration

Migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey is a massive social movement.²⁸ The scale of this phenomenon can be gauged from the fact that even in the late 1960's, 65%, 45%, 45%, of the populations of the administrative regions of the country's three largest towns, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir respectively were composed of immigrants living in squatter housing areas.²⁹ Province itself is a "migrant-pulling" area; between 1965 and 1970 alone its population rose by 6.04%, a rise attributable to the effects of migration.³⁰ The employment pattern of the immigrant population of Province reveals that 77% of men and 61% of women are wage earners.³¹

Around three quarters (76%) of my sample of FAB workers were immigrants, 19% having migrated with their parents and 57% alone. The reasons given for their migration vary but the majority, 66%, give their reason as being 'to find a job', 'to earn a living'.

All but 8% of the migrant FAB workers had come from rural areas and all but 14% had migrated in the last 20 years. Indeed two thirds (66%) had migrated in the last 10 years and over a third (37%) within the last 5 years which shows the immediacy of their peasant past. (Note that the 66% includes the 19% of the workers who had migrated at a young age with their parents, as given in the second paragraph of this page.)

The intrusion of peasantry into industrial wage earnership is maintained by the keeping of contacts with rural areas. Of the total sample of 101, 60% or 61 have ongoing contact with rural areas in one form or another, as surveyed below. Of these, 8 still live in villages which means that these workers are very much integrated into the

agricultural way of life out of factory hours. Family ties are the most common connection with rural areas and thirty-one workers mention these. However there are nineteen workers who still actually 'work' in agriculture, as well as doing their jobs in the factory. In practice, this involves these people in tending their own plots of land, or their family's land, or it entails finding a job on someone else's land at weekends and 'long weekends', as well as when shift hours permit. Finally, there are three workers who have a 'side' income from agriculture which is not obtained by actually working in the fields. For example, they may have crops and other goods sent to them, or they make money by renting out a plot of land.

Overall then, this profile of the sample of FAB workers' links with the rural areas reveals very important aspects of both Turkish society and the labour force of FAB. As far as the former is concerned it becomes clear that agriculture supports industry in more than the general sense of providing for primitive capital accumulation, which is a universal phenomenon. The management of FAB is only too aware of agriculture as providing an additional source of income for some of their workers and this topic was discussed in several managerial meetings (see Chapter VI, section iii). This source was cited as the main source of living by the General Director himself and therefore the justification for keeping industrial wages at a low level. (See also the figures on external sources of income, p.33 below.) It is extremely likely that the use of such a rationale is not restricted to the FAB factory alone. As to the labour force of FAB, this section provides complementary information to that presented in the section on 'class origins'. For it emerges that not only do the majority of workers in the sample have an immediate peasant past but also that most of them still have contacts with the rural areas. As has been said before, this has great significance for the form class consciousness takes among FAB workers.

iv) Previous Employment

Almost all of my sample, 94%, had had a job prior to working at FAB. Table II, iv, 1 provides a breakdown of the instances of previous employment as reported by ninety-five workers.

Table II, iv, 1: Previous Employment

Types of Employment	Number of instances of previous employment as reported by 95 workers	Proportion of the previously employed workers (No. = 95) who reported employment experience in:
Agricultural small producer	41	43.2
Agricultural wage earner	8	8.4
Workshop owner	2	2.1
Workshop wage earner	19	20.0
Industrial white collar	2	2.1
Industrial wage earner	30	31.6
Service sector: self-employed	10	10.5
Service sector: wage earner	26	27.4
	138*	145.3*

*The figures do not add up to 95 (or 100%) since each worker is entered in as many times as the jobs he reported - provided that these jobs were of different types.

As the above table indicates, over half of the workers that have had previous employment had at some stage worked in agriculture (51.6%). This is probably an underestimate of the number of workers with agricultural experience as some will not have mentioned it because either it is regarded as family work, or not regarded as work at all.³² The transformation of small producers to landless peasantry, and gradually to industrial proletariat, at least partially, has been a wide-spread feature of social change in Turkey. Small producers are freed of land for a variety of reasons including loss of their land or its inability to support themselves and their families. This pattern of 'depeasantisation'³³ as a result of capitalist growth, is still continuing in Turkey today and can be seen as providing a source of labour for FAB also.

It can also be seen from the table that around one third of the sample

population (of 95) have had industrial experience before coming to FAB. Conversely, this indicates that approximately 70% of the FAB workers did not have any industrial experience prior to FAB. Other than being employed in agriculture previously, the two main types of employment are the services (39%) and the small scale industrial production units, namely workshops (22.1%).

Of FAB workers with previous work experience in the services sector, most of them were wage earners doing jobs like those of waiters, porters, office orderlies and coffee-house boys. However, others were self-employed (see the table II, iv, 1), and owned and ran small service shops, e.g., shoe repairers, corner shops, or were such things as electricians, taxi-drivers or coffee-house owners.

About one fifth of the 95 workers (see the table above) had at some time been employed in a 'workshop' before coming to FAB. Most of them had been wage earners, i.e., worked as apprentices or journeymen in these workshops, and a few had actually owned 'workshops' themselves. The 'workshop' within the context of Turkey requires further definition and explanation before I proceed.

The most reliable and up-to-date research into 'industrial small production' in Turkey has been carried out by R. Bademli.³⁴ It is worth considering his analysis at some length here because it has great relevance to a major hypothesis of this thesis, namely that the 'experiencing of work' is heavily dependent on the nature of past work which thus has a determining power over the formation of a class consciousness. Types of work experience are accepted to be so important within the Turkish context because they may cover totally different 'relations of production'. Of course the 'experiencing of work' is also shaped by the actual conditions in which that work is carried out, the division of labour, the degree of specialisation, the type of workplace, the technical setting of the work, etc.

R. Bademli first defines 'factory' and 'non-factory' types of industrial production in underdeveloped countries with specific reference to Turkey: "The crux of the difference between 'factory' and 'non-factory' types of industrial production is the respective nature and organisation of the productive work." His analysis of the factory form of production closely follows that of Marx which I have already given a

brief account of earlier. (p.1) He distinguishes the 'non-factory forms of industrial production' from the factory form by saying that while:

"the technical co-operation among machines is the basis of the labour process (in the factory)...in non-factories.... social co-operation among labourers is the foundation of production."35

Therefore in non-factories:

"The simple hand tools, power tools, independently standing detail-machines and even the extremely sophisticated paraphernalia are not the basis of the productive system; they are integrated indirectly in the labour-process, via the division of labour in the firm." (my emphasis) 36

He concludes that as a rule:

"...in factories workers are subordinated to the technical base, i.e., the machinery organised into a system. But in 'non-factories', the technical base is subservient to the workers."37

Bademli then goes on to distinguish two types of 'non-factories', namely the artisan shop and the workshop. The former is characterised by craft-work, reminiscent of the artisan shops under feudalism, while the latter is distinguishable by the presence of 'detail-work'.

"In artisan shops workers perform in succession all the necessary operations to produce a commodity, and acquire 'composite skills'. But in workshops, each worker is assigned to a particular component of the productive work necessary to make a commodity...It is in this connection that the presence of 'detail-work' in workshops breeds a distinct type of worker: 'the detail-worker' with 'specialised skills'. Indeed, both the 'craft-worker' in artisan shops and the 'detail-worker' in workshops have control over their own productive work (which is what distinguishes them from the factory worker - my addition). But the latter has less control over the productive work performed in the firm. The 'detail-worker' controls the productive work as much as his 'detail work' and 'specialist skills' permit. This is important....(as it shows that)...unless employed in a workshop, or unless his labour is first purchased and then integrated within those of other detail labourers into a production mechanism by the capitalist, the specialised skills of a detail worker do not carry significance in or of themselves in the market place. Thus unlike the 'craft worker' who may establish his own business, the 'detail worker' is destined to look for employment by a capitalist."38

Indeed this has been the destiny of those FAB workers who have been working in one or other form of industrial petty production. This is indicative of another process of social change in Turkey, the flow of labour from industrial petty production into the factories. These workers bring their experience of an artisan shop or workshop with them to the factory floor. Their experience colours the way they relate to

their 'new' work in the factory and to the 'new' social relations they find there. Comparisons are made between the 'old' and the 'new' and their current work is evaluated accordingly, which has implications for the 'awareness' developed about it. This phenomenon is not restricted to just those FAB workers with some sort of workshop background, it applies to any with previous employment in areas outside of industry, and is particularly true of agriculture.

Thus there is a great deal of difference between workers according to their past employment experiences, these differences referring to both each worker's individual experiences, and in comparison with each other, not only how they conceive of work itself, but also how they see and respond to the rights and duties surrounding work. For example, there is absolutely no organisation of labour in agriculture, little in the services sector, and definitely none for the boys from 7 plus to around 18 in the industrial workshops.³⁹ In these cases the contracts of employment are all one-sided; the employer decides about wages, working hours (unfixed, but usually from very early in the morning till well after dark, or when the task at hand finishes!), hiring and firing. Whereas it is estimated that approximately 25% of the industrial labour force in Turkey, mostly those who work in factories, are organised and enjoy better conditions to those of the unorganised sections of the proletariat.

Addendum.

Here are some examples of workers working lives before coming to FAB which show the wide diversity of their backgrounds.

Faruk, who is now (1978) a glass cutter in the cold-section of SG started his working life when he was 13/14. For the first five or six years he ploughed in the cotton plantations and picked cotton as a wage labourer. Then he found himself doing a 'tunnel-digging' job for about a year. After his military service, he came to FAB.

The first job Osman had was in the steel fusion industry as a mould-caster. Then he rented and ran a coffee house for a while but when the time came for a new rent contract he did not have enough money to meet it. So he looked for another job and got one in a Bank Depot. By then he was 20 and was due for his military service after which he came to FAB. He was initially employed as a 'loader' but this only lasted for a month at the end of which he was transferred to the BIC as a design

stenciller.

Mahmut has been through many different jobs - from running his own business, to peddling, to being an industrial wage labourer. He was once a metal master: 'I had my own trade, I did the metal works in buildings.' He worked for 5 or 6 years in a dessert shop, owned by one of his relatives. Together with his brother, he sold liver-kebabs (a Turkish delicacy) from a portable buffet; this lasted for about a year and a half. He briefly worked in the fertiliser industry before coming to FAB where he is a heating technician.

These cases illustrate the possible variation in the working environments a worker may have experienced before coming to the factory. It is also possible to observe here and from the information given earlier, evidence of the proletarianisation of some sections of the petite bourgeoisie, for example small-scale land owners, workshop owners and the self-employed.

v). Education and Training

The first five years of education between the ages of 7 and 12, is compulsory in Turkey. However, as almost half the population, mostly women, are illiterate, it is clear that the system is not strictly enforced.⁴⁰ Despite this, possession of a primary school diploma is a prerequisite to getting a job in the organised sector of industry or the public sector.

In my sample 78% of the workers have only a primary education, 15% have a secondary education which involves 3 more years at school after the first five, and 7% have a lycee education which takes a further three years and can be regarded as the equivalent of English O/A levels. The educational standards may, in terms of the amount and quality, appear low but when these people are compared with others in Turkey, given the generally low level of literacy, they, like any other group of industrial workers, can be regarded as educationally privileged.

In addition to the formal education, it is necessary to examine the amount of training workers have had for the jobs they are currently undertaking, since the substance of formal education, as it is in

Turkey, is not relevant to the skills required for employment purposes.

When workers were asked in a general way how they were trained for their jobs, the responses were mostly of the type 'I learnt it by doing it.' (53%), or 'I learnt it in my previous job.' (39%). Workers who gave the second response usually meant that they too had 'learnt the job by doing it' but in a different place. Only 4% had been taught at special schools designed to teach industrial skills. Finally, there were 4% who said that they had had no training at all.

However, when workers were asked about the amount of training they had at FAB for their current job the number saying they had absolutely no training rose to 73%, 19% claimed to have had a few days training, 4% said one to two weeks and 4% said more than that. Of the 27 workers in the sample who had some training at FAB, 15 had had 'on the spot' training. This is where an experienced worker, a foreman, or sometimes a higher manager has spent time showing the worker how to do the job at the point of work. Six of the workers had attended some classes as well as being shown the job on the spot. The remaining six workers had only been trained via classes and the majority of them had been with FAB since the set-up period during which time some classes were organised with the help of the Belgian and American experts.

On the whole then, judging from my sample, the labourers of FAB are poorly educated and have received little training for the jobs they are doing. It is interesting to note that it is this 'unskilled' workforce which makes production in FAB possible.

vi) Income, Side Income, Housing and Living Conditions

In 1977, the average wage per hour in FAB was 17.40 T.L., and the average wage per day 139.20 T.L. (£1 = 50 Turkish Liras at the 1978 exchange rate). This is slightly above most other Private Sector manufacturing industries in Turkey when bonuses, premiums, and fringe benefits are also added on to these gross wages.⁴¹ Before carrying out these calculations however, the average earnings per month of the FAB workers as quoted by themselves should be noted down, since there is a considerable discrepancy between the workers' quote, and what the management claims to pay.

Table II,vi,1: Wages

Monthly Income (1000 T.L.)	Number of workers who declared it to be their monthly wages	%
2 to 3	48	47.5
3 to 4	43	42.6
4 to 5	10	9.9
Total	101	100.0

As can be seen from this table, the net monthly income of 90% of my sample population of workers was under 4000 T.L., although this sum doesn't include bonuses and other payments.

It is significant to note that wages in Turkey - in the organised industries - are not differentiated according to skill or job title. Equal wages for all workers in an industrial workplace has been achieved by unionist struggles.⁴² Any differentiation in the wage structure in FAB is introduced by the management in the form of premiums, fringe benefits allocated to particular jobs, and the wage settlements at the time of recruitment carried out by individual negotiations with each worker (taking the official subsistence wage as the base).

The workers of FAB, in addition to their monthly wage, receive a certain number of bonus payments per year, the number being determined by the collective bargaining agreement then in operation. Each bonus is calculated as a proportion of a workers' gross monthly wage, the proportion being specified such that the amount payable is greater than the worker's normal net monthly income. Bonuses are subject to less deductions than the normal wage. In 1977/78 there were 4 such payments for the FAB workers for each year.

The table below gives the breakdown of all the bonuses, social and fringe benefits for both periods:

Table II,vi,2: Income Tariffs for the years 1977-78

Wage tariffs as broken down into its elements (all figures gross)	1977 (in T.L.)	1978 (in T.L.)
1. Wage per hour	17.40	27.51
2. 4 bonus payments (per year) as accrued to per hour	17.40	27.51
3. Other social benefits all transcribed to cash, as accrued to per hour	34.23	53.27
4. The total amount (as the sum of 1, 2, and 3 above) payable to average worker per year	165.398	259.054

According to the above figures the average gross earnings of a FAB worker in 1977* were approximately 13.783 T.L. per month. The tax and other deductions work out such that the worker takes home around only 55 to 60% of his gross income. Therefore if it were calculated and taxed on the yearly total as above, the worker would take around 8270 T.L. (£165) a month. However it is more complicated than this.⁴³ All the above figures are provided by the management and reflect how much each worker costs them, rather than how much the workers are really paid. Let us first look at the item (3) 'benefits' more closely: 'benefits' are composed of three parts:

a) Additional wages; such as overtime payments, premiums, night-shift extras, 'promotion reinforcement' bonuses. According to management incomes tariff, in 1977, 9.94 T.L. of the total 'benefits' payment of 34.23 T.L. (see the table above) accrued to such payments.

*In what follows, the figures for the year 1977 are taken as the basis, even though the research was carried out in 1978. The reason is this: until the new contract was made in July 1978, the workers were paid at the 1977 rates. Naturally, the differences in payments were paid to the workers afterwards, since the new contract was valid from the 1st of January 1978 when the 1976/77 contract expired. However, the questionnaire was carried out before July 1978, hence the figures of earnings the workers reported still referred to 1977 rates. Thus, in order to make a plausible comparison between what the workers said they earned, and what the management claimed to pay, the figures for 1977 of the management's income tariffs had to be taken as the base. Nevertheless, the figures for 1978 are added below.

b) Legal payments; such as Social Security payments,⁴⁴ provisions, and some compensation payments. Again in 1977, 3.29 T.L. of the total 34.23 T.L. 'benefit' payments went to legal payments.

c) Social help payments; such as yearly leave pocket money, child benefits, heating facilities, marriage allowances, military service allowances and training etc. In 1977, 4.37 T.L. as calculated per hour, out of the total 34.23 T.L. accrued to such allowances. This category of payments, because they go by need can be said to constitute a socialist element in the allocation of wages in the organised industries, such as FAB, of Turkey.

When we add all the mentioned 'benefit' payments and subtract from the total (34.23 T.L.) we find a difference of 16.63 T.L., which, according to the management goes to workers as payment for weekends, Bank holidays and other holidays. The shift system doesn't allow the workers to enjoy any of these holidays, therefore they are paid double wages for those days.

The average wages in FAB, in 1977, as calculated above may seem reasonably good, however, these figures are very misleading. For any one worker to earn around £165 a month - as it is claimed to be by the management - he has to get promoted at least once a year, must be paid the first grade premium, must do a lot of overtime, must take his yearly leave, must have a new baby, must go on a business or health trip, must get married every year, and must go to military service every year! Only then will he be entitled to all the benefit payments mentioned above, which would then bring his monthly income to £165.

It must also be noted that the average figure hides inequality based on the allocation of the premiums and the social benefits. With all the available information at hand, it can be said that an average FAB worker in 1977 took home approximately 3341 T.L. per month. This figure is attained by adding the net basic wages to the 4 bonus payments (net total of 4 bonus payments per year as distributed equally per month). The premiums and overtime payments, because they vary and may not be applicable to each worker at each month, are not included in the above calculations. Similarly, social payments and fringe benefits are not included, simply because, as explained above, some of them

apply at only very specific occurrences. Those which do accrue to most workers, with the best estimate, mean an additional 1000 T.L. (£20) per month, which takes the average monthly income to approximately £90.* This is slightly over the wages paid in the non-agricultural sectors taken together, and certainly much higher than the earnings of the unorganised sections of the Turkish working class and the peasantry. Yet, the price indices for 1977-78 show that this amount is far from being sufficient for a decent life.⁴⁵ The real wages of the workers are eroded by inflation creating the anxiety about how long their income will keep them above the bread line.

Wage Differentiation by Premiums

The premium system, as was said, is used to differentiate wages which would otherwise be impossible because of union opposition. However, the premium system in operation at FAB does not function efficiently because it was not designed for this site but borrowed 'in haste' from another major plant of the Holding Co.'s in Istanbul after they took ownership of FAB. The system works on the principle of categorising jobs into four groups according to how directly the jobs relate to 'production': direct workers, assisting direct workers, indirect workers, and non-productive workers. In simple terms the direct production workers get the biggest premium, and the premiums then decrease so that the non-productive worker gets the lowest. The actual calculation of premiums is, however, not that simple, and there are in all 12 variables taken into account, e.g., seniority, good behaviour. The managers have an 11 page circular explaining the ins and outs of the system to them but even so this circular states that other supplementary circulars have to be consulted for the detailed procedures of the various calculations! This can be regarded as an interesting instance exemplifying how (in this case by making information very complicated) the management in capitalist enterprises intensifies its control of knowledge. All that the workers know of the premium system is that they will be paid a bit extra if the daily production exceeds 70%, and therefore, it is important to aim to produce more, and also of course to behave well. Maybe this is also as much as management wants them to care for.

*Calculated in the same manner, the net monthly income of the average FAB worker in 1978 was, approximately 6782 T.L. (£136).

The premium system was introduced in 1975/76 with the aim of increasing productivity since the level of productivity, as said above, is an important element in how it is worked out. Despite all the fuss and commotion surrounding its calculation and all the 'hot air' generated about who is entitled to what, as one top manager admitted 'it had absolutely no impact on productivity'.

Additional Sources of Income

Workers in my sample were also asked if they had any sources of 'side' income and nearly half, 49%, said that they had. The largest group, 23% had an income in the form of cash, mainly from a second job or rents, and spouse's earnings were also mentioned.⁴⁶ 16% said they had a 'side' income in the form of goods, primarily this was food either sent by their families or grown in their own allotment or fields. The remaining 10% did not give any information about the source of their additional funds. Overall it seemed that 'side' income whether in cash or in kind, came mainly from contact with agriculture, or from a second job, agricultural or otherwise.

The above finding is important because it shows that, at least in FAB, there is an invisible input into the labour process, in the form of 'side' income, which does not feature in profit calculations because it is not included as wages. In other words, that nearly half the workers⁴⁷ in my sample were supported by various means external to the labour process suggests that the wages paid at FAB do not have to be set at the rate which is the socially determined, necessary rate to reproduce the working class but can indeed be lower.

Luxury Commodities Owned

That nearly half of FAB workers have external sources of income also accounts for the relatively high number of workers who possess a T.V. set and a radio. The majority of my sample (63.4%) have both a T.V. set and a radio; 30% have only got a radio, and a few (3) have a T.V. set only. Given that a T.V. set is still a very expensive luxury "good", the many workers possessing one may be taken to point out the extent to which 'consumerism' is powerful.

House Tenure

Among my sample, the proportion owning their house is 47%, which is well under the national average (82.5%).⁴⁸ The situation of these people should not however be taken to resemble that of working class house owners in, say, England. The majority of my sample live in squatter housing areas, 71%. 8% live in villages and only 21% live in homes that could be categorised as 'normal' urban dwellings. Squatter houses around urban centres is a phenomenon unique to underdevelopment.⁴⁹ They are called 'gecekodu' in Turkey (landed-over-night is the literal translation), and are built in a way to reflect the aspirations of the immigrants to replicate their life styles of their villages. They are small, generally single storey houses, though shabby and built using scrap material always with a garden where vegetables and fruits for the household are grown. Land does not cost anything to the owner since they are mostly built illegally on state-owned land awaiting development which also means that most 'gecekodu's' lack running water and electricity for quite a while after they are built. It is such houses that the FAB workers own.

In one sense, most aspects of the labour force of FAB as laid out above can be taken to speak for themselves, i.e., the position of FAB workers can be evaluated in terms of its own characteristics. In another sense though, comparison with the characteristics of the management in FAB demonstrates clearly that the aforementioned compositional characteristics and the living conditions of FAB workers stand in contradiction with those pertaining to the management, to which I turn below.

CHAPTER III

FAB FACTORY: COMPOSITION OF MANAGERIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

i) Definition of the 'Labour Force'

Managers with respect to their relation to capital are also 'workers'. They do not own capital and therefore have to sell their labour-power, albeit 'intellectual', to the capitalist in order to earn a living. Managers neither own the means or the end-products of production. In this respect they are part and parcel of the working class. However, the raison d'etre of managers under capitalism is to set labour in motion in the labour-process, and they control this process in the name of capital. This control function defines management and underlines that 'management' even as a concept could only exist in Capitalism whereby the conception and execution functions have already been separated. If what workers do is simply to work, then managers organise and control their work. Managers are a specialised group of people who are trained to control both the technical and the human aspects of production. They obtain a larger proportion of the value created than the workers do, but nowhere near to that extracted by the capitalist. They also enjoy a higher status, further privileges and the right to decision-making. In other words, managers as 'workers' themselves have a certain extent of control over their own labour, and also control the labour-power of the workers. Therefore, the analysis of managers in FAB can be carried out in a mode which reveals their twofold nature: firstly managers as 'controllers', i.e., assuming boss-like power, and secondly managers as working people themselves, i.e., subdued in relation to capitalists. What follows aims at giving a general profile - in terms of the latter above - of the managers in FAB.

In my sample population foremen and above come under the heading 'management' as well as the administrative staff. This latter group do not have the same position in the labour-process as the managers, nor as the labourers. The choice of my sample, and definition of various categories of stratification was undertaken after I had already been in FAB for seven weeks, during which period, I was both working as a 'quality controller' and making some preliminary observations. As a result, it seemed to make more sense to include administrative staff with

the managers: all administrative personnel do non-manual jobs geared towards running of the site, and assisting in the control function of the managers. Almost all of them work in the Admin. block, and their living standards are closer to the managers than the workers. Despite the fact that the actual relations of production in any one office or in the whole of the Admin. block (as Braverman also argued for U.S. and Britain),⁵⁰ did not differ much in its essentials, it is still necessary to distinguish this group from both workers and managers as such. 'Memur' means an employee who earns a salary (as opposed to wages) and the Work-Law prohibits their unionisation. Since, in our case, these memurs are employed in a private sector, and in an industrial site, they also benefit from some of the rights pertaining to workers such as social security, bonus payments etc. Probably the closest term in English for this group is 'white collar'.

In presenting the composition figures however, the distinction between 'managers.' and 'memurs.' will, at most instances, be omitted, and the term manager will refer to both.

The majority of my total sample of 28 managerial personnel are between 36-45 years of age (53.6%), unlike workers who were mostly between 26-35 years old. Still, a considerable number of managers are also within the range of 26-35 (25%). This group consists of mostly the foremen and memurs. This is yet another indication of the close connection between the age of a person and the requirements of a job: the workers must be young - physically heavy jobs and unhealthy conditions are awaiting them. Similar conditions prevail for the foremen and some of the memurs as they are the closest group to the workers, being involved in some manual tasks as well.⁵¹ However to be employed as a higher grade manager you need not be young. One will be asked to do mainly office work, or 'brain work' as the managers call it. Managers will be preferred at their middle-ages - not too old and unenergetic, but old enough to have accumulated the necessary knowledge, the intricacies of efficient management. Obviously the long years of education also account for the differences in the ages of the managers and the workers in FAB. It should be noted that there is no 'age-barrier' in allocation of jobs to managers.

A great majority of this sample group (93%) are married and have between

one and three children (79%)

85.7% of this group consists of men, i.e., 24 men and 4 women. For most categories classifying various jobs, status at work etc., a stratified sample was obtained, that each group included in the sample, represented the real proportion in the total FAB population. However, in terms of sex, such a real correspondence between the total and the sample population would mean, in most instances, omitting the women altogether. Therefore the percentage of women in this sample (14.3%) does not necessarily correspond to the real numbers. (See the Appendix on the research techniques.)

ii) Class Origins

Father's occupations of this sample group while on the one hand shows discrepancy with that of the workers, also displays striking similarities. The distribution of the father's occupations of managerial personnel is as follows:

Table III, ii, 1: Fathers' occupations of the managerial sample

Salaried	9 (32.1%)
Self-employed	8 (28.6%)
Agricultural	3 (10.7%)
Industrial	3 (10.7%)
Artisan	3 (10.7%)
Wage-earner	2 (7.7%)

The last 4 categories above accrue to the fathers of the lower rank managers and the white collars. However that majority here (71%) falls into the first two categories is where it differs most from the workers' corresponding figures.

A closer look at the fathers' occupations of the top eleven managers given below points out an interesting phenomenon:

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Welder | 5. Government Employee |
| 2. Government employee | 6. Agricultural Engineer |
| 3. Civil Servant | 7. Mechanic |
| 4. Private Accountant | 8. Tradesman |

9. Coffee-house owner

11. Night Porter

10. Storekeeper

12. ?*

This distribution above is important because it shows that managers, even the top ones, do not come from a family of managers, or are part of the bourgeoisie, but mostly from the petite-bourgeois families.⁵² Furthermore there are some (at least 3) who have a working class background.

iii) Migration

In my total sample of 28, only 8 of the managerial personnel migrated, on their own, to the Province, and mainly from other urban centres (6, 75% of those who migrated). Origins of migration being equally distributed in terms of regions and time, and mainly for reasons of better employment (5), and secondly, for education purposes (2).⁵³

The majority of this group have no current contact with rural areas (25, 89.3%).

With respect to the class origins of managers and workers therefore, one difference is definite: the agricultural sector is not a source for breeding managers. This finding, even if it is limited to the case of FAB alone is in alignment with the definition of management given above; that management is an industrial capitalistic phenomenon and does not exist in pre-industrial forms.

Findings about the past employment pattern of the managers also supports this statement. Related figures are given below.

iv) Past Employment

Those managers who have had a previous job constitute the majority of my sample (27, 96.4%). The only one who hasn't, came straight from the university. The type of previous employment of this group are as

* Here would be information about the General Director (site manager), but thanks to the advanced capitalist technology of the Japanese, the tape recorder did not in fact record while it was signalling that it was recording.

follows:

Table III,iv,1: Previous Employment of the Managerial Sample*

Agricultural small producer	1 (3.7%)
Workshop owner	1 (3.7%)
Workshop wage-earner	2 (7.4%)
Industrial wage-earner	8 (29.6%)
Industrial white-collar (memur)	11 (40.7%)
Service Sector - wage-earner	1 (3.7%)
Service Sector - salaried	17 (63.0%)
Professional	2 (7.4%)

* Again the figures do not add up to 27 (see table II,iv,1 for the explanation)

This table clearly exhibits that there is no evident pattern of who acquires a managerial post at various levels, and that the source of managerial personnel is mainly 'urban' occupations. On the other hand, the distribution of the previous jobs indicate that at least some managers have been able to climb up the social hierarchy - and this is made possible, in most cases, by an engineering degree. This aspect is again closely bound with the context of underdevelopment and therefore will be more thoroughly examined in later chapters, but what can be said now is that the presence of some managers with an experience of lower rank jobs, even manual ones, displays the peculiar nature of management in FAB. This reflects itself both at an individual level, i.e., how such an individual manager relates to his own job, as well as at a more general level of application of the managerial policy in FAB. The interesting case of one of the site managers is worth noting here.

When Bekir Sitki completed the primary school, he had to start working, for he had lost his father. He was 12 when he started selling 'simit'* as a peddler. Then he sold sweets in the streets. During those years he earned most by selling newspapers for about a year. His first contact

*A ring-shaped bread cake with sesame seeds on. It was a quick snack before sandwiches flooded the market, and was and still is the basic food of the poor outside home, with a cup of tea.

with an industrial job was in a textile-manufacture owned by a Jew.* "I started doing the 'feet-jobs' first - you know carrying things and serving tea. It seems that when one is young, one is quick in taking in new things! I soon learnt the technical side to the job. It wasn't long before the boss put me on a loom. This lasted for 1 to 1.5 years." They were the years 1950-51; and he worked between 7 in the morning and 7.30 in the evening, continuously. No unions, no social security.

Then he had the opportunity to continue his education; his mother was also working in a workshop, and after he started the 'orta' school - she got married again, and there was more money coming into the family. His professional jobs started after he had obtained a degree in electrical engineering. Meanwhile he always had part-time jobs in both public and private sectors. When he came to FAB, he was first employed as a day manager in the auxiliary department which lasted for two years. He then undertook a day-manager job - "it meant more responsibility; I had to control both the electrical and the machinery departments." He has been the plant manager of the auxiliary plant ever since.

Bekir Sitki's approach to both the work he accomplishes himself, and to his managerial function is radically different from most of the other managers. He thinks that, his experience of 'what it means to be a worker' has shifted the way he relates to work. It wasn't just his own experience, he says, but his mother's too. This he finds so overwhelming that he is convinced now that every university graduate should be made to work at lower ranks of workmanship before he is given a professional job.

Bekir Sitki's, although not a very common case is not the only one in the Turkish context. The possible influence of managers like him on the managerial policy in FAB, I want to discuss in the Chapter on management.

v) Education and Job Training

The amount of training that the managerial group received, specific to the jobs they are doing in FAB, does not show much discrepancy with the

* The first entrepreneurs in Turkey have mostly been Jewish, Greek and Armenian minorities; mention of the Jewishness of the manufacturer is simply an exemplification of this fact.

amount of training received by workers. 6 (21.4%) learnt the job by 'doing it' in FAB, i.e., simply by practice. 2 (7.1%) completed a 'school' on the same subject before coming to FAB. The majority (71.4%) i.e., 20, were trained for their present jobs during the previous similar jobs held. This information when mapped onto the amount of formal education the managers have had in my sample, becomes meaningful.

10 out of 28 managerial personnel are graduates of a 'lycee', or its equivalent in art colleges (i.e., 35.7%) and 15 have a university degree (53.6%). In FAB, most plant managers and the site manager (all but one) have a university degree mainly in different branches of engineering and some in Economics and Commerce. While this shows the disparity between workers and managers in terms of formal education, it also delineates that the managers, when they start for their jobs are better equipped than are the workers. Therefore, the large number of responses as 'trained for the job during previous occupations' must be understood as being trained for the present job on previous similar jobs given the basic education on this area of expertise. So, the relatively large number of managers who have replied 'previous job experience' point to a different phenomenon than the many workers who have also replied similarly. The former has a grasp of the work theoretically in advance, whereas the latter have acquired the necessary skills both theoretically and practically on spot - simply by observing others doing it, and doing it themselves.

Managers, similar to workers have not had much training in FAB. 16 out of 27 (59.3%) have had no training on the site at all. 5 (18.5%) have had some training from a few days up to two weeks, 2 (7.4%) have had some for 3 to 8 weeks, and 4 (14.8%) have had training for over 8 weeks altogether.

The first point about these figures is that when compared with the corresponding finding about the workers, managers come out with more training-on-site than the workers. The second point to emphasise is that this is again, in addition to the formal education the managers have had, a background which most workers lacked. Thirdly, within the managerial body, the top managers are the ones who have had the most training which consists of seminars on 'management and administration' specifically organised and held by and for managers - either on the same site or on another. The content of these seminars make them significant;

they are designed to enlighten the managers on 'how to manage workers'. I have been to one such seminar held in FAB and will present a brief rundown of the content of the papers and lectures given during this simply astonishing experience to anyone who is not familiar with the 'managerial' way of seeing the world, in an appendix.

Out of 11 managerial personnel who have had any training on the FAB site, 9 have done it by classes alone (81.8%), and 2 have had some training 'on the spot' as well as attending classes. This also varies from the workers' lot in that any training they have had was mostly 'on the spot' in nature (55.6%). In terms of the quality of training then, the managers have been better trained than the workers.

vi) Income, Side Income, Housing and Living Conditions

Data gathered on the monthly incomes of the managers are less reliable than that of the workers. It was possible to check the correctness of the workers' declaration of their wages with the management files. However the same check could not be carried out for the managers for obvious reasons. Another reason why the total yearly incomes of the managers cannot be calculated is the yearly cheques most plant managers receive, the value of which are very secretly kept both from each other and any outsider. These cheques represent a certain proportion of the profits and are said to be 'encouragement premiums' - more to the 'successful' managers than the others. So it is an efficient way of controlling the managers on various sites of the Holding Co. The questionnaire findings on the distribution of the monthly income of the managerial personnel are given in the table below:

Table III,vi,1: Monthly Income of the Managerial Personnel

Net Monthly Income (1000 T.L.)	Number of managerial personnel who reported the amount	%
1. 4 to 5	5	17.9
2. 5 to 6	4	14.3
3. 6 to 7	5	17.9
4. 7 to 8	2	7.1
5. 8 to 9	2	7.1
6. 9 to 10	3	10.7
7. 10 plus	7	25.0
Total	28	100.0

The categories 6 and 7 in the table above indicate the net monthly income of the ten top managers. Based on these figures alone then, the top managers earn at least three times more than the majority of the workers (average income taken to be around 3000 T.L., see table II,iv,1); or the top manager earns twice as much as the best paid worker.

The gap between the earnings of both workers and managers, and the lowest and the highest rank of managers is widened when the bonuses are added to the monthly incomes. In 1977, when workers were paid 4 bonuses per year, managers received 5. According to the figures obtained from the Holding Co., the average hourly payment to personnel, before tax, was 32.02 T.L. in 1977. All the other social benefits amounted to 28.63 T.L./hour. Hence the yearly average earnings of a managerial employee, before tax, was 243.861 T.L. (approximately £4900).⁵⁴ This is only an average figure and does not reflect the differentiation among the manager's earnings. There is certainly much differentiation among their salaries, as their own statements clearly denote. The discrepancy is made larger between the lower level and the top managers by the profit-shares the latter receive.

Additional Sources of Income

16 (57.2%) of the managers said they had a 'side' income; while 4 of them did not name the source or the nature of their extra earnings, 12 said they received it in 'cash' - either from spouse's earnings or real-estate property. The great majority of the managers do not have a second job outside the factory.⁵⁵

Housing

Unlike workers most managers live in 'normal' residential districts. 24 out of 28, i.e., 85.7% live in such districts.

It is interesting to note that only 12 of this group own the flats they live in. The majority (16, 57.1%) pay rent. The company pays rent for some of the day managers and shift foremen. This was used as an incentive to attract personnel to come to Province from Istanbul. This is one reason for the higher number of rented residences. It is also of course a reason for tension between the local managers whose rents are not paid by the company and the 'Istanbulers' whose rents are paid by the company.

Secondly, the prices of flats are extremely expensive, and houses, if there are any left about, are unapproachable mainly due to the speculative inflation of the land prices. The alternative to owning a house is to acquire a 'gecekodu', and obviously managers cannot be expected to live in a 'gecekodu'. Furthermore, the transient nature of technocratic-bureaucratic personnel creates a tendency for them to rent property rather than own it.

Needless to say, all of the managerial personnel own both a T.V. set and a radio.

CHAPTER IV

WORK

i) Work, And Its Nature

Work is the prime activity of social life, its centrality for social science is evident. I need not elaborate this point. Nevertheless, it is necessary to develop a particular view of work in order to both follow up historically the changes that have taken place in the work-domain of societies, and also to be able to analyse the nature of that activity in a particular social formation, and a particular factory. Here I propose to briefly introduce the notion of work I will be operating with in this thesis.

J.A.C. Brown, in The Social Psychology of Industry⁵⁶ suggests that the orthodox view of work was the 'view in the Old Testament' which argued that 'physical labour is a curse imposed on man as a punishment for his sins so that the sensible man labours solely in order to keep himself and his family alive, or, if he is fortunate, in order to make a sufficient surplus to enable him to do the things he really likes.'⁵⁷ Brown writes that this has been the established view of both managers and industrial psychologists. This view of work, however, was modified in many ways basically by incorporating the possibility that many people of different occupations may actually like to work. Brown then proposes three propositions which should form the basis of any new approach to industrial problems, which are, in brief:

1. 'Work is an essential part of a man's life since it is that aspect of his life which gives him status and binds him to society....Furthermore, work is a social activity.'
2. The morale of the worker (i.e., whether or not he works willingly) has no direct relationship whatsoever to the material conditions of the job.
3. There are many incentives, of which, under normal conditions, money is one of the least important. Unemployment is a powerful negative incentive, precisely because (1) is true. That is to say, unemployment is feared because it cuts man off from his society.' (His emphasis)⁵⁸

Both the 'orthodox' view of work as Brown describes it, and the 'new' view he subscribes to, while grasping different truths about the nature of work at the same time fail to answer the questions beset by such

views. Firstly, in the case of the orthodox view, the question why it is that man 'hates' to work, cannot be simply answered; and secondly, the new view cannot explain why people like to work.⁵⁹ Both postulates are based on evidence provided by social scientists, and my prime concern is to examine why in the specific case of FAB these two different approaches to work (i.e., like and dislike) are not incompatible but indeed complementary. Marx, especially Ollman's account of Marx on work, provides a valuable insight into the nature of work and the separation of Capitalist labour from that nature.⁶⁰ I will attempt to summarise Ollman-cum-Marx's notion of 'work' in a few postulates:

1. Because nature, in its raw form, is not adequate to satisfy human needs, man alters it by 'producing food he can eat, clothes he can wear', and a house he can live in'.⁶¹ This activity of alteration is industry, and the latter predominates over all other types of activity. According to Marx, 'it is more necessary, arduous, and time consuming than activity in any other sphere.'⁶²
2. Industry exists in order to satisfy human needs, but industry in turn creates conditions of life which generate new needs.
3. In remoulding nature, i.e., in industrial activity man enables his powers to achieve new kinds and degrees of fulfilment.
4. Labour is defined to be a process 'whereby both man and nature participate'.⁶³ In this interaction, man controls the mode of his operation on Nature in order to change nature for his own appropriation. And there are three elementary factors to any labour process: a) the personal activity of man, i.e., work, b) the subject of that work, c) its instruments.
5. Distinguishing aspects of human labour are (1) that man must first produce the object in his mind, and (2) that the productive activity is conscious. The latter indicates man's ability to detach himself from the activity with which he is engaged. In other words, he is conscious of the distinction between his actions and himself as an actor.
6. Man enters into relations with his fellow men during his productive activity, because the manner of satisfying his needs, (by altering nature) creates reciprocal links (sexual relations, exchange, division of labour).

Based on these postulates, Marx defines the work-process to be:

'....(the) human action with a view to the production of use-value, appropriation of natural substances to human requirements; it is

the necessary condition for effecting exchanges of matter between man and nature; it is the everlasting nature-imposed condition of human existence and therefore, is independent of every social phase of that existence, or rather common to every such phase.'⁶⁴

This activity, in itself common to every social phase, is not, however, equally creative and productive in every type of society. Work as productive activity both expends man's powers and develops them. However, whether it is a self-fulfilling activity, i.e., whether man seeks in it new powers, new modes of self expression, largely depends on the particular activity and its surrounding circumstances. Viewed from this perspective, work, in a capitalist factory, wherein, according to Marx, man has been reduced to a 'cog in the machine', cannot be said to be creative, since 'like running in circles, such work does not aid man's power to mature'.⁶⁵ For this reason, Ollman asserts that the 'productive activity of the proletariat in a capitalist system is the outstanding instance of what might be called the 'retrogression' of essential powers.'⁶⁶

In the light of Ollman-cum-Marx's expose of work as an essential life-activity, and capitalist work as a 'retrogressive' form of that life-activity, one can attempt to answer the questions posed earlier. Men like to work, because it is, as a potential, the source from which they can draw new powers; on the other hand, they don't like to work, because, work as we know now in capitalism, deprives men of that possibility. The former aspect of work must be accepted as a postulate, while the latter remains to be demonstrated. Hence, I want to pursue the enquiry along two main lines:

1. What actually happens in a capitalist factory (FAB specifically) so that work emerges as a non-creative, or 'retrogressive' - to use Ollman's term - activity?
2. How the 'consciousness of it' is altered as a response to the change in the nature of work.

This analysis is not based on the assumption that 'nature of work' and 'consciousness of it' are in a one-to-one correspondence. The relation between the two is a mediated one and simply derives from one of the human characteristics of work, namely man's ability to set himself mentally apart from the object of his work. To the extent that man can do this, then he can have a consciousness of himself and his actions, as separate from the acted-upon-object. What is suggested by Marx and Ollman is that because man's powers are subordinated to the machine, and he simply works as an extension of the machine in capitalist factories,

it becomes more and more difficult for him to develop a consciousness of himself as distinct from the machine he is putting his labour into. In this sense, work and its consciousness become problematic under capitalism. This chapter on work, and the next chapter on job specifics are designed to elucidate the nature of work in FAB, and also to set the background for the inferences made in chapter IX about that work and the consciousness of it the workers have.

ii) Work In FAB

Taken together, the FAB jobs exemplify all the characteristics of factory work, a prime feature of this being the centrality of machinery. A factory is machinery organised into a system 'continuously impelled by a prime-mover' (the power/energy). In this system the various mechanical organs, and the workmen as 'intellectual organs' co-operate for the production of a common object. It is a continuous process, a motion set by the central power, during which the workers, as 'conscious organs' are subordinated to the central moving-power, in a similar manner that the unconscious parts are subordinated. The workers' activity in this system, is an extension of the machinery whereby his skills are subsumed by the 'regular rhythm' initiated by the 'prime-mover'.⁶⁷

The workers are primarily organised according to what the working of this system requires in terms of the functioning of the machinery. Hence, there are 'machine-tenders' as one main group of workers, assistant-operators who act upon simple break-down of the machinery. Secondly there are general maintenance and repair workers who are 'responsible' for the general 'good condition' of the machinery. And thirdly the sorters and packers at the opposite end of the production line. This prime division of labour is, according to Marx, 'purely technical'.⁶⁸

The organisation of work in the FAB factory also rotates around this technical division of labour. As I have said earlier, my guideline in 'perceiving' the nature of the work-process in FAB is the vision of work as 'creative activity' and how this nature is altered in a capitalist factory. In retrospect, I found the classification of jobs into various categories, which are presented below, useful for recapturing some of the work-processes in FAB.

The first group of these categories consist of four headings:

1. Production
2. Packing and Sorting
3. Maintenance and Repair
4. Other

On another level though, not every job in FAB exemplifies all the characteristics of factory-work. In other words, in spite of many common characteristics, FAB jobs are far from being equal in terms of the actual work, i.e., 'the activity' involved. Therefore, within each grouping there is a visible differentiation sufficiently important to be registered. These are analysed in two further groups of categories. The second group of categories is:

1. Factory Type of Work
2. Non-factory Type of Work

The third group of categories is:

1. Shift-work
2. Day or 'Normal' Work

which are analysed below in the order presented above.

1. Production Workers.

Production workers are, in the first place, those who are directly involved in the manufacturing process of glass: without their co-operation with the machinery, production would not be possible. Machine-tenders in both BIC and SG constitute the major group in this category. The job of minding-the-machine is simply what the title suggests; it is basically fulfilling the requirements of the machine. It has to be greased from time to time, and attentively and continuously watched.

In BIC, the machine-operators have to pump air, with the help of a hose, to clear the newly made bottles of any dust or dirt. They also take samples of immediately dropped bottles every half an hour, they weigh them and make the first inspection on their visible defects. Minor problems which require simple intervention are also their job. Anything more important having effect on the motion-pattern of the machine has to be reported to the 'regleurs' (regulators) who are regarded as more skilled than the operators. It is curious to watch a 'regleur' working. In the bottle-manufacturing machinery there are twelve arms which have to operate in a synchronised pattern - a mis-timing of a second may mess up the whole process. There are numerous regulating metal heads arranged on a cylindrical disc each of which has to be maintained at a certain

position for perfect synchrony. Every type of bottle or container, according to its size, requires new regulating activity of the 'regleur' operators. You watch him doing it, and observe that he becomes the 'consciousness' of the machine - which arm to move, how quickly and in which direction. The 'regleur' knows this 'scientifically' and there is often a technical book to go with the machine instructing how to do the job. Yet, in actually doing it, he almost has to identify with the machine. He has to feel its 'needs' as his own, and extend his skilful action to fulfil those needs.

Then there are the 'feeder-operators' and the 'IS operators'. The former are responsible from that end of the machine where the batch is fed into it. A pair of shears cut the molten glass into 'gobs' and the latter is then automatically blown to form bottles. To regulate the weight of these 'gobs' for each specific mould is also the responsibility of the 'regleurs'. IS operators, on the other hand, are at the dispensing end of the machinery. The machine, either by a 'press and blow' or a 'blow-blow' process transforms 2 twin gobs into two identical bottles or containers within a few seconds and the IS operator has to ensure this takes place.

This division of labour among the various machine-operators exhibits the prime characteristic of factory work: every single work-process and the division of labour among the workers are solely based on the mode of operation of the machinery. No worker produces anything as such. The individual worker has no control over the rhythm of the operation of the machine, and therefore, neither over the pace of his own activity, since the latter is subordinated to the former. He is neither in a position to make a decision about the way in which he should tend the machine: which movements he has to make, when and how to interfere have already been decided for him by the designers/engineers of the machines, and on a more day-to-day basis, in advance by the technical managers. There is nothing required of him but to simply carry out these 'minute' tasks. What 'skills' are required of him are also based on what this type of bottle-producing technology commands. The malleable nature of human labour makes it possible to assume that there will be workers with 'skills' corresponding to the new technology. That the machine's mode of operation is not based on how workers would want or choose to work - along the lines of fulfilling themselves and maturing their capacities - is not due to technological reasons but are based on socio-political

determination.⁶⁹ In CLP, the infinite adaptability of the workers' power to labour, as Braverman asserts,⁷⁰ acts against the labourers.

What the productive worker has lost under capitalism, he replaces with a 'distorted' perception of what he really does. A subliminal image of himself emerges with the management's help: from whatever angle one views it, to be a 'production' worker is made into a privilege in FAB. This is reflected in their pay-cheques. Production workers have a higher coefficient of premium bonuses than all the rest. Managers and workers alike take a lot of pride in being part of the Production departments of both factories. They truly believe that they are the ones who are actually 'producing'. As one SG operator stated: 'I am happy (with my job) - to me this is the best place....In a factory, the most valuable section is 'production' - (it is) regarded as the most important....both in terms of wages and rights, and also for a future career'.

The skills required by machine-minding are not highly varied, anyone can be taught them in a few weeks. However, there is still valid ground on which 'production' workers believe that they are in a better position in terms of a future career than the others: firstly in FAB, the production departments are among the few sections where promotion is possible - from assistant-operator, to machine-operator and then to 'regleur'. One may even hope to be a foreman after working as a 'regleur' for some time - if the management chooses to select one internally.⁷¹

Secondly, the relative recentness in Turkey of the factory form of production based on modern technology like FAB means that there are only a limited number of workers available who have worked on any such complex machinery before. Their experience with such machinery may pave the way to a good job in another factory.

In addition to these advantages, they are the ones who are given a tea and sugar allowance, and are actually allowed to brew tea in their work-area; heat generated by the furnaces and the machines grants them this privilege.

Technological production jobs require some 'activity' from the worker, but such activity is nowhere near the skills required from the old masters of bottle and glassware blowing. Yet this does not prevent the machine-minders from regarding their activity as 'productive', although the

'privileges' they enjoy derive directly from the centrality of machinery and not from themselves. They identify themselves and their powers with that of the machine.

It is interesting to note that most machine-operators, regardless of their plant describe their job as - 'I am responsible for the machinery.' They were usually taken aback when I asked them what it exactly meant 'to be responsible for the machines' - 'but of course,' most said, 'we make sure that the machine is alright; they would ask us if anything went wrong.'

Recognition that the machinery - very expensive and therefore, very valuable - essential for production, is left in their care, enables them to distinguish themselves from the rest (an attitude especially manifest with furnace workers and feeder operators - the more expensive the machinery the better!), and results in the belief that they themselves are very important. This evidently is important in its implication that these workers' consciousness of themselves as separate from the machine is an obscure one. It also shows that the production workers judge their jobs and themselves not according to the creativity of the activity involved in their jobs, but, as J.A.C. Brown suggests,⁷² the 'status' they provide for them. However, production workers' perception of themselves as 'important' can be interpreted to be a way in which they express their fundamental realisation that production is ultimately dependent on their skills and efforts. I want to point out that in this analysis of work in FAB I am constantly working on a major distinction between:

1. What a particular worker does in the name of 'work',
2. What the accomplishment is as a result of this work activity.

Therefore, in the case of a production worker, what he does is to manipulate certain 'buttons', to hold a hose, to pump air into and grease the machine, etc. (all those described above). In what he does then, he accomplishes nothing as creative work itself would have done. (e.g., as in the case of blowing a bottle manually.) Furthermore, he, as an individual worker, whatever skills and efforts he uses, cannot produce on his own. Only the collective skills and efforts of the whole workforce can produce anything. On the other hand, by acting on the machine he makes production possible; and in that respect production can be said to be ultimately dependent on his labour. Hence, the perception referred to is both false and true. The first aspect can be

referred to (1) above and the second to (2). This distinction I have drawn is a guideline that helps to explain the seemingly contradictory elements workers have in their consciousness. An attempt to show that this guideline has been useful in understanding and reconstructing the FAB workers' reality is made in the concluding remarks in chapter IX.

To conclude the analysis of the production workers, a note must be made of a finer distinguishing feature of the production workers which is whether the workèr is involved in any 'making' process or not. This distinction seemed to be important in allowing for the workers who are not involved in glass-production per se, but who nevertheless must be separated from the rest because they produce other, intermediary goods. Box-makers in the woodwork workshop, 'second-cutting' workers in SG, mould-makers, process and quality controllers in both of the factories are examples of such 'production' workers. What is common to these work-processes is that each constitutes the very end of a 'making' process: it is in the hands of these workers that plates of glass appear complete and are ready to be used - or, a box is finished, or a mould is ready to be applied on the IS machines. Similarly, without the approval of the process and quality controllers, no product can be deemed to be complete and ready for dispatch.

In my total sample of 101 workers, only 36 (i.e., 35.6%) could be classified under the heading Production. This figure is important because it shows that only one third of the whole jobs in FAB are directly related to any one 'production' process. Put another way, the majority of FAB workers (i.e., the remaining 64%) are not directly involved in any 'manufacturing' process but are merely aggregated to it.

2. Packing and Sorting Workers

This group is more readily identifiable due to the nature of the work-activity undertaken.

In BIC, there are four IS machines attached to the flint-glass (i.e., colourless) furnace and three to the coloured-glass furnace. As was said earlier, two twin containers come out from each machine at the same time, which are automatically dropped on the moving-belts. On the other end of the belts the packers are located. The speed of motion of the conveyor belts change slightly with the size and weight of the containers. With the exception of one line, on all the belts, packing is

done manually. Two or three workers⁷³ at each end, place bottles in cartons, shrouds, or other containers. Each worker holds a few bottles with each hand at a time. And this is a continuous process in which the speed of packing is the speed at which the bottles pile-up on the round discs; therefore, it is the speed which is required of the packers to clear the discs off the bottles. On that one line, the packing is carried out automatically by a system called 'shrinkage'. This line is used when the containers are to be packed in bulk on pallets; then 'a machine marshalls them into layers, a pad or tray separating each layer, and then a polythene bag is pulled over the complete pallet and heated so that it contracts to form a rigid pack.' This is how the system is described in the Redfearn National Glass handbook - notice the non-existence of the worker in that description who in fact 'controls' the process from the beginning to end albeit monitoring with 'buttons'. It is the machine that does it, not the worker.

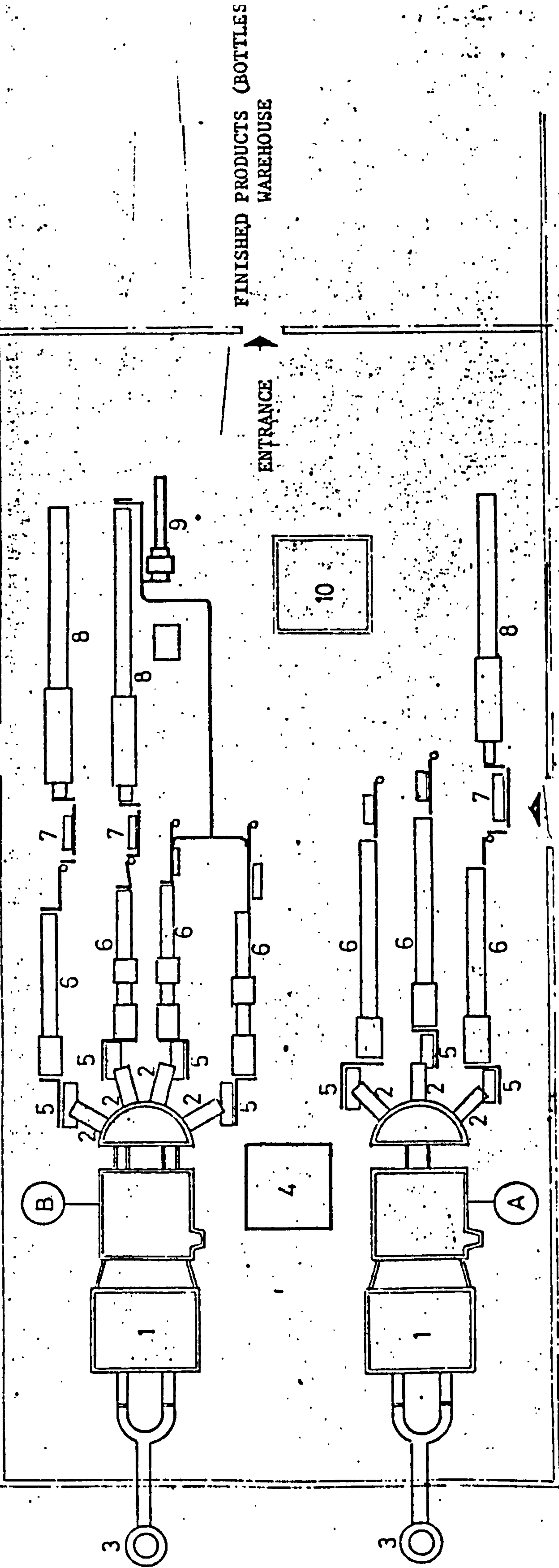
Packing is an activity whereby subordination to the machine is best observed. One manager explained that time-and-motion studies were not carried out for packers because each of their physical movements were anyway determined by the speed at which the machinery produced and the belts carried. There is however, a difference between the majority of packers who do it manually, and the few with the 'shrinkage' system: the latter is one step further towards automation.

Each container carries a number at its bottom - referring to the number of the machine which has made it. Sometimes, say number twelve may have come out with a defect, which was not noticed until it came to the quality control room - or by the time quality controlling detected the faults, thousands of them have already been produced and packed. When this is detected by the quality control girls, they let the production workers know, and the latter change the production. This may mean that thousands of bottles in packed boxes and containers are torn apart and the sorters clearing them of the defective numbered bottles. This happens very often, and sorting as such occurs constantly: "bend down", "pick up the bottles by both hands", "check the numbers", "throw the defective ones into a bunker", "put the good ones in another box": this is the sorting job.

There are however, other sorters before this stage, called the 'inspector' (or 'aynaci' in Turkish - 'mirrorist' literally translated). This

CARD-BOARD STOREROOM

WORKSHOPS



FINISHED PRODUCTS (BOTTLES) WAREHOUSE

ENTRANCE

ENTRANCE

- A - Furnace Number 1
- B - Furnace Number 2
- 1 - Furnace Regenerators
- 2 - Forehearths
- 3 - Chimneys
- 4 - Furnace Control room
- 5 - Production machines
- 6 - Cooling Furnaces (Lehr)
- 7 - Printing Machines
- 8 - Decorating Furnaces
- 9 - Automatic Packing
- 10 - Quality control room

inspection is carried out in a sort of cabinet in which an inspector views each container as it passes in front of a lighted screen and removes those with visible faults. These inspectors are mostly women in FAB. Their job requires 8 hours continuous sitting and concentration. Removing bottles with visible defects mean either throwing them into a nearby tank, or on another side belt carrying the cullet back into the furnaces. The containers passing can reach up to millions in a day - constantly - the speed does not change, all the bottles look alike, shining in front of the inspector's eyes, made even brighter by the lighted screen, and she sits there alert, trying not to let a single defective bottle escape removal. Is it possible to say that there is any creativity in this work - any skill required from which new skills emerge? Is it possible to say that the inspector's capabilities develop or that she fulfils herself? Every negative answer to these questions reflect the negative in the CLP.

Packers and sorters in SG differ in that their pace is not determined by the machine. The initial piling-up of the plates of glass are performed by the glass-carriers. Later these palettes are carried to the cold-glass department where the packers are located. There is more variation involved in sheet-glass packing than the packing of bottles. Size and thickness of the plates of glass require different packs as well as those for export, or indigenous consumption. The packers here, may have to fulfil a variety of tasks, such as cutting the plates further, placing them in boxes, feeding with pads in between, nailing the lid of the box, removing it to another corner.

Regardless of such variations though, packing, everywhere in FAB is one of the most monotonous, and strenuous jobs and is indicative of the status of work as an 'essential human life-activity' in the capitalist factory. Approximately 16% of my sample population consist of packers and sorters. These workers are at the same time nearest to Marx's description of factory workers under capitalism.

3. Maintenance and Repair Workers

Marx describes this class of workmen as 'a superior class of men', 'some of them scientifically educated, others brought up to a trade; it is distinct from the factory operative class and merely aggregated to it.'⁷⁴ This description applies to the FAB maintenance and repair workers too. This skilful class in the 'model' factory technical division of labour

is deemed to be numerically unimportant. However, in FAB, they constitute 29% of the labour force. Their task is to take care of the machinery and repair it from time to time; and this group includes engineers, mechanics, joiners, welders, etc. A specialisation is introduced into this class of workmen based on the technical division of labour between plants and shops. A specialised group of maintenance workers are located in each plant, who are assigned the jobs attached to that plant only. Then, there are the general maintenance and repair workers who both assist the departmental groups in difficult tasks, and also, are required to maintain the prime machinery of the site.

Maintenance of the site in general, with its buildings, and transport vehicles calls for a further specialised group of workers such as mechanics, masons, carpenters, gardeners, etc. Clearly, variation of trades accompanied by different skills is tremendous among this group. They are more independent in terms of both working free of machine-domination, and also in physical terms (of mobility), since their tasks often involve moving around on site.

Every morning the division of labour for the daily tasks is set out by the foremen/shift-manager who assigns jobs to their men. By appointing the same workers to the same plants, or the same type of breakdown problems, the managers reinforce further specialisation.

However, acquaintance with all the major plants has allowed this group of workers to have a broader conception of the labour-process.

Their tasks often require working in teams. The effort thus exerted during team work becomes a creative way of overcoming a difficult problem, hence the collective mode of self-fulfilment is achieved. In other words, the using-up of their labour becomes a productive consumption unlike the case of the packing and production workers. The skills involved and the mode in which these skills are utilised, i.e., the team work enables them to develop new skills to overcome even more difficult tasks in due course.

One more important distinguishing aspect of maintenance and repair work is that it resembles 'human work' more than in any other factory work. On each occasion when a problem arises maintenance and repair workers must think of a relevant solution, must imaginatively plan what they ought to do in advance. These designed solutions will not necessarily

apply to the next problem, therefore, each new task leads to the repetition of the same creative mode of thinking. This is all the more so in FAB where insufficiency/inefficiency of the technology⁷⁵ on the one hand, and absence of some specialised tools and spare-parts on the other, depend more on the skills of workers, and their creativity in finding made-up spare-parts to replace the non-existent standard ones. This situation in turn, is a result of dependence on foreign technology and imported spare-parts, or in other words, arises out of the context of underdevelopment. When the underdeveloped economy suffers from an acute shortage of foreign currencies, as Turkey has done since 1975, this creates the need to meet various technical demands of the production process by indigenous resources, and mainly, the skill of its working men. Fulfilling certain demands of the production process in this way, causes workers to gain more control over the labour-process, which is alien to the mode of operation of the 'model' CLP.

One related aspect of creative-thinking required of the maintenance and repair work must be noted here. As elsewhere on the site, there is a degree of separation of conception and execution applicable to maintenance and repair workers. Not every single maintenance and repair worker is highly skilled, nor is he allowed to decide on how to solve a break-down problem. Neither is the technology of glass manufacturing (which originates elsewhere, but neither the workers who would work with it in its country of origin, nor the workers of the country which has imported that technology, have participated in the decision-making about its design, operation, etc.) the only source of imposing limitations on how much of the productive process is accessible to workers' knowledge. Therefore, that technology, as it is, is beyond the conception of workers is a given fact.

There is yet a more day-to-day operation of hierarchical accessibility to information and knowledge of which workers are aware. In more practical terms, there is a certain kind of knowledge only a plant manager has control over, but it is the less totalistic, more practical/trivial aspects that a day-manager, a shift-foreman, a foreman, a worker may possess in descending order. I have observed that this hierarchy of control over knowledge is both manifest and yet still felt less in the departmental units of maintenance and repair than in the general maintenance and repair department. Taken together, however, this class of workmen, is subject to less separation in terms of conception and

execution, by the necessity to work in teams. Especially on those occasions when the team is not headed by a foreman or a day-manager the 'thinking' then becomes a collective activity. Two quotes below, both from maintenance workers, support my observation:

QE 77 'We, for example, tell the shift foreman it would be better if we did it this way. And he says, "Do it as you know it." Five mates put our heads together and do the job. They get pleased with the results too. I mean, they don't insist that we must do it in their way.'

QE 92 '....Everyone's opinions about their professions (trades) are different. We don't like what each other does. But sometimes we decide together. Then it becomes better.'

4: Other Workers

Workers in FAB whose work activity cannot be represented by either of the three categories described above form the category 'other'. The relative self-sufficiency of FAB has called for this category of workers, because, besides the main stream of glass manufacturing in FAB, various intermediary goods and services are also produced; and especially, 'services' account for the category 'other'.

It is interesting to note that this group came out to be numerically more important than the title would suggest. Nearly 28% of the sample group have jobs which are marginal to glass-manufacturing. Their services are rendered to other workers who are more directly involved with the production. All the cooks, waiters, gardeners, nurses, firemen as well as drivers and clerks are included in this category. They are not included in the technical division of labour as described at the outset of this chapter (p.37). The 'nature' of 'work' they perform remains independent of the machine-based organisation in the factory. Therefore, they are more autonomous in the way they work and 'other' workers have considerable control over the manner and pace of the way they labour. 'Other' workers constitute a large section of the non-factory jobs in FAB - introduced below - and hence some underlying qualities overlap. A more detailed presentation of this group's work activities will, therefore, be carried out under the heading 'Non-factory Workers'.

iii) Factory and Non-Factory Types of Work

The Factory mode of production is not monolithic in terms of the work-process; it contains work-processes wide-ranging with respect to the degree of detailed division of labour, and the extent of separation of conception and execution. The fact that FAB jobs could be divided into four distinct categories (production, packing and sorting, maintenance and repair, and other) and the differentiation of the work-processes undertaken by each group already elucidates this point. The 'Factory' and 'Non-factory' distinction is used as a further device to systematise the differences in the work-processes in FAB.

'Factory' work here is defined as those jobs which require 'work' to be undertaken in subordination to the technical base of the factory, or 'skills' that could only be useful in a factory context. 'Factory' type of work then, refers simply to those jobs which require a factory context to be carried out, jobs which are dependent and pre-determined by the technical division of labour of the factory organisation of work. Conversely, 'Non-factory' type of work refers to those jobs which do not require a factory as its medium of practice, but could be carried out elsewhere. These definitions are derived from the description of 'Factory' and 'Non-factory' modes of industrial production outlined in chapter II, section 4 above.

Based on these definitions, 56% of the jobs in FAB are factory jobs, and 44% are non-factory jobs. That nearly half of the FAB jobs could be classified under non-factory category is an important finding. This is so, because it is often assumed that by virtue of their taking place in a factory, all work-processes are characterised by the CLP. In other words, the assumption is that the environment, the site of work, determines the nature of work. However, the above findings pertaining to the FAB factory clearly shows that this assumption is not always valid. Half of the FAB workers do non-factory jobs, and this classification is based on the actual activity they carry out, and not on the site of their activity.⁷⁶ Had the latter been taken as the only criterion, then all jobs, by virtue of their location, should be characterised by the factory mode of work organisation. To use the nature of work, i.e., the actual activities performed by the worker as a criterion to classify jobs is useful, in order to grasp the detailed but important differences between them. The nature of work can be as

important as the site of work from the point of view of the individual worker, in the way he experiences work, and defines this experience.

When 'Nature of work' then, is taken to be a criterion to classify jobs into 'factory' or 'non-factory' it is seen that all the welders, some lathe operators, cleaners, sweepers, cooks, waiters, guards, porters, firemen, mechanics, masons, carpenters, electricians, etc., constitute 'non-factory' jobs. This is so, precisely because, all of the work activities these jobs involve could, in the same manner be carried out outside the context of the factory. In contradistinction, packers, inspectors, machine operators, glass-carriers, 'regleurs', process and quality controllers, mould cleaners and replacers, etc., could not have carried out their work activities in workplaces other than factories. What little skills contained in these jobs would not allow any of these workers to use his skills independent of the factory mode of production because they are precisely created by that mode.

While bringing in this distinction, I do not question the fact that even the non-factory work takes place in the factory. This implies that the organisation of work is fundamentally different from any other in a workshop or an artisan mode of industrial production. Certainly, the duration of work-hours, the technical division of labour, the hierarchy of control, and the separation of intellectual and manual labour as determined by the factory mode apply to the non-factory jobs in it.

Similarly, such a separation made (between 'factory' and 'non-factory' jobs) does not mean to overlook the tendency of the capitalist mode of production to incessantly transform all other labour-processes into the capitalist labour process (as argued by Braverman). What it does mean, however, is that even within the context of a 'capitalist' factory, with reference to the 'nature of work', differences in the conditions accruing to an individual or a group of workers and how significant these differences are in the way they define the labour process, can be grasped and reconstructed by using such a device. This will be exemplified below where the immediate conditions pertaining to some of the jobs in FAB are examined. It also means that while the capitalist mode of production transforms all other labour processes into the CLP, i.e., turn all the jobs into 'factory' type of jobs, it at the same time creates a labour force who acquire skills that are independent of the detailed division of labour that pertains to the CLP, and therefore, can be useful outside the context of the factory organisation of work.

Based on the FAB case alone then, it can be said that the capitalist mode of production on the one hand dooms the workers to the machinery, thereby degrading them; on the other hand causes a proliferation of workers' with independent skills and powers, mainly because the continuity of the production process is so dependent on the labour,⁷⁷ and capital cannot subordinate labour totally.

Now I want to proceed to the analysis of shift-work and then Allocation and Recruitment Patterns in FAB, before I move on to the analysis of job specifics.

iv) Shift Work

All 'fusion' industries run on a constant basis, given the technology. What this means in effect is that the production process is continuous for 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and 365 days a year. Glass-manufacturing is also based on fusion-technology, and so is subject to the same constancy of work, which is presented by the management, as the reason for the inevitability of shift-work. Not all workers work shifts in FAB, however, which is due to the fact that not all work in FAB is directed towards manufacturing 'glass'. While the majority of FAB labourers work in shifts (73%), the remaining 27% are on day jobs. Day workers start at 8.30 a.m., take a lunch-break between 12 and 1 p.m., and work again until 6 p.m. and take the buses back to town promptly at 6.15 p.m. Unlike most other work places in Turkey, day-workers and white collar workers still work half-days on Saturdays.

The morning shift starts at 7 a.m. and lasts until 3 p.m. when the afternoon shift starts. And the night shift is between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m. Every week, each shift works a different time, and once every three weeks, following the night shift they have a 56 hour break, which is called the 'long weekend'.

What does working in shifts mean for the workers? The shift-system first of all, forces the sleeping, rest, eating and entertainment hours to be turned upside down and messes up the family and social lives. The system demands great sacrifice from the individual; it is in fact further than 'sacrifice'; it necessitates the subjection of all other aspects of living, and the individual's organic life itself to 'work'. 'My body,

my sleep suffers; it (my body) cannot get used to it....' as one shift worker expressed.

And the demands of each shift are different. A quality control woman expressed the dilemma she suffers in deciding which shift suits them best:

"There are good and bad sides to every shift. You have to wake up at 6 a.m. for the morning shift but then you have a lot of time spare in the afternoon. Yet we don't like this shift because all the managers and shift foremen etc., are around. The room (Quality Control) is too crowded with people. There is noise from every head* and there are too many people who stick their nose into your business. 3-11 is a good shift. At 6 all the "bosses" leave. You're on your own. It is calm and you enjoy it more. You can sleep as much as you like in the morning. And when you come back (home) at mid-night it is as if coming back from a movie or something. But then you have no social life. Can't even watch T.V., can't see many people, can't do anything! I like the night shift myself, 11-7; the factory is all yours. You do your work as you wish, nobody bothers you. At the same time, you can enjoy yourself with your work-mates. Nobody says anything. But then, it alters your system altogether. You feel very tired at work. You want to sleep all the time. The foreman won't say no, you can sleep but when it is a single shift(78) the burden is on your friends. You can't leave all the job to them. Besides, they feel sleepy too. Then you come home in the morning. You feel very sleepy but you can't sleep. The day passes trying to sleep. I have to sleep after dinner time (tea-time) to feel ready to go to work again at about mid-night. Damn it, in fact I like none of it (the shift)!"

This description of the shift-system as expressed by one worker, but nevertheless experienced by all the shift-workers clearly denotes that the shift system is detrimental for the workers. Those shifts, whereby workers find more meaning in their work (due to the absence of the higher level managers) are inimical to their health and social lives. When they can be more in tune with nature (in terms of sleeping and eating hours for example) and, the hours of the shift allow for social activities outside work, then they are often less happy at work, i.e., more under the control of managers. The situation is exacerbated by the continuous rotation in the shift-system, which never allows them to settle, to adapt themselves to a particular set of hazards. As in the case above, the shift-workers live the tensions built into the system by

* The closest expression in English, I found, to this Turkish proverb literally translated here is 'everyone has to put their oar in' or a more local one I'm told 'everyone has to have their two pen'orth (penny worth)'.

the nature of the shift-work.

All managers above the level of shift-manager except one shift engineer, and most 'memurs', work days. Therefore, it is all the more easy for them to claim that shift-work is unavoidable because the furnaces must be kept burning all the time - that it is a technologically imposed condition on the production process - 'in our industry, i.e., the fusion industry, it needs to work for 24 hours. I mean the shift system is embedded in the development of technology, in technological progress' one manager explained.

But is it only a problem of technology? According to a foreman it is not. In the way he perceives it, profit making has a say in it: '(to work for 24 hours) of course, is inevitable. Work has to be continued. If you don't mind the furnaces, and take note of its temperature, the mineral in it will either freeze or burst-out....This has to be controlled which in turn necessitates the continuous working hours. This is what we call the shift-work.'

- 'Are there any alternatives, such as letting the 'paste' drop freely during the night?'

- 'Well, it will mean loss; both from a national point of view, and also from the point of view of workers' earnings.'

- 'What about human health?'

- 'Yes, they (the workers) get tired during night shifts, but they have an opportunity to rest in between (until the next time one is on a night shift). This (night) shift comes once in three weeks. Well in work-life you have to put up with it. The factory works for 24 hours. The continuity of this is very important for both the development of the country and also, in terms of gains regardless of the type of state you have. As short term work does not provide you with anything.' This foreman's view, is the view of the management, yet more explicit in his linking of the profit-motive with the need for continuity of production.

Furthermore, there is the concern for the furnaces; they must not be cooled off at whatever cost because this brings great damage and losses. And the damage to the furnaces is more important than anything else. 'They cost millions of liras you know' is the common saying in FAB.

Justification of the attitude whereby it is totally omitted that production is a social process and involves the human element as the

active agent is provided at the theoretical level too. It is the bourgeois economists (and of course the managers), in most cases, who provide for this justification in considering 'labour' as just another input of production.⁷⁹ Labour can, in this context, be handled categorically because it is often forgotten that the concept refers to humans. This approach, seems to be internalised by a considerable number of workers as well, and accepted as an 'absolute' without considering its implications for themselves, or asking any questions about its validity.

For a sweeper-up in SG, to work for 24 hours continuous is 'a must for this factory....One or two days of stopping will cause the furnace to "freeze". This means it won't work again for 6 months or a year. I mean, production will be most difficult.'

-- 'How do you know that the furnace will then not work for 6-12 months?'

-- 'We heard that from our "superiors" here. Those who work on the furnace also say it. Of course, I haven't examined it myself.'

This approach represents the general stance of most FAB workers. Yet, not all workers are assured that the furnace/production per se have a vital importance. For instance, for a woman in the Quality Control department, 'to be a woman', to both fulfil what this necessitates socially and also endure pressure beyond her powers in work; in other words, the difficulty of accomplishing these two roles together is important to be taken into consideration: "To work for 24 hours is not a must, they should abolish the night shifts. For example, for a woman (like myself) it is damn difficult (to work at nights)."

-- 'What about the furnaces then?'

-- 'Well, it need not be cooled off but for instance the 'paste' could be let to drop freely during the night....(the only consideration is) to fill the pockets of the bosses. I mean this is the aim.' She believes that in BIC, when the changing of the colour is wanted, they allow the paste to drop off day after day⁸⁰ until the new colour turns out to be the right shade. Therefore, the same thing could be done for other reasons.

Not to let the furnace go cold in fusion industries, and therefore, the necessity to work for 24 hours continuously; to have to expend energy while one can hardly keep one's eyes open, and during those long hours when a whole town is asleep may or may not be a technological necessity. This cannot be decided here. What I want to emphasise however, is that

'necessity-unavoidability', is bound by a certain system of thought. And once this is formed, it is accepted without much questioning by those who are concerned. This mode of thinking can be expressed by the concept of 'rationality' and the ideology on a par with it: 'the necessity to be rational'. 'To be rational for what?' is a question occasionally asked. What is unquestionably assumed is that it is a must to choose the 'rational' no matter what. And how is 'what is rational' determined? To let the batch from the furnaces off, i.e., to actually waste it altogether is 'rational' when changing from one colour of production to another, but to do the same so that people can sleep tranquilly, that they do not get worn out is not 'rational'.

In the first case, because it is assumed to be a technologically determined necessity, and is already included in the cost calculations - does not, therefore, have an effect on the anticipated profits.

However, the necessity to consider human well-being does not occur as an indispensable assumption when cost calculations are made, hence to agree to the possibility of 'wasting' paste for the sake of working people alone will mean a loss of profits and therefore is 'irrational'. 'Rationality' has a capital induced context, and as such, has a determining role on the other aspects of relations of production under capitalism. 'Rationality' is the sine quo non of production relations in FAB, though mostly in a concealed form. It is concealed because it is presented in an ideological format, i.e., it is presented in the disguise of the 'most natural and logical thing to do', thereby obscuring the fact that it is the thirst for profits that require such a 'rationality', which is more irrational from a human point of view.⁸¹

Shifts in some of the other industries in the region, commence and terminate at even hours: 8-16, 16-24, 24-8. The workers in FAB have demanded the alteration of shift hours in FAB to even ones. 'It is more convenient for us, it makes life easier' they say. Management refused to implement new hours, not because they had an objection to it, but for external circumstances they were unable to do so. There is only one contract coach company in Province. This company has a monopoly of worker transportation in the district. Since the same company carries the workers of other factories around, the hours their coaches can be at FAB's service must fit into the periods when the coaches are available, and the coach company would not allow any other firm to enter

this market. Furthermore, the management of FAB say that they're bound to this agreement.

This is a striking exemplification of expropriation of 'control' from the immediate producer in the process of development of capitalist production. Workers do not lose 'control' over the work process only, or merely because of the organisation of work, but also indirectly by the 'invisible hand' of the market mechanism. In our case, FAB workers cannot start and end their jobs at the times they prefer because of the monopoly power of the coach company; and the link this has with the working hours is a manifestation of the market mechanism.

One last note on the shift system: shift workers do not have a break for lunch as a rule, however, they are allowed to have a meal taking turns, spending at most half an hour on it.

Day Work

Day workers on the other hand, spend their one hour lunch break as they wish to. Usually it is quickly swallowing down a meal, and then playing a game of football, volleyball or table tennis etc., or sleeping under a bench.

If the stress on shift workers emerges as a result of continuity of work for 8 hours, as well as rotating work hours altering their system, for the day workers, the pressure comes from the extension of work hours to cover the whole day. To be at work at 8.30, most day workers have to wake up around 7 to be able to catch the service buses at 8. On return, the buses start off at 6.15 p.m. and by the time they reach home it is already 7-7.30 p.m. again; which means 'work' has a duration of 12 hours of their every day life. Given that they work half-days on Saturdays, the day workers do not have any time left to fulfil the requirements of living; shopping, taking care of children, going to their schools to see their teachers, anything that requires contact with an office or a bank, housework, and all those other activities we (those who do not work such hours) take for granted, the FAB day workers are severely disadvantaged.

The effect of spending such long hours, either working or going to and from work and preparing for it, is striking too. Once Hatice, a quality control girl working days, had to ask to leave around 2 p.m. for some official business. It was winter then, therefore, it was already dark

around 5 p.m. She recollects her impression of that day she left early:

"I'm used to getting out in the dark. Yesterday, I went out at 2 p.m. and I saw that it was bright everywhere. It was so strange to me...."

Jack London described the English factory workers (especially those in the East End in London) as 'men who never saw the sunlight!' The situation of FAB-day workers is not much different, except thanks to the long hot summer of the Mediterranean climate.

Regardless of the objective pros and cons about the shift and day work, workers' attitudes towards it vary. This is presented in chapter IX.

v) Recruitment and Allocation

Sources of Information About Jobs in FAB

What are the sources of learning about the jobs available for the workers? Are these sources mainly institutional or through personal relations? The answers to these questions in the context of FAB not only yielded valuable information about access-to-knowledge of the FAB workers, but also some indication about the nature of 'capitalism' in an underdeveloped country like Turkey; to what extent the capitalist mode of production has created its own institutions and patterns of communication.

The answers to the question 'where did you learn about this job?' clearly indicate that the sources of information are mainly personal connections and the 'institutions' of pre-industrial social formations. 28.7% of my sample workers learnt about the job from 'friends', 25.7% from 'relatives', and 12.9% from their 'home-mates' (hemşehri), 24.8% heard about the vacancies simply by virtue of being the 'locals'. Only 4% were informed by newspapers, and another 4% through job centres; all this is indicative of the fact that 'institutional' channels of information are not relevant for most workers.

The heavy reliance on the informal group communications and kinship ties as sources of information derives from the fact that capitalism in Turkey has not yet been able to develop its own institutions. These findings, together with the patterns of allocation and recruitment given below will present a clearer profile of the network of labour recruitment in Turkey.

Recruitment Patterns

Having found out about the vacancies in FAB through one of the sources mentioned above, the recruitment of my sample group was to a large extent a random one (59.4%). That is to say more than half of the sample group were recruited when there was a need for workers, and got jobs without being helped by any external circumstances. The remaining, however, received various means of help in being recruited for a job. 13.9% got the job with the help of a 'letter of introduction'. This may mean one of the following:

1. Knowing someone important,
2. Bringing a letter of introduction with himself,
3. Bribing the job recruitment personnel.⁸²

Nearly 11% of the applicants got help from the managers themselves, that is to say, that the applicant worker either knew one manager or was related to or a 'hemsehri' of a manager. 7.9% could get the job with the help of their relatives in FAB (relatives other than managers, that is). The job centre is seen to have no effect on recruitment whatsoever.⁸³

The significance of the weight of relatives, friends and 'hemsehri's' in recruitment has a valuable function for the system: it serves to establish a more homogeneous labour force. At the emergence of interest frictions between the managers and the workers, these kinship ties and friendship bonds can be used, but more importantly, any worker of FAB is under an obligation to management when and if one of his relatives/friends/hemsehri's is employed, and, therefore, rendering a similar service to managers becomes an expectation. All this helps the managers to create a 'friction-free' family atmosphere on site - an indispensable longing of any management in cementing the loyalty to the firm.

That workers are not total strangers to each other simply gathered together at random, but are often related to each other in one way or another, is from the point of view of the workers, a counter-balancing power to the 'divisive' aspects of the capitalist labour process on the shop-floor. This increases the solidarity among workers who work in distant departments from each other, and may manifest itself in unexpected ways or instances.

Allocation

Finally, why workers were allocated the jobs they initially had (many workers changed their jobs within the factory) in FAB was basically for the following reasons: 30.7% got the job because of their previous job.

experience, 36.6% at random. For 19.8% it was the only job offered, and 12.9% were allocated on the basis of their physical qualifications - muscular strength mainly. These allocation figures do not necessarily signify any set pattern.

CHAPTER V

JOB SPECIFICS

What I propose to do in this chapter is to present the immediate conditions of work in FAB. My purpose in doing so is to show the extent to which the general tendency of CLP towards separation of work into detail tasks applies in the case of FAB. If it can be demonstrated that at least some of the work-processes are divided into minute tasks on the one hand, while other types of jobs have remained relatively unaffected by this trend on the other, then, in the context of FAB, it can be argued that this tendency of the CLP is realised wherever possible, but in some work-processes, the degree of differentiation among jobs is related to factors which are not inherently embedded in the CLP. The aim therefore is twofold:

1. To elucidate what 'detail work' means in the context of various jobs in FAB.
2. To show that jobs differ considerably in terms of the immediate job specifics.

The first aim is to attempt an analysis of the outcomes of the time and motion studies in FAB, and the division of labour. To fulfil the second aim, various criteria will be used to exhibit the differentiation of FAB jobs (where time and motion studies are not applicable) with respect to the immediate job conditions.

What follows is essentially a descriptive presentation directed towards an analysis of the 'detailed-ness' of some of the 'detail-works' in FAB (the first aim) as well as providing information on job specifics (the second aim). So far, I have only presented the differentiation of FAB jobs at a general level, i.e., encompassing the total job spectrum in FAB. This more specific analysis will be used later (chapter IX) to relate 'detailed-ness' and 'job specifics' of various types of jobs in FAB to the possibility that these conditions help workers to have a totalistic view of the labour-process. It will then be seen that similar to the differentiation between the work activities undertaken, there is a differentiation of definitions of the labour process.

i) Division of Labour and Time & Motion Studies

There are three levels of division of labour:

1. Social division of labour which differentiates between various occupations and their functions in society, i.e., agricultural, industrial, service jobs etc., or doctors, nurses, carpenters, artists, teachers, students, etc.
2. Technical division of labour, in terms of the factory and the division of labour mentioned earlier among machine-tenders, maintenance, and utility workers, etc.
3. Detailed division of labour, which is the separation of each task into its minute parts and apportioning each or a small group of these minute tasks to a single labourer.

The detailed division of labour progresses in both general historical terms, i.e., in parallel to the advent of capitalism, and also in more specific evolutionary terms, i.e., in the history of technical accomplishment of a specific job, as for example, in Marx's description of the making of a pin.

In the light of this outline, FAB jobs, or rather the labour process in the glassworks industry, is not a typical conveyor belt production process where the detailed division of labour is the rule. Certainly, the nature of the goods produced and the technology for producing them are determinate. However, the tendency of the CLP to divide work into more minute sections is also present. This will be demonstrated through an examination of work in woodworks, mould production and SG packing plants in FAB.

Woodworks.

In the woodwork workshops, the making of a wooden box (or crate to be used as a container for packing sheet glass) is first divided into 4 tasks:

1. The lid-making.
2. Nailing the wedges on the struts.
3. Framing.
4. Nailing all the above parts together to form a complete box.

Each of these tasks is in turn divided into various work activities, described on sheets by the management: e.g., for the first job: a) take

the lids, put them in order, b) take the materials (wood) to be made into a lid and put them in order, c) get some nails, d) nail them, e) remove the completed lid. For this, the management has assigned one worker and the whole process should be completed in 2.08 minutes.

The second job of roughly preparing the 'top' is divided into 'eight' smaller tasks; and again is assigned to one worker (time: 1.89 minutes). The third job of 'framing' is divided also into tasks, but in this case two workers work on the same frame ; altogether it takes 2.49 minutes.

The actual putting-together of the box (job 4) is undertaken in 7 steps, by two workers in 4.94 minutes. It is interesting to note that each step is timed separately; and the total time required for the job is obtained by adding together the time for: a) preparation for the job, b) checking the finished job, c) rest time, d) the main time required to do the job. The last item above is timed, and then 10% of that time is added for each of the other constituents (a, b, and c above).

Time and motion studies have been carried out in the woodwork plant in FAB (based on the principles presented above) which have tremendously reduced not only the time necessary for each job, but also the number of men needed in that plant (the number was decreased to one third of the original employees).⁸⁴

A technical view is employed to specify the steps to be taken in a job and a continuous division of the work is thus maintained. This attitude obscures or even totally neglects the fact that the subjects of these studies are human beings. This is in contradistinction to how the workers (i.e., the subjects of the studies) have experienced the outcome of the studies. It is important to note that some workers have experienced the before and after of the time and motion studies. What the time and motion studies contribute to the production process is obvious and is everyone's concern. However, not so well known or explored are the meanings of those studies in terms of the lived experience of some men and women.

The irony is that most of the time the workers who have been subjected to time and motion studies do not conceive the predicament in which they are being placed. Some have even expressed the desire for further specialisation. All the union has done is to tell the workers not to

work too fast while the standard times for specific jobs were being determined, (but only in some plants). Unlike the union and the workers, the management is aware of the true meaning of time and motion studies. As the technical supervisor in charge of these studies explained: "The aim of this study is without further investments, by saving on labour-power, to increase production." (My emphasis)

This aspect of the issue is to be covered in chapter VI. I now return to the description of other 'detail' jobs.

Mould-Production

In the mould-production workshop, various moulds are produced; these moulds are changed according to the required shape of each bottle or container. Different moulds are needed for the various sequences in bottle-making by the machinery.

There are 5 commonly used sequential moulds, i.e., for each new model, there need to be at least 5 moulds to contain the paste in the 5 steps of blowing/pressing. According to the complexity of the model, as in, for example, bottles with layers or 'plaits', etc. on the 'neck', the task of making a single mould can vary between 13 and 18 tasks, from 'designing' to quality controlling. The jobs in between these are basically carving a different curvature of the model bottle on the steel mould using several types of lathe-machines. Each worker bending over a lathe machine drills in a tiny section of the mould, which he passes on to the next man to drill the next arch. Over and over, each man works on the same detail job on each mould and this specific part is determined by the capacity of the type of lathe-machine he works on, not on his particular skills. Lathe operating is a skilled job; some workers have suggested that one needs at least 4 years to become a 'good' lathe-operator. Most of the lathe-operators are highly skilled, experienced workers at FAB. Some of them have learned the skill at technical colleges. Yet as they describe it themselves, 'what they do here is not genuinely lathe-operating'. Thus, most of their skills remain unutilised, and slowly die. This is partly what Gouldner⁸⁵ means by the 'unemployed' self. More will be said on this point in chapter X.

SG Packing

A time & motion study is carried out in the packing department of the SG

as well. To do that, a particular type of packing (called 'Italian-type, indigenous boxes') is divided into its 'elements'. What would seem to an outside observer simply laying the sheets of glass horizontally in a wooden box, laid on a table, and padding them in between with wood-shavings and sheets of paper, nailing the lid on top and moving the completely packed box aside, either by hand or by 'monorails' (depending on the size), is in fact a job divided into 13 elements each of which is timed separately. Yet, this is not all - once the packing of a certain box is completed there are 8 other 'time-consuming' movements concerning the stacking of boxes.

According to the size and thickness of the plates of glass, this job of packing (altogether 21 motions) is carried out by two or three workers referred to as a team. The sheet glass can be a 3 mm. thick plate of 270 x 144 cm., and 26 such plates are placed in a box as described above. Therefore, the speed of packing this type of glass is $101\text{m.}^2/\text{sec}^{86}$. A larger size can be 270 x 230 cm. or 270 x 250 cm., both of which are 6 mm. thick plates. Eight such plates go in a box, and the process is slower because of their size: $49.68\text{m.}^2/\text{sec}^{87}$ requiring three men instead of two. They all execute exactly the same motions, but on different sides or corners of the sheet-glass/box.

I have presented some cases of dividing tasks into detail-work where either each detail is assigned to a single worker (as in the case of mould-production) or all the 'elements' together constitute one job of a single worker (as in the case of wood-works, or SG packing). It must be remembered that in the latter two cases, dividing the jobs into their simple elements is a relatively recent phenomenon in FAB (carried out after the take-over by the Holding Co., since 1976), hence displaying the tendency of the system. When it becomes possible, both technologically and in terms of the habituation of the workers to this mode of working, jobs will be divided even further, and each 'element' will be assigned to a separate man.

It is interesting to note that most of such detail-work takes place in workshops/departments which are complementary to the main-line production. One basic reason for this is that in the main-line production process, the labour process is organised around automatic and semi-automatic machinery, so that the labouring of workers is directed and controlled by the pace and mode of operation of the machinery, anyway. However, in

some of the 'complementary' departments the work is not organised around the prime-mover (machine) but around the division of labour among the men. Hence, the nature of this division of labour becomes important in terms of productivity.

In order to satisfy the second aim of this chapter, the immediate conditions of work in FAB will be demonstrated with reference to 8 categories:

1. Types of work activities involved in a job, or conversely, the degree of repetitiveness.
2. Tools used in a job, and whether they are extensions of the workers' physical powers, or separate entities from the workers.
3. Amount of bodily motion, and physical mobility entailed in one job, and qualitative nature of bodily motion and physical freedom.
4. Intensity of concentration (attention) necessitated by the job, i.e., whether the work activity (accomplished) makes occasional breaks possible. The intensity in turn is measured against the risks involved should concentration be relaxed - risks may be hazards to the worker and/or the continuity of a satisfactory production process.
5. Whether the work activities include contact with other workers - and if so, how many, regardless of whether it is team-work or not.
6. Whether the work activity is fulfilled under continuous supervision.
7. Whether it is day-work or shift-work. Here these two modes of working are analysed more specifically than in the general examination presented earlier.
8. Whether it is a job that requires specialised skills or not. Here the term 'skill' contains elements of 'productive' worker (as opposed to 'unproductive') and 'non-factory' (in contrast to 'factory' as described earlier).⁸⁸

Six jobs are described below based on the 8 criteria presented above. These are:

- Glass Carriers (SG)
- Quality Control (SG)
- Maintenance and repair work (General)
- A furnace job (SG & BIC)
- A sweeper (SG)

Inspection ('Mirroring') and Sorting (BIC)

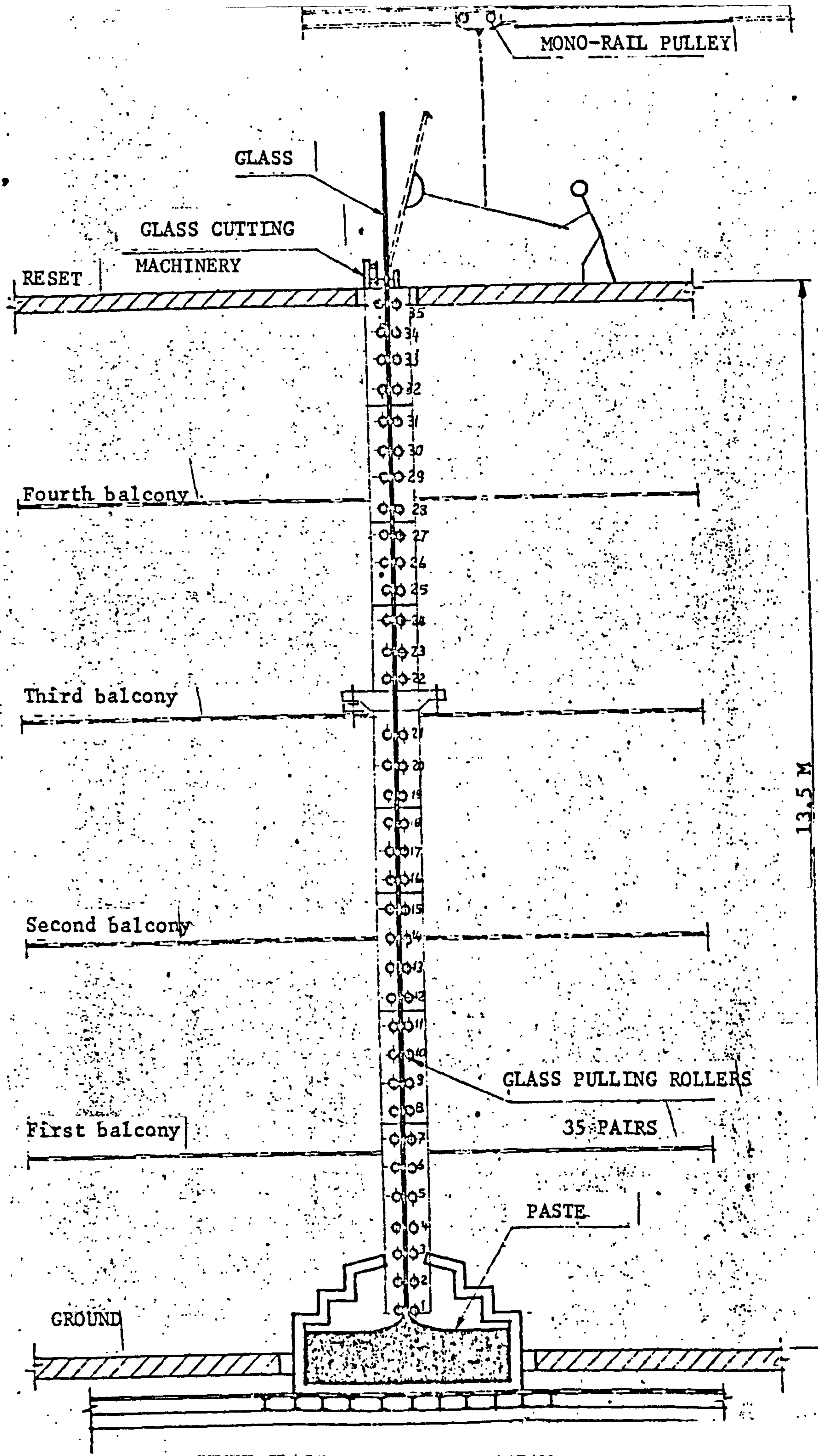
Class-Carriers (SG)

Glass-carriers constitute the largest proportion of production workers in SG. They actually start at the very end of the production process, where the sheets of glass are formed and are ready to be taken away.

The diagram below shows the production process for sheet glass. The batch in the furnace turns into a 'paste' as it leaves the furnace at the ground floor and is pulled upwards by the rollers which stretch the paste, making it thinner and thinner until it becomes the required thickness when it reaches the 5th floor called 'Reset'. The paste is gradually cooled as it ascends, and by the time it is at the 'Reset' floor where the glass-carriers are located the temperature has dropped to 80-100°C. There are eight machines, one at the end of each set of steel rollers, which cut the sheets of glass automatically according to the pre-set size, and each machine produces a different thickness. The automatic diamond cutter only works horizontally, so the 'boards' (unwanted glass on the sides of the plates) must be marked with a hand-cutter by the carrier and broken off. He must wear protective gloves against the heat and sharp edges of the glass. The unusable 'boards' are then thrown into a bunker at the side, to be carried back to the furnace to be re-melted.⁸⁹

From the mono-rail on the ceiling are suspended pulleys on very thick chains which have moveable vacuum suckers at the lower end. (See diagram). As soon as the glass carrier has thrown the boards away, he grabs the vacuum-sucker, which has buttons on both handles. He then brings the sucker down to attach it to the middle of the plate, and presses a button to initiate a kind of hydraulic motion. The sucker grabs the glass lightly, therefore the worker's fingers must stay on the button until he places the plate on the palettes by the side. By the time he completes this motion, the next plate has arrived at the top of the rollers and the whole process starts again.

The smaller sizes and thinner sheets of glass are all cut, the boards are broken off and carried by hand alone. The smaller plates also come out at a greater speed than the larger ones. Hence the motion of the workers changes speed accordingly.



SHEET GLASS PRODUCTION DIAGRAM

The main job, then, consists of: mark the boards, break them off, turn aside, throw them in the bunker, hold the vacuum machine, grab the sheet, break it off, take it aside and put it in the palette. The two other minor jobs of the glass-carriers are to grease the automatic glass cutting machinery from time to time and, when required, to place sheets of paper between the sheets of glass on the palette, numbering each sheet of glass with a piece of chalk.*

Initially there were four glass carriers to a machine. Then, the monorails were not installed so everything had to be done by muscular strength. While two of them worked the other two rested for a period of $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour each. When I was there, the number of men per machine had already been reduced to three and preparations were being made to reduce the number to two, which would give the glass-carriers absolutely no time to rest.⁹⁰

In the context of the categories listed on p.75 above 'glass-carrying' can be viewed as follows:

1. Variation

During the $\frac{1}{2}$ hour of continuous work it is a highly repetitive job. Yet it includes a variety of work activities (a total of 6-9 different elements, as shown in the description above).

2. Tools involved in the job

There are few tools/machines apart from the hand glass-cutter and the vacuum sucker machine. The occasional use of chalk and a greasing stick can be noted here. The importance of this category lies in the fact that every 'tool' that the worker uses assumes his having learned how to handle those tools. The glass-carriers cannot be said to be in a favourable situation, therefore, since they do not operate with 'tools' which require learning new skills. These would bring a variation to the job as well as enabling the worker to use some of his skills helping his self-fulfilment.

3. Bodily motions

In terms of bodily motions, glass-carrying is again very repetitive, and

* This description (and the others that follow) may seem over-elaborate, but if they are tedious to read, then imagine what it is like doing the actual job(s).

each motion has to be made in a very synchronised fashion because of the chain-like relation between them. However, he is not stuck on one point throughout the process, but stands and moves within a limited space. On the other hand, since the glass-carrier has a period of rest following each period of work, he enjoys more freedom of movement than other workers, even though most of them prefer to sit and chat on the benches provided close to the machinery.

4. Intensity of concentration

The amount of attention required by the job is one of the most important drawbacks. A slight hesitation, or removing his hand from the button while the 'sucker' is still on the plate may result in disaster. (This usually occurs due to pressing too hard on the button, causing the fingers to 'sleep' and thus losing their sensitivity). It is said that a newly made sheet of glass is 'sharper than a sword.' The accidents here cause no less than a severe cut on the hand, arm, foot or body - if not totally severing limbs. The speed with which the glass sheets ascend from the rollers also demands continuous attention and concentration. The glass-carrier must always be alert and work in perfect synchronisation with the machine, since if he doesn't break off the new plate at the right time it will fall all over him, as it has already been cut by the machine.

5. Contact with other workers

Each glass-carrier has some contact with another glass-carrier, at least during work. Another contact, though not continuous, is with the Q.C. worker checking the sheets as they come out. Again, his rest period gives him more time to mix with his mates than many other workers in different departments.

6. Supervision

Glass-carriers work under continuous supervision - first by their own foreman, who must supervise the men at eight machines at the same time, and second by the Q.C. worker, whose concern is only 'technical' and not necessarily concerned with the manner in which they work. When two shifts work together, there are two foremen; and if it is one of the day shifts the day manager is also present.⁹¹

7. Day-work versus shift-work

All glass-carriers work shifts. There is hardly any choice in the

matter since sheet-glass continues to ascend 24 hours of the day. Afternoon and night-shifts therefore add an extra strain to the job due to the shining of the glass under the bright lights, over and above the aforementioned disadvantages of shift-work.

8. Specialised skills

Glass-carrying does not require any specialised skills. Anyone with an ability to concentrate and learn the procedure can do it. Yet, as in any job, it has its intricacies which can only be grasped with time. The six glass-carriers in my sample gave estimates about how long it would take a person to learn the job. The figures on the left refer to the time it took them to learn, and the figures on the right are the estimated times for a new learner:

	<u>It took him</u>	<u>It will take a new learner</u>
(QE 10)	1 month	2 months (at most)
(QE 22)	a few days	7-8 days
(QE 26)	a few days	1 month
(QE 64)	1 day	10 days
(QE 65)	a few days	1 month
(QE 66)	a few days	1 month

The tendency to expect a new learner to take longer than they did is clear from the table. However, this is not only because of the tendency to over-rate their own jobs, but also because one month is the time given by the management as a 'trial' period. Worker 10 for example, said that when he got the job he was told to watch for a whole month. Meanwhile, he was only given simple tasks in the same section, then started on the actual job, and only at the end of the second month did he feel competent about it. Therefore, the fact that most workers estimated the learning period to be around a month can be referred to the management practice.

Glass-carrying is in many ways a typical factory job, that is to say, a glass-carrier through doing his job learns no skills, nor acquires any new powers that can be utilised independently of a factory-mode-of-production. Therefore, it exists as a job only in glasswork industries. This group of workers, therefore, is one of the most dependent on the CLP

and the division of labour it indicates.

Some of the 'Reset' workers expressed a desire to move out because they don't learn a job here. One of them said, "Yeah, I would like to go to a place where I'd learn a proper job." (QE 10)

Quality Control in SG

1. Variation:

The production process is not regarded as complete before quality controlling. The inspection job is a highly varied one in BIC, but less so in SG, since the number of defects occurring in sheet glass is relatively few. Thus fewer tests need to be applied to the sheet glass. The job has three phases: at the glass-cutting machines the controller often checks the thickness of both sides of the plates, as well as measuring the width to make sure that the two sides are parallel. He also inspects the plate in terms of colour, clarity, etc. While some Q.C. workers are doing this, one or two others are appointed to the cold-section of SG where some plates are re-evaluated.

The second phase is to take samples of 50 cm. width plates from each machine three times during each shift. This sample is carried into a laboratory and is subjected to a light-test; and a 'bubble'-test which is carried out by eye. For this, the Q.C. workers have to carry by hand, without the protection of gloves, the hot, sharp-edged plates into the laboratory. There, they inspect the various types of bubbles - sulphate bubbles, sodium bubbles, etc., some of which may be as small as a pinpoint - and circle them with chalk. They then fill in forms about the production of every shift, which will be crosschecked later by the production department and the packing and dispatching units.

One Q.C. worker per shift brews and serves the tea as well as his other jobs, but this is usually considered 'fun' rather than work.

2. Tools:

A quality control worker uses a meter, a micrometer (to measure thickness), two types of projectors and a pen and a ruler to fill in the forms. These tools do not allow the worker to develop any real skills.

3. Bodily motions

There are almost no set patterns of bodily motions imposed on the worker in this job. Q.C. workers are physically highly mobile, they tour the 'Reset' floor, and walk back and forth between the production-point, the labs and the Q.C. room.

4. Intensity of concentration

Since the Q.C. worker does not have to mind a machine, his work is not immediately subordinated to one, and he is allowed to make occasional breaks in his work. However, the actual process of inspection requires intense concentration in order to detect all of the micro-dimensional defects. A badly carried-out inspection is always noticed, not only by the Q.C. managers, but also as a result of the complaints received from the customers.

5. Contact with other workers

Their physical mobility allows the Q.C. workers contact with both glass-carriers and other production workers, especially the machine operators, even though there are four floors between them. In addition, while working at the point of glass-cutting, the quality controller is working in the same area, albeit separately, as two glass-carriers.

Discussions often take place in the Q.C. room and the laboratory on whether to pass a line of production or to reject it. Even though the final decision is made by the engineers of Q.C. and the production departments, the foremen always consult the workers first, since they're the ones who've actually undertaken the inspection job. Thus, all the Q.C. workers in a shift (4-7) come together frequently, even just for a chat. In fact, the friendliness and equality of relationships between foremen and the workers are striking, and much more apparent than in many other units.

6. Supervision

Supervision of Q.C. workers is generally slight, but is intensified during the morning visit of the general director and the plant manager. Otherwise, they work independently, but of course the necessity of filling in reports exerts an indirect control over the workers.

7. Day-work versus shift-work

Since their job is complementary to the production process, Q.C. workers also work in shifts. Apart from the difficulties of making on-the-spot inspections of visible defects during afternoon and night shifts, working in shifts does not introduce extra strains on them that are specific to their job.

8. Specialised skills

Apart from developing 'visual skills' in this job, Q.C. cannot be regarded as a skilled job. The lycee diploma is a pre-requisite for a job in Q.C., although if this has anything to do with the technical aspects of the job, it is basically because it requires acquaintance with numbers and measurement units only. Otherwise, the educational requirement is related to the status of the Q.C. workers, who are often put in a position of making a decision about the validity of production by themselves. Frequently, their decision is over and above the decision of even the foreman of the production unit. These two concerns seem to be the most significant for the management in recruiting the Q.C. workers from among the 'educated'. The struggle between production and Q.C. workers over the 'quality' of production is an important issue in BIC as well as SG, often acting as a divisive factor among the workers. The divisive factors within the CLP itself are inquired into in greater detail in chapter VI, section III.

Quality controlling is a 'factory' type of job. It does not refer to a 'trade' or independent skill which could be carried out elsewhere than in factories. It doesn't enrich the worker with an art, craft or skill that would enable him/her to earn a living outside a factory or in a society where capitalist division of labour is not prevalent.

Maintenance and Repair Work

The maintenance and repair job I am going to describe is one of the special units within BIC, in charge of the break-downs and maintenance of the bottle factory's machinery, including the furnace. One such worker defines his job:

"I do every job myself other than lathing - I do the welding myself, and there is no bolt left which I have not wrenched. I am mainly responsible for all the conveyors, stakers, and all the furnace work." (QE 5)

1. Variation

Clearly, from whatever angle one looks at it, this job is one of the most varied in FAB. The job title is simply 'Repairer', but this title refers to numerous work-activities, from welding to dismantling and mounting of the machinery, as the man above says. It may be the most important feature of this job that it involves a 'thinking process' as well. The repair worker has to first develop an image of what he wants to do, in both locating the problem and bringing a solution to this problem. Then he has to organise his powers and skills, directing them towards the object of his labour. In other words, his work-activity resembles the productive-work in many ways, as was described earlier. The job offers sufficient variation to develop his creativity. The only limitation is that all the machines he mends are those of the BIC and no other plant.

Breakdowns may be located in various places: for example, the steel construction of the furnace, or the functional parts of it. Accordingly, the repairer may have to climb up high, or work squeezed in a little corner, or very close to the furnace which may be so hot that he can't work for more than a few minutes at a time. All of these situations introduce different conditions of work and bring in restraints or free movement. In a way, every task he completes is a novel one. He may use his experience of similar break-down problems but every one will still have its own intricacies for which he must re-define the problem, consider the possible ways of repairing it, which tools to use, etc., etc. He has control over the pace of his activity, though different problems may bring the pressure of time to bear on him, and he has supervisors watching him complete the job. What influences his decisions externally is not the rhythm of the prime force - the machinery - but the requirements of a specific job or of supervisors, the relation between his job and those of his work-mates, and other similar constraints.

One would expect that in the CLP, the 'thinking' about what is to be done in relation to a specific repair job, would be done by the superintendents: the more complex the problem, those further up in the hierarchy would do the 'brain-work'. However, this doesn't seem to be the case in FAB, especially for maintenance and repair work. It is true that in major breakdowns the foreman/day manager/engineer may conceptualize the problem and pass the information down the hierarchy. Yet, in observing

the maintenance and repair workers, I've witnessed that, in most cases, the worker himself conceptualizes the problem and carries it out in the manner he chooses - unless he comes to an impasse.

2. Tools involved in the job

Variations in the work activities of a typical maintenance and repair worker are inter-connected with the variation of the tools he is using. He must not only be able to recognize numerous wrenches of a wide range of sizes, but also which one is good for what purpose - and he is able to make very quick decisions about the tools that he requires for the specific part he is working on. He uses many tools in succession, each one allowing him to expand his own skills. Most tools are a more direct extension of his own powers than most power-tools, since with hand-tools the only source of power is the worker himself.

3. Bodily motions

The maintenance and repair man's work is not subordinated to the operation of machinery. He is in control of his own bodily motions. Neither can the various tasks he performs be reduced to or timed as simple elements. He is 'free' to work at the pace he chooses. The tasks required of him do not usually fix him standing at one point, but allow movement while doing the job, even if only to get the next tool. Besides, he also has the 'freedom' to move about on the shop-floor as part of his job. The only time he would not be allowed to move out of the maintenance and repair room would be when he has no work to do! Although this is partly in order to be available for a possible breakdown call, it is also partly due to strict management policy of preventing workers from talking to each other during working hours, especially those from different units/plants.

4. Intensity of concentration

The maintenance and repair job allows for occasional breaks for the worker. Like most industrial activity, this job also requires concentration once he is on the job, but unless the location of the task is dangerous, e.g., close to the furnace, continuous attention is not indispensable. (The possibility of even turning your head while doing your job makes a lot of difference. Some workers could simply not afford to do it.)

5. Contact with other workers

As was mentioned earlier, the maintenance and repair workers often indulge in team-work. Their location in the factory building reflects this - they're all gathered in a big room close to the I.S. machinery - which makes it possible for them to see each other, working or idle, talk to each other, exchange ideas (on work or other subjects), etc. This is yet another 'freedom' that some production, and packing and sorting workers never find the opportunity to enjoy (except, of course, when they can do behind the backs of the superintendents).

6. Supervision

The supervision over the maintenance and repair workers is not of a constant-persistent type. Not only the location of the tasks prevents this (small groups of workers may be scattered all over the factory), but the constant mobility required of them also hinders supervision. One point should be made clear, however: when I talk about lack of continuous supervision, it is only within the context of factory work, i.e., where 'control' of each job and level is almost automatically carried out in a hierarchical manner. The 'lack' of supervision refers more to the lack of 'pressure'. Working under a pair of watchful eyes can have the same pressure even when the superintendent is not present, for there is a possibility that he may be watching you from a distance. The maintenance and repair workers, most of the time, are free from such pressure.

7. Day-work versus shift-work

Most maintenance and repair workers work during the day, which is yet another distinguishing feature. Therefore, they are the most active in sports, political and other discussions, read papers, etc., by virtue of having a one hour lunch break. That their work does not dominate their whole day, that it actually allows some 'creative activity', is a luxury only a factory worker can know best how to enjoy. One drawback of the maintenance and repair workers' working 'days' is that, should any major breakdown occur at any time, they can be and are called from home. Many of the workers have often been woken up for a difficult job, although more in the past than now (1978).

8. Specialised skills

Most maintenance and repair jobs are highly skilled. The worker who defined his job above is one of the most skilled. And his skills are

independent of the factory mode of production; he can work in a different place such as an artisan shop or workshop, or even independently of any such organisation, such as in construction or having his own one-man shop.

A Furnace Job in SG

1. Variation

This is how a heating technician describes his job:

"We're doing everything about the furnace. For example, we light the 'heaters' (boilers), when the (gas) burners get dirty we replace them with new ones, when the electricity is cut we start the engines which have stopped, we make sure the batch arrives and is fed into the furnace."

The manner in which almost all the workers describe their job is 'formal', i.e., they use the terms that go with the job title. It is similar to a description by, say, a researcher who describes his job as doing surveys, reading books and writing about them. Within each of the tasks mentioned above, there are many work activities that need to be carried out. The point is, when a worker is asked what his job consists of, most of the time he is unable to tell you what he actually does.⁹² Only extensive observation takes one closer to an understanding of what it means 'to make sure the batch is fed into the furnace.' An 'innocent-looking' job may include many tasks which may require a variety of skills, tools, etc.

I have assigned the jobs of my sample population to one of three degrees of variation:

1. Low
2. Medium
3. High

The majority of the sample (60%) have 'low variation' jobs, while 33% have 'medium variation' jobs, and only 8% of the workers have 'high variation' jobs. The last group consists basically of the quality controllers, maintenance and repair workers and higher grade machine operators.

The heating technicians, in this distinction, come under 'low variation' jobs. What they do is considerably repetitive, with about 4-5 distinct

operations. Their responsibility lies in that the burners have to generate heat equally on all sides so that the batch melts evenly.⁹³

2. Tools involved in the job

A heating technician uses tools mostly during the replacement of burners, which is more of an 'occasional' job than a 'regular' one. Otherwise, he simply works on the furnace, manipulating 'hoses', 'buttons' and 'fuel gauges'.

3. Bodily motions

A heating technician's bodily-motions are not determined by the furnace, simply because there is no 'power' operating as such. His job can best be described as machine-minding during which he can control his own pace. Some physical mobility is also permitted around and about the furnace.

4. Intensity of concentration

Furnace work allows for occasional breaks. The worker does not have to be 'on it' all the time. Intense concentration is required in recording the readings on the gauges, watching inside the furnace to check the melting condition of the batch, etc. Yet, it is a 'discontinuous' job by comparison with say, an automobile assembly-line worker. If you have ever watched, for example, a sodium worker who fills bags/sacks with 'sodium' from a semi-automatic machine, the difference is striking.⁹⁴

There is no such heavy workload for every second of the working hours of the furnace workers.

5. Contact with other workers

There is only one heating technician per furnace per shift in BIC. In this respect, the heating technician works on his own. But there are batch operators, and furnace maintenance men who are located around the furnaces, and this allows him contact and interaction. It is not a totally isolated job (as for example, some of the machine operators in SG, who simply sit right by the glass-making machinery above the furnace and wait for something to go wrong), and may often require working with the other furnace workers on a specific problem.

6. Supervision

Heating technicians cannot easily be categorized as working under constant supervision. In BIC there are no furnace foremen, only a single shift manager and a 'group-leader' (postabaşı) he has appointed.⁹⁵

7. Day-work versus shift-work

Heating technicians work in shifts. Day or night makes no difference to the furnace itself, and therefore the demands on the heating technicians are the same.

8. Specialised skills

Furnace work is quite 'unskilled' and is certainly of the 'factory' type. Probably the only 'skills' a heating technician acquires are the ability to read gauges and units as well as handling some simple hand-tools. He could not - with the 'skills' of his job - work outside the context of a factory, and probably not outside the fusion industry. He is in this way totally dependent on the factory mode of industrial production. Without the division of labour therein he wouldn't be able to maintain a job as a heating technician.

A Sweeper in SG

1. Variation

The job title for the basically 'cleaning' job in English is 'cleaner', 'sweeper', or 'caretaker'. The literal translation from Turkish is 'the man in the middle' or 'area-er', which probably describes the job better because a sweeper does not only clean, sweep, empty waste, etc., but also is the man available at any time to do any 'drudgery' work. One such sweeper in SG describes his job:

"When I come in, I clear the place of glass fragments or paper around. I pour the clean glass fragments into bunkers; the dirty ones I collect in a sack which then I load onto the tractors to be disposed. I take the roll-call to the personnel department. I make tea twice a day (for all the glass-carriers and the second-cutters, which are approximately 40 per shift). When the lift-truck needs another gas-cylinder I fetch it. I also fetch the necessary utensils or stationery from the store-house. There is only one sweeper per shift. From the cellar I bring that powder they spray between the 'plates' so that they don't stick together, and also I go to the wood workshop to fetch the

necessary timber. I also carry the messages from the foremen or the shift-foremen."

He later added that each waste-bin weighed between 100 and 150 kg. and made the job especially heavy. Despite this, the job seems to be highly valued in terms of incredible mobility. In fact, all the operations can be contracted to basically sweeping, and walking around carrying or fetching things. The only distinct operation besides these two is brewing tea twice a shift. 'Sweeping' presents a peculiar combination of 'variety' and 'unproductivity'. It is not a monotonous, repetitive job, nor is it a productive-creative activity.

2. Tools involved in the job

No tools are needed to do a cleaner's job except the most primitive type of sweeper (a bunch of twigs tied to a stick).

3. Bodily motions.

They are highly active in terms of moving around and certainly have independent bodily-motions, i.e., free of dependence on a machine's rhythm. If any subjugation to a rhythm is concerned, it is the speed at which the floor is filled with glass fragments and other waste, or how often the sweepers are needed to fetch things.

4. Intensity of concentration

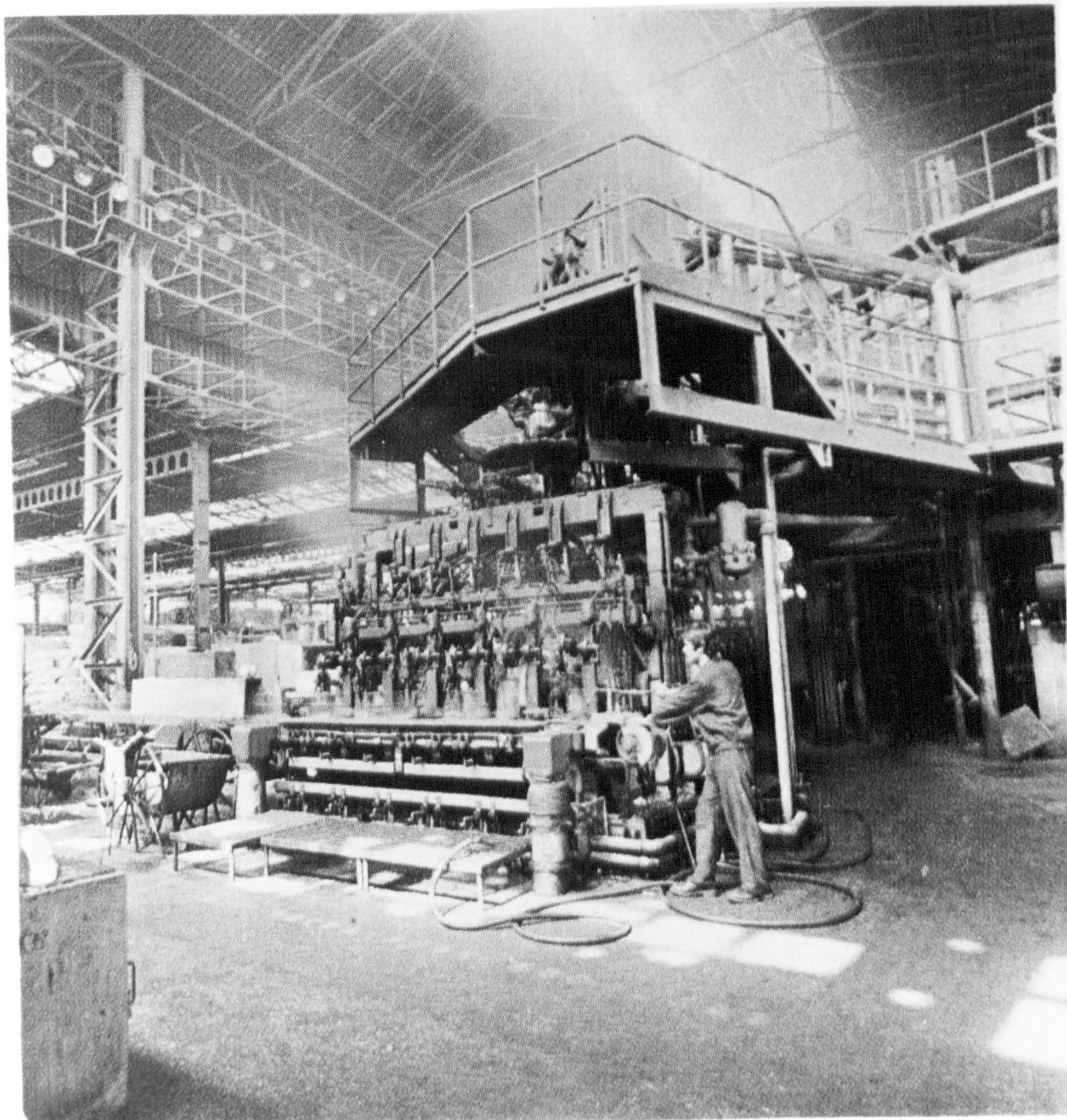
The cleaning job is an idler's job in a way. Almost every task he performs also gives him a break from work. Going out of the SG building to fetch some material is a relief from the dust, poison, noise, glass particles and supervision. None of the work activities he carries out require 'vivid' attention.

5. Contact with other workers.

The cleaning job is one which allows for the greatest possibility of contact with the various units on the site. The job description above clearly shows why. In actually doing his job, the sweeper is a lonely man. However, because each task is directed to 'serving' someone, it keeps him in constant contact with other workers (especially the glass-carriers) and also some of the managers.

6. Supervision

The sweeper's job is not and could not be easily carried out under



continuous supervision for obvious reasons. Strict intervention only comes when the job remains undone - and shows.

7. Day-work versus shift-work

Sweepers work on shifts. There is only one sweeper per shift in most plants, and certainly so in the 'Reset' department.

8. Specialised skills

Sweeping is not a 'skilled' job by any means. This job in FAB is in fact mostly given to those who are handicapped as a result of an industrial accident. The sweeper in SG I took the description from, said he couldn't name a time-period for the learning of this job - the assumption is that anybody knows it and can do it.

However, it is not a 'factory' job. Allowing for the changes in the object of his labour-power the work-activity (of sweeping) could be carried out in any type of work-place.

Sweeping is a prime example of the futility of such jobs.

Inspection ('Mirroring') and Sorting - BIC

1. Variation

The reason for presenting two types of jobs here is that some workers in the 'sorting' unit work both as 'inspectors' and 'sorters'. I have two 'inspectors' in my sample, both women, and one does both inspection and sorting.

The definitions of their jobs given by these women are:

"To separate the 'good' and the unwanted among the products that come out of the machine. The shift preceding us tells us what defects are acceptable, and which are not. I sit and control (inspect) the bottles that move in front of me."

And:

"I am both a 'mirrorist' (inspector) and a sorter. I sort the good and defected. Nothing else."⁹⁶

The difference of the 'inspection' job from the rest of the jobs I have described above is striking, even from the descriptions. 'Inspection' can be put into a few words: "I separate the good and the bad."

There is absolutely no variation in this job, no distinct operations; everything is very repetitive and monotonous. The only possible variation in the job is introduced by assigning the women to sorting, which is essentially the same job, but located in a different environment.

Details of the 'inspection' job have already been given in the section on Packing and Sorting, so I won't go into any more detail here but carry on with the other categories.

2. Tools involved in the job

No use of tools is required by inspection/sorting work.

3. Bodily motions

In inspecting, the worker sits for 8 hours, the only bodily-motion being to move her arm to hold a bottle and to throw it away either into a bunker at her side or onto a conveyor-belt carrying the glass fragments back to the furnace. She has first to view, then notice the unacceptable defect, throw it away, then look at the next bottle which will be coming past her by then. An inspector, located on a single line (see the diagram) from the white (flint) glass furnace, views 124 bottles per minute, or 7420 bottles per hour, in other words 59360 bottles during one shift (8 hours).⁹⁷

That the worker's pace of work is directly determined by the pace of the machine is immediately recognizable. This job does not give the possibility of a break, but the workers are allowed to smoke while they work. However, she doesn't even have time to get a cigarette out of the packet and light it.⁹⁸

One of the inspectors said, "We are enslaved to a chair for 8 hours except the $\frac{1}{2}$ hour lunch-time. I often feel the need to get up and rest. We are looking at exactly the same point for hours. I wouldn't complain about anything else if we could rest in between. Nervous and eye-fatigue - that's what our health suffers."

In the sorting job, there's more eye-rest, yet more physical fatigue. Bending down to get hold of the bottles, or simply standing around the disks at the end of the conveyor belts where the bottles pile up prior to the packing, the sorters check each bottle for more faults. If

they've already been informed about a faulty line of production, they check the number at the bottom of each bottle before the packers pack them. This task, too, is not composed of many distinct operations; it is highly repetitive and the workers have little control over their rhythm of work - bottles arrive at a set speed, and have to be cleared off before the new ones crowd onto the disk.

4. Intensity of concentration

Extreme attention is required especially from the inspector, as her job depends on her ability to concentrate her eyes on a specific spot. One moment's inattention increases the number of faulty bottles reaching the other end. Moving slowly in separating the faulty bottle from the rest may cause a piling-up on the conveyor-belt and bottles falling over. If she wants to keep the job (or even stay on good terms with the managers), she can't afford to take either of these risks.

Similarly, the sorters train themselves to pick up the visible faults (or the bottle-number) at an instant, and act quickly in either replacing the 'pass' ones or discarding the faulty ones. Both jobs, to a varying degree, do not allow for any pause, or for the worker to take his/her mind off it for a second. No wonder, when I asked one of the inspector-women what change she would like to have made specific to her job, the first thing she said was, "I would like to get up and rest my eyes a bit from time to time - be sent to do packing." Even packing, which is another 'donkey' job can be seen as a relief!

5. Contact with other workers

The inspector seems to be isolated from the rest. She has absolutely no contact, except when she 'begs' a packer or a sorter to replace her while she goes to the toilet, or occasionally when the Q.C. girls come round and have time for a very quick chat.

Sorting may include more than one worker at a time. Depending on the location, sorters either work with 1 or 2 other sorters, and if not, always side by side with the packers. A few sorters working together may create an atmosphere of collective work. However, this does not necessarily happen. Whatever the case, with the pace of work and attention required, there is hardly a chance to benefit from 'working together' except maybe by 'feeling less lonely'.

6. Supervision

The supervision is stricter on inspectors, packers and sorters in BIC than in most of the other units. One inspector/sorter woman comments:

"We've got an excess of foremen/postabaşı (charge-hands). In the early days, there was no such pressure. There was only 1 foreman and things were OK. Now there are too many of them, and too much control."

7. Day-work versus shift-work

Inspectors, packers and sorters all work shifts. It is one of the most continuous jobs in FAB.

8. Specialised skills

All the jobs of inspection, packing and sorting are 'unskilled'. The only learning required by these jobs is related to regulation of the defects. According to one of the inspectors: "It took me 1 day to learn the job. Yet, I say I got it in 15 days because not every defect occurs in the same days." (QE 42)

The other woman said she learned it all in one week. She was given a proper seminar on the various types of defects for a week, "but only after I had already done the job for a whole year." (QE 60)

These jobs are all 'factory' types of jobs: in other words, the 'skills' pertaining to these jobs assume the 'factory' division of labour to be accomplished. These men and women could not find jobs elsewhere calling themselves inspectors or sorters.

The six jobs I have outlined in their immediate conditions are only a few of the many and varied jobs in FAB. Yet, they are representative of the main types in their essentials. The considerable differentiation among these jobs in terms of environment, variation, tools used, attention required, interaction with fellow workers, qualitative aspects of bodily motion and physical mobility, degree of control (supervision), day versus shift and 'skill' is well understood by and important to the workers of FAB. This, as I hope to show in Part II, partially determines the worker's definition of the labour-process, and his/her own relation to work. It therefore has important implications for the worker's

'consciousness'.

An Additional Note

I have used the 'factory'/'non-factory' distinction in order to determine what is not common amongst the various groups of jobs in FAB. It has proven to be useful in demonstrating the degree of differentiation amongst the FAB jobs. However, one thing must be reiterated: even 'non-factory' jobs, by virtue of their taking place in a factory are impregnated with the essence of 'factory' jobs. I want to illustrate this point with the example of a "scraper's" job.

The 'scraper' cleans the conveyor-belts, but he is not in 'control' of the job - he just comes to work - he does not know/cannot decide about when the belts need scraping. Despite the fact that the job of scraping could be carried out elsewhere (in homes, other business: on pipes, kettles, etc.), the very fact that he is employed in a factory means that his will is subordinated to the control of management. Given the division of labour, he has to be told when to scrape the conveyor-belts. He has no overview of the framework of the whole job. The decision about when his work activity starts and finishes is made outside of him. (Think of, and compare him with a peasant who observes and acts upon the need to weed the soil.) He is simply turned into a conscious automaton who does mechanically what he is told to. This is what it is to lose control over one's own labour-power. He is also estranged from the product of his labour-power; he neither knows nor can decide about what actually happens as a result of his exerting energy and effort (other than, of course, the immediate result, which is that the belts are clean). But, why should he clean them? What is obtained from them being clean? Knowing the answers to the questions still would not allow him any control over his labour-power, or access to decision-making over these issues. In other words, he himself does not act upon an observed necessity, but simply executes a task which is conceived by the management. For him, it is a job which helps him earn a living. Precisely so: in capitalism, 'work' has lost its essential human qualities and has become a means to survive.

CHAPTER VI.

MANAGEMENT

This chapter on management attempts to bring together various aspects of the management of FAB. These are aspects that relate to the working conditions of managers as themselves employed by capital, as well as aspects engendered by their role in the CLP; that these two sets of aspects are not incompatible with each other, at least in the case of FAB, will be shown throughout this chapter.

This chapter outlines, first, some of the differences in the working conditions of managers; second, the formation of the managerial framework during the set-up period, as well as the methods employed in establishing the organization of work; and third, the changes in managerial policy after take-over by the Holding Co. These three concerns constitute section I of the chapter. In section II, managerial ideology in the practice of management, and managerial myths created in order to reinforce the ideological make-up are analysed. Section III concerns itself with management and control. Habituation of workers into industrial work and discipline, as well as invisible managerial control constitute the two main issues of this section.

The fundamental concern of this chapter then can be briefly summarised as being to elucidate the role of management in the ratification of the CLP, and as a direct influence on the formation of the FAB workers' consciousness.

i) Historical Background to the Management of FAB.

a) Managers in their work and environmental conditions.

Managers as employees are here examined and classified under various categories in a similar manner to the classification of the workers' jobs.

1. Distribution among plants

In my choice of sample, care was taken to have a distribution of

managers; a) between those who worked in the plants and those who were located in the Admin block, and b) between those in the two production plants and the auxiliary plants, in proportion to their actual total number in these places. The results are given in the table below:

Table VI,i,1: Distribution of Managerial Personnel among plants

Plants	Number of managers in the sample	%
BIC	5	18
SG	5	18
Auxiliary Plants	7	25
Offices	11	39
Total	28	100

2. Admin versus Site

That the managers 'belong' to either one of BIC, SG or the auxiliary plants, does not necessarily mean that they actually discharge their duties in that plant. In fact, there is little correlation between the job of a manager and his location in FAB. Therefore the managerial sample was further divided between those who work on the site and those who work in Admin. The two are equally distributed (14 - 50% for each). To divide managers between 'on-site' and 'in Admin' is important because of the differences in the conditions of work, the immediate job, and the amount of interaction with the workers are considerable. That managers themselves are aware of the advantages and disadvantages of being in one or the other place is explained by the Consulting Manager on pp.107-108.

3. 'Control', 'Supervision and Work', and Office

Not all managers in my sample merely 'control'. Especially among the 'on-site' managers, it is vital to distinguish between those who merely fulfil a 'control' function, and those who, while supervising, also work (i.e., do some manual jobs). Hence, the composition of my managerial sample, in terms of this distinction is as follows:

Table VI,i,2: Distribution of Managerial Personnel in terms of Control Function

<u>Function</u>	<u>Number of managers in the sample</u>	<u>%</u>
Control	14	50
Work & Supervise	8	28.6
Administrative	6	21.4
Total	28	100.0

The eight who both work and supervise are mainly the foremen and the shift managers. The 14 who are involved in control, are employed in the financial and technical management of the firm. Six of the 28 who are referred to as 'administrative' in the table above are 'memurs' and bureaucrats (office employees) of various grades.

One aspect of how this distribution was achieved must be specified: each job in the hierarchy of administration in FAB has a specific definition and title on paper. In theory, the jobs of a foreman, a shift-manager, a day-manager, etc., are well known and articulated. However, my sample, and the way I have categorized them corresponds neither to the definitions of the various managerial jobs, nor to those theoretical descriptions of managerial personnel in the literature. Rather, they derive from my direct knowledge of what each man in my sample actually does, based on my participant observation in FAB.

To give an example: the furnaces shift-manager in BIC should come under 'control', that is, if one were to go only by the official title. Yet, knowing him personally, seeing the demands of the furnace job, and considering his own statement that there is no intermediary foreman between himself and his workers, so that he has to carry out this intermediate function too, as well as being involved in some manual work when necessary, it makes no sense to classify him under mere 'control', but rather under 'work and supervise'.

4. Variation

The variation in managerial jobs could not be evaluated in terms of the 'number of distinct operations' since their jobs are basically 'mental', unlike the manual labour of the workers. 'Variation' for managerial personnel is the variety in the quantity and quality of the mental

problems they have to solve, as well as the number of men they supervise. Only the office employees' (memurs) job resembles the labour of workers. This consists of filling in various forms, typing, filing, answering the telephone, some statistics, diagram drawing, etc. These constitute the 'low variation' jobs, and in my sample there are 3 (11%) of them. The majority of managerial jobs are grouped in the medium and high variation categories, i.e., 10 (35.7%) and 15 (53.6%) respectively. Most workers' jobs on the other hand, as will be remembered, centered around low variation jobs.

5. 'Factory' versus 'Non-Factory'

In the classification of jobs as factory and non-factory, although the same criterion is used for workers and managers alike, it operates differently. While 'factory' work means that for workers, in most cases, monotonous jobs require little skill, for managers it means that they are simply in alignment with their raison d'etre since it is that specific division of labour (the underlying characteristics of which are the division of mental and manual labour, and separation of conception and execution⁹⁹), which has itself created the managers historically.

The percentage of 'factory' jobs among the sample group of managers is consequently higher than it was for the workers. 18 (64%) have 'factory' jobs, while 10 (36%) do 'non-factory' types of jobs. Obviously, the latter are mainly the office employees who are only tangentially integrated to the production process in FAB.

6. Shift versus Day Managers

Not surprisingly, the great majority of managers work days* (22, 78.6%) and only 6 (21.4%) work shifts. In my sample, these are the foremen (3), the shift-managers (2) and one shift-engineer.

I want to emphasize here a striking implication of the fact that most higher-grade managers work days only. The managers regard themselves as 'indispensable' to the running of the business and production. This is clearly stated in their own definitions of 'management', and their every-day language on site.¹⁰⁰ Yet, at the same time, they have decided

* It is interesting to note that no one in FAB, or in Turkey calls it 'working days', but working shifts is contrasted with working 'normal'!

that they are dispensible during the other two shifts.¹⁰¹ There is a contradiction here. Either the managers are dispensible, or else their life-styles and demands from life are much more important than how well production is proceeding. And moreover, this way of things is endorsed by the social system.¹⁰² In other words, the contradiction is between management's emphasis on the necessity (indeed unavailability) of round-the-clock work in a fusion industry, and the excepting of themselves from the rule, despite the fact that their role as managers is precisely to ensure that work proceeds according to the rules on site. The contradiction therefore, is between the so called technological determination (the conditions imposed by the fusion industry), its presentation as 'rational' by the management, and its arbitrary application to serve for the managers' own individual interests, thereby indicating that, after all, working-round-the-clock is not determined technologically, but by the organization of work which is, in the first place, determined by the management.

This apparently contradictory, but in fact totally consistent (from the system's point of view)¹⁰³ attitude of management is also one of the reasons for the divisions among the managerial personnel. Ironically, the higher-grade managers scorn the authority of foremen during the day, yet leave the whole site in their hands at night-time. This fact was spelled out by the top managers, and the foremen often express their resentment of it.¹⁰⁴

I am not trying to argue, as some romantic Marxists do, that the managers are dispensible. On the contrary, I am well aware that, given the capitalist division of labour and CLP, they are indispensable because only the managers are equipped with the necessary knowledge of administration and finance. This is a result of the incessant separation of conception and execution - the former being assigned to the managers. What I am saying is, as Marx often emphasizes, that the 'rational' aspects of every element of the capitalist mode of production (i.e., the prevailing conditions in a capitalist economy) are socially determined. In a similar way, I want to argue that, regardless of the possible hindrances to the efficiency of the production process, the right of the managers to live a decent life, to sleep and rest, entertain themselves at decent hours, is socially endorsed. Any capitalist, in bringing together and mobilizing the forces of production, will have to take it as given that he cannot ask any manager to work nights;¹⁰⁵ at the same

time, he can easily assume that he will find workers who will work the round-the-clock shifts.

Now I want to look at how the administrative-managerial structure was formed during the early years of FAB. This is important as an historical dimension, and to make comparisons between managerial priorities then and recently (1978).

b) Formation of the Managerial Framework

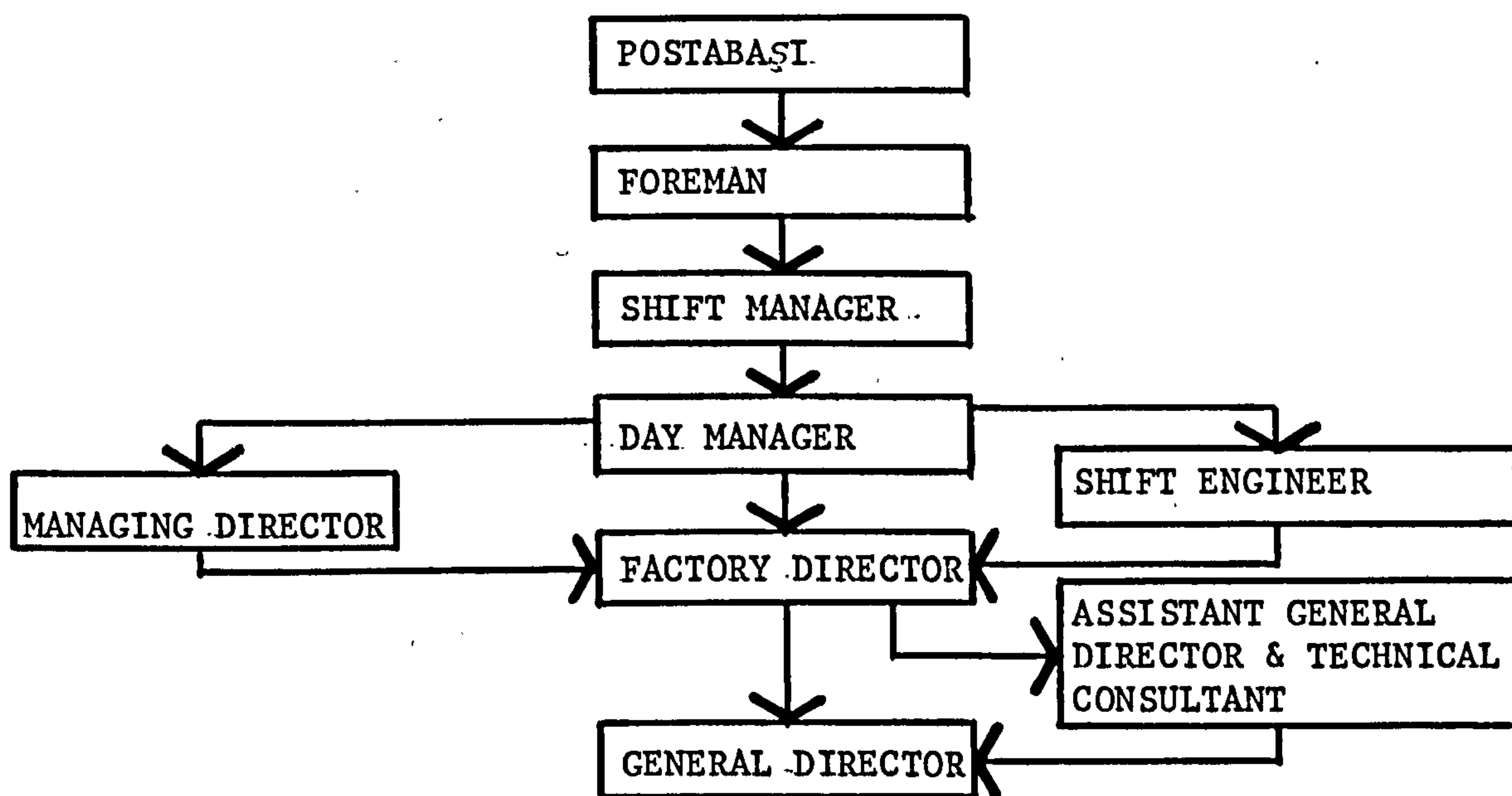
1. Material Basis

Even at its inception FAB was already dependent on the Holding Co., at least for the intake of qualified personnel. The merchants themselves were not technically competent to handle the glass industry. So they invited SEYFI KENTMEN, who was known to be the man in the glass industry in Turkey and who then worked for the Holding Co., to undertake the founding of FAB. KENTMEN, himself, brought along two managers, Halis Pekcan and Engin Sekmez, who were specialists in the production of bottles and sheet-glass respectively. The latter two managers, initially both working for the Holding Co., brought along a couple of engineers, shift-managers, foremen and some skilled workers from various sites in Istanbul.¹⁰⁶ It is Kentmen then, (who remained the General Director of FAB until the summer of 1978), and the other two managing directors who established the administrative structure and the organization of work in FAB. Obviously, some fundamental aspects of work-organization were already determined by the technology imported, also the American and Belgian experts employed by the firm during the set-up period had some influence on the managerial and administrative structure.

The technical division of labour among the managers has already been outlined. Here, the focus will be on how the Turkish managers formed their own structure, on the criteria used, on the considerations dominating their ideas and practices; on where the solutions came from when problems presented themselves.

Most of the information related to the initial days of FAB was provided by H. PEKCAN, who, in 1978, was the technical consultant in FAB. He explained that besides his previous experiences in two other sites of the Holding Co., and the Belgian firm, he has been to the United States,

France and Germany to research into various organizational models. Similarly, when he himself was working on these models in FAB, his colleague E. SEKMEZ went abroad and would write back to Pekcan when he came across useful models in Europe. The final form of managerial and organizational structure, according to Pekcan, is a synthesis of all the 'foreign models' with which they were acquainted, including some modifications to make this synthesis adaptable to Turkish conditions, particularly Çukurova. As a result FAB managerial structure today consists of 6 hierarchical levels, and additionally 3 horizontal levels:



Besides the superfluously inflated managerial levels, the only significant alteration of the U.S. model "according to our nature", to use Pekcan's terms, was the introduction of POSTABAŞI (ganger) to form the lowest level of the hierarchical structure.¹⁰⁷

According to PEKCAN, the postabaşı category was introduced so as 'not to undermine the status of the foreman'. His example was the BIC, and the difference between the cold-end operators, numbering 5, and the 20 other machine operators. The 5 were grouped separately with one acting as chargehand, while the others were headed by a foreman. Pekcan said that 'calling the man leading 5 workers a foreman undermines the status of the foreman who leads 20 men.' Therefore, "postabaşı is defined to be a man responsible for a smaller group than the foreman is."

One immediately recognizable aspect of this explanation is that the

true function of a foreman/ganger is the 'management of workers under him, and is therefore not a technical function.

Secondly, Pekcan's explanation obscures the fundamental difference between a foreman and a ganger. Based on his explanation it would be expected that the postabaşis, as much as the foremen, are part of the managerial body in terms of duties, rights and material rewards. It is true that the gangers have a higher status than the rank and file workers, and fulfil a control function. They do not necessarily have to work manually, nor do more work than any foreman does. But foremen are a part of management, and the gangers are not, because:

- 1) Foremen are not wage-earners, but salaried; their average earnings are at least twice those of the average worker and postabaşı.
- 2) Foremen are not unionised, and are not covered by Collective Bargaining; each of them can negotiate (individually and directly) with the employers. In contrast, the gangers are wage-earners and unionised; they can be involved in both strikes and lock-outs; they are covered by the C.B. contract, and paid according to what the average worker gets. (That is, if he is a process-control postabaşı, he is paid the same as the process-control workers.)
- 3) The foremen can also enjoy those facilities which are open to managers only, such as using the front gate entrance to the site, eating in the managers' cafeteria if they choose, wearing the light blue overalls, and not clocking-in, but signing a book like the other managers. The postabaşis, on the other hand, can only use the workers' gate, must clock-in, wear the navy blue overalls (same as the workers) and are not allowed to eat in the managers' cafeteria. In short, gangership pertains to status alone; it includes duties but no extra rights, except, of course, the freedom of not having to do heavy manual jobs. It certainly does have a function in the system, though, especially in 'our system' as Pekcan calls it. The chargehand's function is one of control; an extension of managerial control over the smallest possible unit of working men.¹⁰⁸ His function is also one of communication and responsibility. For the site managers it is difficult and undesirable to communicate

with every single worker individually. In fact, a better way of saying this is: the labourer does not exist individually. He only exists collectively but divided into plants, departments, units, etc. What is fragmented by the CLP, is sought to be integrated in a 'man' (ganger/foreman), who will act as the 'brain of the collective body'. This is required much more by 'our system', because in FAB, the managers have to deal with an 'undisciplined' industrial labour force compared with their counterparts in the advanced west.

Wherever possible, the management chose to use only gangers between the shift-manager and the rank & file workers, rather than foremen, since the gangers do not cost anything extra while still performing the same functions.

All this clearly shows that it is not only the workers, but also the managers that are differentiated and divided.

2. Techniques used in forming the cadre

In forming the 'cadre' to serve as the framework of the labour force in FAB, the three founding managers, acted apparently in the same manner as when structuring the administrative hierarchy. PEKCAN took with him 25 men, and SEKMEZ 15 men, who served as the basis around which local men were trained. The first division among the FAB employees was Istanbulers versus the Provincials (the former claiming higher knowledge, skills and status).

The founding managers paid special attention to the selection of the new men. They were chosen from among either Art Institute graduates, or those who had left such schools, as well as from among those who had served their conscription as corporals or sergeants.

"You know," Pekcan explained, "in military service, if you are clever, if you manage to attract the attention of your superiors, you are promoted to become a corporal; and if you are even better, to sergeant....thus we selected such men among the applicants."

The 'leadership' quality of corporals and sergeants was rewarded by paying 10 krş/hour more, on top of the government declared

subsistence wage of 240 krş./hour then.

The significant aspects in the techniques used in forming the cadre are first, material incentives were used as divisive mechanisms; second, military ranks were utilised to fit the industrial system. Both aspects according to Pekcan, were necessitated by the lack of skilled/technical workers. To solve this problem, they sent groups of 20 from among the 'selected elite' to Holland to be trained technically. This eliminated the problem of the lack of skilled labour. However, a more pressing problem was to transform the ex-peasants - who formed the majority of the workers available in the region - into an industrial labour force. Thus the ex-sergeants and ex-corporals helped the management in training the agricultural labourers, in habituating and disciplining them into factory life.¹⁰⁹

The nature of the human source has been the most important problem for the FAB management. Besides implementing the above techniques in overcoming this problem partially, special efforts were made by the management towards habituating the workers. These efforts are presented in the 'control' section of this chapter. The imported model also influenced the course of action taken by the FAB managers, an outline of which is given below.

3. The imported model

What is most significant in the earlier days of planning and implementing both the administrative structure and the organization of work, is that there was already a 'model' for the management to work on. The founding managers of FAB did not have to wait for problems to arise in order to develop managerial techniques to overcome them.

The historical development of managerial techniques in Western Europe and the United States was a dialectical one, in that the factory form of production brought about fundamental alterations in the nature of work, causing in turn constant opposition from the then new industrial work-force.¹¹⁰

Management policy, in fact the concept of management itself, came about as a result of the capitalist relations of production; but also, as a response to the opposition of the labourers to that mode of production. In the case of FAB though, the technocratic elite had first to learn

to apply the lessons of Western Europe and then see what problems/difficulties arose. The process of implementing a 'model' has not been without its contradictions.

The first few months of production in FAB had been marked by the rebellious actions of the workers and general social turmoil. The issues raised were related to the tensions between Turkish employees and the 'foreign experts', Muslim versus non-Muslim, and ex-peasants missing their wives. As Pekcan recalls:

"Things were so bad, one day my colleague Engin came to me and said, "Look, we've got the money, the machines, everything. But we've forgotten about one thing - the human factor. We haven't been good enough in choosing our men!"

The human factor! Something which their western counterparts had discovered long ago. The Turkish managers in FAB only found out about it in the 1970's! And, after they had already chosen the model of management and implemented it. This is significant in elucidating the dilemma experienced by a management which has not evolved as a result of its managerial knowledge and experience, but simply by its technical training (mainly in a branch of engineering science).

The 'dilemma' itself arises firstly out of a religious application of a management model developed in the West, to a labour force which exhibits radically different characteristics.

Toker Dereli, in his book on Intellectuals, the Syndicalist Movement and the Industrial Relations System, states that the intellectuals in underdeveloped countries play a significant role in 'importing' and 'adopting' the 'foreign' industrial relations system. The countries which have these systems of industrial relations that we call 'models' here, attempt to export them to underdeveloped countries, while the latter import the models which are regarded as successful, within their own context. The importation is total - not only the system, but its structural and applicatory characteristics, as well. According to Dereli, this is a "process of a kind of imitation and adaptation."¹¹¹

Important in the complaint of the manager above (Engin Sekmez) is the unpredictability of human behaviour. This is one of the reasons why these models of industrial relations are adapted without considerable

modification, and are thus often unsuccessful.¹¹²

T. Dereli, though agreeing about the difficulty of modifying the imported models, stresses the significance of the understanding which equates development with 'modernism'. The importing of a foreign factor or an institution in its original format becomes preferable since this is regarded as a sign of social development and 'modernity'.

The technology and the industrial relations imported in the case of FAB produced further tensions due to the composition of the managerial personnel. For managers of FAB, who mainly come from petite-bourgeois families, upward social mobility has become possible through education, especially a degree in Engineering.¹¹³ H. Pekcan, among others, is well aware of what higher education has done for him:

"If you have a degree, that's it. In this country a 'degree' is of great importance, it is a key that opens many doors."

The point is, in as much as the managers have played a role in the importation and application of the models, their class origins, and lack of experience of a tradition of management acted against them, and created tensions in an already conflict-ridden process. Furthermore, in establishing a managerial framework, an ideology and practice to control workers, (particularly to transform them into an industrial proletariat), whether by application of a Western model, or by trial and error on the shop-floor, those 'intellectuals' with an engineering degree also come to transform themselves into managers, as embodiments of managerial power. This is a historical process that still remains in the individual experiences of some of the managers in FAB. On the whole, therefore, not only the workers, but the managers as well, have been subject to a tremendous social transformation, especially at an individual level. Any understanding of the working class and managerial consciousness today in Turkey must consider the impact of this transformation experienced by both the workers and by managers as new strata in society, and, most importantly, as individuals who work and interact with each other in FAB today.¹¹⁴

4. Crisis of old management

During the second year of production (1974) in FAB, things came to a

standstill. The merchant owners owed huge sums, which they couldn't pay. The finance-manager was dropping hints about the difficulty he was having in raising the money to pay wages/salaries.

Managers are representatives of the capitalists on the shop²floor.¹¹⁵ But, they have their own conflicts with the system and the bosses. Their manner during this period of difficulties shows that the managers did not act as if they had a common interest with the owners. They made it known to everyone that this was an unreliable firm. This certainly had an effect on bringing things to an impasse. This is how HALIS described the situation:

"If you want to destroy a place, just scatter around a few rumours. That does it. In those days (1974), there was this rumour that FAB couldn't pay its debts even to the grocer round the corner; that payments of wages/salaries were at stake. This was a time when managers should have kept calm and silent and should have co-operated. But it did not work out that way. Things came to such a point that 4 of my technical managers resigned, all one after the other. I went through a depression - it was such a shock."

Later, an investigation was made into why so many resignations occurred (at the insistence of HALIS). It was found that these technical personnel felt insecure in FAB. The factory's image held no bright future for them.

On the other hand, the board of executives was a heterogenous body - it lacked harmony because the executives represented different interests. Furthermore, they were not experts on the glass industry which caused them to neglect the technical aspects of production, which in turn made it very difficult for the plant managers to sustain a close relationship with the board of directors. All this increased the doubts about the future of the enterprise and intensified the feelings of insecurity. In explaining all this, H. Pekcan also admitted that most jobs in FAB were very heavy: "It is a tough job here. The fusion industry resembles no other." and obviously this was an additional reason for resignations.

Another aspect of the organisation of work in FAB during those days, was the inequality between the work-load shouldered by the technical and administrative staff. The technical staff undertook the heavy

word-load, so much so that 'they were totally possessed by the job.' And yet, the technical managers did not enjoy the same comforts as the administrative staff. H. Pekcan, probably still under the influence of those days (being a technical manager himself) was resentful while explaining this:

"It (the difference) was so obvious that you could even see it reflected in the furniture, in the rooms the technical personnel had, and the desks, chairs, curtains, etc. that the admin. had in their offices. There was no equality at all! That made it impossible to work in harmony together."

What has been said so far about the management of the early years in FAB; all the incidents that took place, the managerial policy, organization of work, establishment of the administrative structure, the insecurity felt by the young technical and managerial personnel, the diversity between the work-load of the technical and the administrative personnel, the disadvantages for the foremen, the lack of homogeneity in the interests represented on the board of directors, etc. (all of which led to the bankruptcy of the merchant owners) - can be explained as 'characteristic' features of 'merchant capital' in an era of monopoly capital.¹¹⁶ In other words, the specific nature of merchant capital reflected inwardly in FAB, may go some way towards explaining the failure of the previous owners. Merchant capital, which is capital accumulated with exchange of commodities, is therefore dependent on the circulation of goods in the market for continued profits. In other words, the commodities must change hands for the merchant capital to make gains.¹¹⁷ To invest in productive areas which yield profits only in the long-run is not in the nature of merchant capital. The initial owners of FAB, being merchants, behaved in the manner to which they were accustomed, i.e., they had no time to wait for the complex problems of industrial production to come under control before investment yielded profits. As one manager in SG and a shop-steward expressed (in very similar ways):

"All they (the merchant owners) thought about was to get glass. Nothing else mattered to them. It was so bad initially that when the first sheets of glass came out, we didn't know where and how to store it!"

The initial owners' attitude was dictated by their capital - they wanted production in the shortest possible time, so that the products could be sold immediately and profits made. This was essential for them, since, when sales do not take place, they have no further resources to meet expenses and investment. The additional problems of

the oil crisis and increase in sodium prices (the main input of glass) were ones they could not solve due to lack of finance.¹¹⁸

With the change of ownership, the Holding Co. could solve all these problems by virtue of the industrial and finance capital (the Labour Bank) that backs it up.¹¹⁹ All the debts were paid, and long-awaited spare-parts could be imported, both of which restored the feelings of security among the staff.

On the management side, The Holding Co.'s managerial knowledge and industrial relations experience of nearly half a century, marked a change towards greater consistency and a more modern 'Human Relations' strand.

One of the top executive members of the Holding Co. explained how they achieved this:

"The General Director of FAB was given full authority to run the firm. A principle of hierarchical communication and decision-making was introduced. We made it clear that we wanted to hear nothing from the managers in FAB, before it was first said to the General Director there himself. And we showed that we really meant it! What we wanted to do, and what we achieved was a self-sufficient FAB in its 'management' - only then did the managers of FAB feel fully responsible. We solved the financial problem; the running of the firm was their business and they were made aware of this."

In fact, the management of FAB, with fresh blood from the Holding Co., achieved much more than what is described above, and employed various other means too. (Two significant ones are 'ideology of utility' and 'instrumental rationality', both of which are elaborated on in chapter X.) And today (1978), there is an apparent atmosphere of 'peace' and 'harmony' in FAB. This may be largely explained as the result of the management incorporating 'Human Relations' policy.

5. Intensification and Extensification of Managerial Control

The major problem that confronted the FAB managers from the initial days was the 'human factor'. What makes this into a problem is not only that labourers do not work like machines, i.e., without getting tired, complaining and reacting (which is the ultimate aim of the capitalist mode of production and the FAB management alike), but also the fact that production is so dependent on the human factor, and labour is the

only source of creation. H. Pekcan expressed this very neatly:

"This realisation (about the importance of the human factor) has influenced me tremendously. Since then, I believe, and so do all my colleagues here, that the most significant aspect (for production) is the human-factor. You know, (pointing to the site) this earth was empty. Whatever is on it now, is made by men. Men can do anything, given the right conditions. That's why I am very much interested in industrial-relations problems...."

This realization of, and interest in, the human factor manifested itself in two ways in the course of the development of managerial strategy in FAB. On the one hand, overcoming the problems caused by the so-called 'human factor' was made the core function of every individual manager. This, I call the extensification of managerial function. On the other hand, a further specification of the functions of managers was a primary aim. This, I call the intensification of managerial function. The latter especially is a direct derivative of the organization of the executive members of the Holding Co., where there are a number of men who are industrial relations specialists. This department is fully responsible for all collective bargaining on all the sites of the Holding Co.

In the context of the former, extensification of management, all managers were given seminars on Administration and Management. While I was there, this programme was extended to cover the lowest managerial rank of foremen.¹²⁰ Thus, 'human-management' was made widespread, beyond the division of labour amongst managers.

During the set-up, personnel management was undertaken by the plant managers. The foundation of the technical and human aspects of production on a new division of labour among the managers, came about only after the establishment of a separate personnel department. A wide cadre in the personnel department was organized under the newly appointed personnel manager - a man known to be very skilful in this job. These new arrangements constitute the intensification of 'human-management'. In the same context, attempts were made, and are still being made, to prevent some of the plant managers from getting too actively involved with the production process, and with the men who work under their management - a 'bad habit' developed during the set-up years. The plant managers are needed to concentrate on research into the improvement of the technical side of production.

During my interview with him, one of the managing directors said that they had practically achieved this in BIC, and were working towards the same goal in SG.

In short then, further division of labour in management and intensification has been achieved, together with the extensification of managerial techniques of handling the human problems on all levels of superintendence.

ii) Managerial Ideology and Practice in FAB

a) Labour Recruitment

Labour recruitment in the early days had been random ("we needed 50 men....we employed whoever came in" said Pekcan). In recruiting the technical personnel such as engineers, the two founding managers were more selective. Ideological formation of such personnel, who would undertake manning tasks as well, was as important a criterion in their selection as their technical knowledge. In interviewing them, the two managers were inspired by what they had learnt from the Managerial and Administrative Seminars they had attended (see the appendix for their content).

Firing of workers was as arbitrary as their recruitment. In the absence of a union, the management fired any worker who 'provoked the workers against the employers'. Activities of various workers to organize the FAB workers into a union were not viewed sympathetically by the management. Such potential sources of trouble were eliminated. On the other hand, many workers left of their own accord. The toughness of the job, the great pressure of time (most workers lived on the site to complete the instalment in the shortest possible time), separation from their families, and furthermore, in the absence of any union rights, the threat of being fired, and an insecurity about the continuity of the job forced some workers to resign. At that time the workers' revolt was predominantly against the conditions of factory work and discipline - phenomena totally alien and oppressive to the majority of the labour-force whose concept of work was radically different to that imposed by the industrial work.

Redundancies enforced by the management and workers' own resignations together with the seasonal character of some of the work resulted in a high labour turnover. The FAB work-force was renewed three times in a period of 7 years (between 1971 and 1978) which is a very high rate by any standards (admitted by the manager himself).¹²¹

The time-period my sample population spent in FAB is also indicative of the high labour turnover. Among 101 workers only 21 have been in FAB for over five years. This figure is comparatively higher when added to that for managers: 37, out of the sample population of 129 including both managers and workers, have been in FAB over 5 years. The majority of this sample (69 - 53.5%) have been in FAB for 3 to 5 years. Note that production started in 1973, and construction in 1971.

The recruitment of workers has been more selective since the two years of set-up. To be sure, the skills required for various jobs pertaining to glass manufacturing, packing and marketing, have not been the only criteria used in screening the applicants. First of all, there are a few general prerequisites to be fulfilled by the applicant-workers:

1. A primary school diploma (as said on p.27).
2. An upper age limit of 25, at the time of application (this was explained on pp.17-18).
3. A clean bill of health (except for a few handicapped who are employed by force of law).
4. Turkish citizenship.

However, the employers don't leave it to chance, even after these prerequisites are fulfilled. It is possible that even those with primary school diplomas may be semi-illiterate and/or unable to write a proper sentence, or maybe to add and subtract. So, secondly the applicant must pass a written test. The test is rather extensive, and the questions range from simple arithmetical calculations to basic socio-cultural information, such as, "Who is the President of Turkey?"

I want to focus on a few of these questions which have an explicit ideological tone:

Q.1: List the three properties of a successful worker.

That such a question is asked can be regarded as ideological in itself.

Question 3 on the form reflects an historical peculiarity of Turkey.

Q.3: Give three reasons why FAB is established in Province instead of Urfa.

Urfa is a South-Eastern town where a combination of Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish people live. With a desert-like climate and no industry it symbolises underdevelopment more than any other town in Turkey. It is part of the development programmes in the 5-year plans (as explained in the first chapter); and as was said earlier, the South Eastern and Eastern regions are still the most underdeveloped and neglected regions in terms of any socio-economic criteria that can be employed. Whatever incentives were given to the private sector to shift some of their investments to these regions, there has been no success in attracting capital. Therefore, it may be assumed that the question is asked with the aim of getting the workers to provide the justification for choosing Province over Urfa. The idea seems to be that workers from Province itself will be more inclined to provide 'good' reasons. It must be more difficult for the workers who have come from Urfa or the surrounding regions to provide good reasons!¹²²

Another question is:

"Write down the occupations and the country of the persons below:
FAHRI KORUTURK (then, the Turkish President)
SEMIH SANCAR (then, Commander-in-chief of Turkey)¹²³
RIZA PEHLEVI
KARAMANLIS"

Notice the choice of names in this question. Who are the men to know? The above questions were selected from a particular question-sheet. Another form, which is more technical/particular, is only given to lift-truck operators, or loader-operator applicants. Most of the questions on this form are prepared for those who already work in FAB and who want to change their jobs. The 15 questions on the sheet are mostly concerned with technical and safety aspects of the job, although the first two questions are of a more general nature:

"Only one of the answers provided below is correct: Mark the correct one" -

Q.1: Why do industrial accidents take place?

- 1) Due to the coincidence of a 'dangerous' environment with a faulty gesture/movement (by the worker).
- 2) Because of carelessness (absent-mindedness).
- 3) Due to the breakdown of machinery.
- 4) Because industrial safety measures have not been taken.

The first is the correct answer.¹²⁴ Noting that every 'correct' answer means deeming the others to be incorrect, an inference can be made: the last three are not the reasons for industrial accidents, two of which would be managerial responsibility.

Q.2: What are the consequences of industrial accidents?

- 1) Death.
- 2) Social Security payment is made (to the worker) for (the resulting) inability to work.
- 3) The cost of production increases, the quality drops and time-loss is caused.
- 4) Dissatisfaction (or upset) occurs.

The expected answer is obviously the third one. The real consequences of industrial accidents are all those things that happen to production, to profitability, and to efficiency, together with the employer's time. Absolutely nothing happens to the workers involved, or else they are of negligible importance; or even, all the effects mentioned are 'consequential' for the workers as well. This is what one has to assume if one wants a job in FAB.

The question form for lycee or art-school graduates is distinct from the rest in terms of the level of the technical questions asked. There are a few questions testing I.Q., as well as some maths and physics problems. A few of the others, however, are more important for the concerns of this thesis:

Q.15: What does the industrial development of a country depend on?

- A) Climate.
- B) Natural Resources.
- C) The hard-work of its people.

D) The Natural Vegetation

The correct answer is easily distinguishable from the rest. Of course, it depends on the 'hard-workingness' of its people! This is once more verified by both the applicant-worker who marks it as the correct answer, and the industrial relations manager who has put it as the correct answer in the first place.

Q.17: Which of these ideas below is correct?

- A) Each individual both protects (defends) and appropriates his own rights.
- B) There is no right, only duty.
- C) 'Rights' are not granted - they are appropriated by force.
- D) There is a duty corresponding to every right.

In this case, an applicant who marked C would stand little chance of getting the job, since this is one of the most frequently used slogans of unions and some revolutionary organisations. On the other hand, if he marked B, this would reflect badly on the management's professed liberal-mindedness. Hence the correct answer: D.

The ideological content of some of these questions may have been amplified here, but if this is the case, it is in order to unveil the insidious ideological mechanisms at work. The point is that, dominant ideology is often reproduced 'invisibly' in sub-sections of the society, in events which do not seem to have major social implications such as in this case; in the question forms prepared for the applicant workers. Also, regardless of whether FAB management had a conscious, ideological purpose in the preparation of these questions, their ideological nature can be inferred by looking at the aim they serve; i.e., by singling out the metaphors, beliefs, value judgments, etc. to be reinforced. In this respect, question sheets become an important instance of ideological control.

The figures concerning recruitment patterns given by the workers and managers themselves cast some doubt on the extent to which such question sheets are referred to in the allocation of jobs. Around 70% of my total sample of 101 workers had either an examination (44.6%) or only an interview (20.4%). The remaining 30% had no examination or

interview upon application for a job.

In the recruitment of white collar workers (memurs) and managers of lower grades, the pattern does not diverge from that of the workers. Out of the total sample of 28, only 3 said they took a test. 15 were employed on an interview alone; and 9 had neither (33.6%).* The percentage of those who took either a test or an interview together (66.7%) is comparable with the corresponding percentage for workers. Higher grade managers, however, are recruited by an invitation from 'above' rather than managers themselves applying for a job.

Compiling the relevant information on an applicant for a managerial job, however, is not left only to the interview or the information on the application form. 'Reliable' information about a candidate is provided by a network of relations which the management of FAB have with the university professors who 'breed' managers and technocrats for the industry.

One such instance occurred in my presence, when the production planning manager, in order to gather information on an applicant for a mechanical engineering job, telephoned a professor in the university from which the candidate graduated. The question asked to the professor was "Do you know this guy personally?" and then, "Will you find out about what kind of man he was during his years in the university?" The idea was to find out about the candidate's political stance before deciding on whether to employ him or not, since he had already satisfied them about his technical knowledge. This happened during a managerial meeting in SG, and after the phone-call, a 'joke' was made about the fact that most graduates from that university were 'revolutionaries': "We don't want one of them to turn up here, do we?", was the concluding remark.

The characterising aspect of the labour recruitment policies of FAB management then, is inconsistency. The time of employment, how urgently the company needed men, and the prevalent managerial policy at the time of the employment are some of the causes of this inconsistency. There hasn't been a set of criteria used by the management, but rather the criteria used have differed with respect to arbitrary attitudes of the managers. Therefore, the inconsistency in labour recruitment methods can be said to reflect the contingent

* One manager was appointed therefore, this question was not applicable in his case.

contradiction in the structure of the management itself. This is highlighted by the fact that the abuse of managerial power has dominated the mode of conduct of some managers, especially in the early days.

Two such instances are recorded by the workers. One refers to the case of two personnel officers who asked for bribes in enrolling a worker for a job.¹²⁵ Apparently, this has not been a consistent policy of FAB management as a whole, but nevertheless, they have turned a blind eye to it.

The other recorded instance concerns recruitment of workers to SG 'Reset' from other plants in FAB. This happened in the first year of production (1973-1974), during which period Reset was by far the most dangerous place on the site, and frequent accidents caused many workers to lose fingers, arms, feet, or suffer other irremediable handicaps. Things were so bad that Reset was referred to as the 'slaughter house'. Since the glass carrying was not yet mechanised, most of the job relied heavily on muscular strength and the workers' ability to concentrate. Failure or weakening in either of these qualities caused the newly made sheets of glass to cut straight through the arm, foot, or fingers, if not to explode (due to 'tension' in glass) all over the worker, cutting, bruising, and striking at least some parts of the body.

Working conditions in Reset were exacerbated by the addition of two machines to bring the number from 6 to 8. This, together with increasing productivity, necessitated more men in Reset. At the same time, construction of other parts of the plant was completed, so that many previously occupied workers were left idle. Some of them were asked to work in Reset, but the 'fame' of the place as a slaughter house was so widespread that most refused despite the threat of losing their jobs in FAB. The management desperately needed more men, not only for the present, but also to be trained for the future. In the absence of any volunteers, the management, by their power to control, forced some workers to work in Reset. This was made possible by the co-operation of a shop-steward, who assisted the managers in getting 35 men to sign a paper, which was later filled in by the managers to say, "I, the undersigned, agree to work in the Reset department." The worker who provided this information explained that the shop-steward collaborated because he belonged to the rival group to the

then stronger union (C.W.U.), and he hoped to undermine C.W.U. by causing unrest among the workers, as well as, of course, making the management obliged to aid the union he belonged to (F.G.W.) in its struggle for power against the C.W.U.¹²⁶

Faced with being fired without compensation (since signed forms authorised the management to do this) the workers had little choice but to comply.

Both incidents, the managerial tactics, and also the workers' resistance to work in Reset may seem extraordinary from the point of view of the western industrial experiences. That workers could be tricked into signing a form they didn't know the contents of can be explained by the particular background of the workers, especially those with an immediate peasant past. Respect for authority and belief in its absoluteness are characteristics of Turkish peasantry caused by hundreds of years of being subjects of a centralised autocratic empire. In the absence of any industrial experience, when they come to work in factories, they accept managerial power as absolute, just as they accepted the power of the landlord in the regions.¹²⁷

Managers, on the other hand, can and do resort to such solutions to managerial problems, since they can also make the assumption about the passiveness of the labourers, which, obviously seem to be validated in such cases. The absence of a public opinion and a strong labour movement to unmask and oppose such managerial practices certainly allows the managers to employ such abusive means.

The workers' refusal to work in Reset was not simply based on its notoriety. A comparison of the number of industrial accidents in Reset and other departments of FAB suggests that 'slaughter house' is a justified label for Reset. Unfortunately, there are no documents on the number of industrial accidents for the period concerned (i.e., 1973-1974). However, the figures for the period between January 1st, 1977 and December 31st, 1977 are sufficient to elucidate the case. The number of work-days lost as a result of industrial accidents in Reset only, during that period, is 1302 days and 3 hours. Compared with the corresponding figures for some of the other plants/departments, they demonstrate the gravity of the situation.

Table VI, ii, 1: Number of working days lost in SG as a result of industrial accidents

Plant/Department	Number of working days lost (1977)	
	Days	Hours
1. Timbermill (woodworks)	24	4
2. Crate-making (woodworks)	474	1
3. 'Shaving' (woodworks)	4	5
4. Furnaces	44	4
5. SG Production	233	0
6. Reset	1302	3
7. Second-cutting (SG)	48	7
8. Packing (SG)	366	1
Total (figure for Reset: 1302,3, included)	2498	1

* All figures from management documents.

Note that, glass-carrying (cutting) was automated by instalment of mono-rails in the summer of 1977, which reduced the number of accidents considerably.

The comparison of frequency of 'absenteeism' for reasons other than 'illness' with various departments within SG alone, indicates that glass-carriers are the ones who escape most frequently from work. This is not only an additional point illustrating why the workers' refusal to be allocated to Reset is not based on 'myths', but also, shows that those workers who were already in Reset at the time, expressed a reaction to the conditions of work, by a form of 'absenteeism'.

During the same period in Reset, the number of workdays lost due to absenteeism (excluding illness) is 36 days and 2 hours. The second highest number is 15.1 days in SG production, followed by 8.1 in Packing, 2.2 in crate-making, 1.3 in Furnaces, and 1.1 in second-cutting. There is no recorded absenteeism in the 'Timbermill' and 'Shaving' departments.¹²⁸ As these figures indicate, absenteeism in Reset is twice as much as the second highest group in SG, and 35 times more compared with the lowest number. However, it must be noted that 36 days of absenteeism over a period of one year is not very high, given the conditions.

Managerial policy in other areas exhibits similarly the extent to which power to control is utilised for their and the company's interests. It is in such concrete situations that it is possible to gain an insight into the fact that to manage means to control. More significantly, it shows that the process of capitalist labour is the progressive deprivation of the labourers of control of their own labour-power, and its effects.

Presentation of 'promotion' procedures will further support this.

b) Promotion

One of the persistent complaints of the workers in FAB is that promotion channels are not open to them. (These and other complaints are presented in Chapter IX)

Altogether, 53 of my total sample of 129 (both workers and managers) changed their jobs since they arrived at FAB. 18 of them are managers/memurs; and the remaining 35 are workers. The data collected from the answers to the question, 'Have you always been doing the same job in FAB?' are not, however, totally reliable. The reason for this is that some of the workers who've had various jobs in FAB worked during the 'set-up' period when all were not necessarily employed by FAB, but some worked for a construction company. The distinction in most cases is blurred, because it is not clear when the employees 'changed hands', i.e., from the construction firm to FAB. 15 (43%) of the 35 workers who changed jobs worked on the set-up initially. These also comprise the group who can be regarded as promoted from undefined jobs to relatively well-defined, higher status jobs with more security. On the other hand, change of jobs within the same site meant 'demotion' for some workers. A few examples of each case are summarised in the table below.

The above information on mobility of workers between plants and different jobs, and the contents of the table below on promotion and demotion with the reasons cited by the workers, indicate some characteristics of the organization of work and managerial policy on promotion, which can be summarised into a few points:

Table VI,ii,2: Promotion and Demotion of FAB workers

Present Job	First Job	Any other jobs between first and last	Promoted or Demoted	Reason for change of job
1. Machine-operator (SG)	Helping Hand	-	Promoted	End of construction
2. Heating technician (BIC)	Unskilled worker	Loader, carrying glass fragments	Promoted	End of construction and later vacancy offered
3. Machine-operator (BIC)	Helping Hand	-	Promoted	End of construction
4. Packing & Sorting (BIC)	Furnace assembly	Ganger, BIC	Demoted	Management decision to reduce number of gangers
5. Greaser Batch Preparation	Decanting machine-tender	-	Demoted	Managerial decision to remove the machines

- 1) Among the working population of FAB, those who are relatively mobile and can do various jobs in the course of their career in FAB are fewer than those who are stuck with the same job over the years.
- 2) Not all those who have had various jobs in FAB were promoted. Some moved from one 'unskilled' job to another, some were demoted and were not always allowed to utilize their skills to the full.¹²⁹
- 3) Regardless of whether workers were mobile/immobile, promoted/demoted, etc., in the course of their stay in FAB, one common and very important determinant for all was that the decision was made by the management. In most cases, the workers had no say, except maybe that they wanted a job in FAB - or not. And even this presumed choice was no choice for many workers. (Given the unemployment)

Further information on the allocation of jobs, and whether the workers had any 'choice' in the matter, will complete the analysis of managerial practice in this area.

c) Allocation

All the sample workers were asked whether they were allocated their present jobs, or if they themselves chose it. A third category was formed, to cover the men whose choice of job coincided with what the management offered. The results are summarized in the table below:

Table VI,ii,3: Job Allocation (concerning worker-sample)

	Number of workers	%
Allocated	63	62.4
Choice	12	11.9
Coincide	26	25.7
Total	101	100.0

The significance of this table lies in that the majority (63) had no choice over which job they took. This constitutes yet another instance of lack of control by the workers over aspects of 'work' that concern them directly.

Comparison of the above table with the corresponding table for managers strengthens the point:

Table VI,ii,4: Job Allocation (concerning managerial sample)

	Number of men	%
Allocated	10	35.7
Choice	2	7.1
Coincide	16	57.1
Total	28	100.0

This table shows that for most managers, not only the jobs they wanted for themselves coincided with what they were offered, but also, 2 (7.1%) could choose this job straight away. The two categories of 'choice' plus 'coincide', together constitute the majority of the managers (18 out of 28). Managers, as a body, therefore, have more control over the type of jobs they are recruited into. And also over what jobs they want particular workers to do.

A detailed examination of those who come under the categories 'choice' and 'coincide' supports the point that workers haven't got that control. 19 out of a total of 38 workers who either chose (choice) or were offered the jobs they wanted (coincide), were able to achieve this by virtue of the fact that they were trained for those jobs. For 7 of them (out of 38) the relatively better conditions (subjectively defined) pertaining to the specific jobs, caused them to choose their present jobs. 6 (out of 38) did not specify the reasons for which 'choice'/'coincide' occurred. 3 chose their jobs because they thought they would be easier, and 3 said that they chose them because they wanted to learn a 'trade' or 'skill'.¹³⁰

There is a related aspect of job allocation by the management, which has not yet been mentioned. In most cases the FAB management prefers to bring in foremen/supervisors from outside rather than promote a worker of the same unit to such a post. A case concerning a foreman in the BIC Q.C. department will demonstrate this.

Suat, before being recruited as a foreman to the Q.C. department, had been a bank clerk, and then a semi-skilled worker in a nearby fibre-glass factory. When he came to FAB, he knew absolutely nothing about the inspection of bottles and containers. He was taught the job by the girls who were working in Q.C. and yet, from the outset he was appointed foreman - that is, he was the one to head and control the girls who were much more skilled and better informed about the job. 'This job (foreman) is exclusively male' he said. He didn't know why it should be so, but nevertheless, he was surprised that I should question it. Thinking about it, he pointed out that he was a lycee graduate, so he was better educated than the girls. Yet, there are three women who are also lycee graduates and experienced in the job. None of them could be made the foreman, however.

The reason for this may be an implicit sexism on the part of the management; the 'control' function which the Q.C. department has over the production department often requires fierce arguments between the workers and foremen of the two departments, and also a determination on the part of the Q.C. department to assert its own decisions over and above decisions by the production department about the quality of a certain product. Given that all workers of the production department are male, it is assumed by the management that a woman foreman in the

Q.C. department would not have the necessary authority.¹³¹

Suat's case displays certain characteristics of the management policy on recruitment of foremen and promotion (or rather non-promotion) of the workers:

- 1) The true function of the foremen is not so much based on their technical superiority, but on their power to control the men/women in their charge. Were it technical, one of the women in Q.C. would have been a better choice.
- 2) Managerial choice of a foreman from outside is made with no consideration for any potential resentment among the workers. The latter, however, do react with resentment as indicated below.

QE 5: "Here, instead of those who have grasped the job, when there is a vacancy for a foreman they bring in someone from outside. We have no right to promotion. Even if you work for 5 years, you'll work on the same job. (Certain men have taken hold of certain jobs completely in advance)...."

- 3) Given the above, there is not much chance for a worker to become a foreman one day; that is, a true promotion for them.

Any promotion is made by management only when it is to their advantage; one particular method of promotion clearly exemplifies this. In FAB, it is a well known fact that the management promotes shop-stewards and/or, candidates for official union jobs who fail to be elected to a supervisory job. This was explained to me by Sami, an ex-union official himself. He said:

"Whenever there is a clever man, (....) who is to an extent influential on the workers, the employer is quick to give him a foreman's or shift-manager's job, (....) of course, this is the end of the political life of that person."

At the moment, he said, there were three men on this site who stood for union elections, and were made foremen a month later. Sami added that the same was true for his case:

"When we (C.W.U.) lost the union elections, I wanted to leave (FAB). They (the management), wouldn't let me go because although we lost we were still supported by about half the workers here. They thought, if I went, this would have had a bad effect on the workers."¹³²

Certainly, one other reason for management not wanting Sami to leave might have been their need to keep the 'good' leaders of the C.W.U.

'in stock' for the next union elections because - for reasons to be explained in the chapter on union - the management has an open preference for C.W.U. as opposed to F.G.W., and Sami especially is a desirable candidate from their point of view because of his 'mild', apolitical views on unionism.

Surely, the most significant aspect of this management policy is the manipulation of promotion possibilities for workers as in this case of depoliticizing potentially strong labour leaders, together with providing a lower level of management with strong backing from the workers themselves.

d) Managerial Myths

While management in FAB today (1978) displays a continuity with that of the set-up period and the initial years of production, it also deviates from the old policies. Managerial experience, and the financial back-up of the Holding Company account for the latter.

The success of the present management in reducing industrial conflicts certainly does rely on the 'myths' created by the company about what it is. What the company bosses will accept and what they won't is made clear and absolute, by various mechanisms of communication. Against the contrary propaganda of the union, one such myth created is that 'there is no boss' in the company. It is a 'Holding' Company and the management simply 'manages' the running of the site in the name of the share-holders. The personnel manager (among others) especially, emphasised this point:

"There is nothing called a 'boss' in this work-place."

This saying is a dictum on site, through which the managers try to avoid the hostility being directed towards themselves, and to create the image that 'everyone here (themselves included), is working for a company which is owned by the public.'

The intangibility of such share-holders lends a genuine ring to the 'myth' of a company with no boss. Everyone could be an 'unknown' boss or bosses. Knowledge of who the bosses are can only be stretched as far as the personal power of management, or any visible body of 'rulers' (such as the executive of the Holding Co.). How far the

management has been able to penetrate the consciousness of the workers on this issue will be seen in Chapter IX, Section iv where the workers' definitions of management are given. For this section, my concern is with the critical dilemma the managers find themselves facing, as a result of the emphasis they put on working for a no-boss company.

For the management of FAB the dilemma is most felt in the decision-making process. They are made fully responsible for the control of the site and its related material and human aspects. In achieving this, they have to make various decisions which may have profound consequences for FAB. Yet, these decisions can never be related to altering the structural aspects of the production process. Such decisions can only be made by the capital-owners (or their individual representatives on the board of directors). Managerial Revolution Theorists¹³³ would claim that all industry is governed by managers and technocrats, therefore, there are no longer 'capitalists' as such. However, M. Kiray clarifies the distinction between the types of decisions that can be made at a managerial level, or by the capital-owners.¹³⁴ She asserts that managers can decide on, for example, when to commence and terminate the work on a particular day, but cannot decide on how long the work-day will be (which would have, because of its direct relation with the surplus-value, profound repercussions on the socio-economic system). Confusion arises when any production manager or group of managers work under the illusion that they can act as capital owners. They are abruptly reminded that there is a 'boss' - albeit in an intangible form.

Such a dilemma was manifest for the SG plant manager when he planned to establish a holiday resort for FAB employees. This was one of his major dreams both in order to add some colour to an otherwise dull life in the Province as well as in alignment with the rest of the managerial personnel's demands. He believed this would also aid the establishment of good industrial relations. However, this demand was rejected by the executive of the Holding Co., who directly act in the name of the capital-owners (or as representatives of capital).

Regardless of his rank, 'he couldn't even ask why', because 'this is just the way a hierarchical system works'. "You cannot ask those

higher up the question 'Why?'. You simply have to accept their decisions." Yet, he still cannot help feeling resentful about it:

"I cannot understand why they are so reluctant. I would've understood if FAB wasn't a profit-making site - but it is. Ever since the Holding took over, our profits have been increasing steadily. So we can afford it."

The point he seems to be missing is that he, as a plant manager, is not included in that 'we'. He is not the capital-owner. This is precisely how the representative of the Labour Bank (the true capital-owner) on the board of directors explained the mistake which the plant manager is making:

"He doesn't realise that he is not the capital-owner. It may be in the interest of FAB employees to have a holiday resort, and he may think this is feasible; but this is not how the Labour Bank views the situation. With the Bank, the question is one of costs and profits. They (the managers in FAB) sometimes forget that they are not the capitalists themselves."

The myth of what the Holding Co. would or would not accept is a widespread one, and sometimes it helps to evade the problem, by not allowing it to be formulated and articulated. Another manager, who is in charge of all the maintenance and services on the site, was asked if there were any improvements he would like to see in his own job. He replied that he would like a watering-cart, (for use in case of fire, and to make watering the lawn and flower beds easier.) "But," he added, "they won't give it, anyway."

In his case, the interesting points are:

- 1) That this manager's difficult position stems from his being given the responsibility of fulfilling his tasks to the best of his ability and yet being unable to make any decision which will help him in that fulfilment (and if he makes a decision, i.e. - needing a watering-cart, he cannot simply 'get' what he needs because he is not the capital-owner). Therefore, he decides that he wouldn't be given it anyway.
- 2) This non-decision is made with full awareness of the 'invisible managerial control', and knowledge that the Managing Director or the General Director would refuse his request without passing it any higher, on the grounds that it would be excess expenditure and that the board of directors representing the Holding Co. would also refuse for the same reason. If something is not vital for production, or increasing

productivity, then the necessity will not even be articulated.

The above-mentioned manager's dilemma is such because there is a clear-cut distinction between capitalists and managers. The managers willingly comply with the role ascribed to them by the capitalists, but in attempting to fulfil that role (i.e. - to be 'good' managers), the conditions they require often clash with the interests of capital, thus preventing them from succeeding. So, the catch-22 situation of the watering-cart: he needs the watering-cart to be a good manager, but the knowledge that he would be refused prevents him requesting one, because by asking for it he 'wouldn't be a good manager.' If the well-defined interests of capital were non-existent, it would be difficult to conceive of any manager creating, internalising and working with the 'myths' about the company. Yet, there are managers who do, and in their praxis they condemn not only the workers, but also themselves, to degrading conditions of work.

The 'myths' created about the Holding Co. are manifest in a number of more fundamental ways.

There is a widespread belief, which is often expressed by managers, union leaders and workers, that the Company will implement the same wage-policy all over the country on all of its sites. Even a strike on one site will not change that 'principle' of the Company; whatever is agreed with the union of one site will apply to others regardless of the fact that different unions represent the workers on different sites. As one unionist admitted, "They will not give more than what they have in mind."

A top manager of the Holding Co. explained why this 'principle' of the company holds:

"If we grant a certain percentage of pay-rise in say, FAB, we have to do it on all the other sites the Holding owns. The problem is not only the financial load this will burden the Co. with, but our relations with the unions too, as this will have an effect on such relations. If we give in at one workplace, then we are done for. We can no longer keep our dominant position in relation to the unions. The unions will supersede our power."

The case of the sodium-factory strike¹³⁵ showed that this particular myth does not remain as a myth: it is the actual policy of the Holding

Co.'s management. The same 'myth' is partly responsible for preventing the union from calling for a strike during 1978.¹³⁶ However, this was also because of the 'failure' of the strike action of 1976,¹³⁷ which in turn was regarded as a failure by many FAB workers, due to another 'myth' that went about in those days. What this myth was, and how it relates to the workers' disillusionment, is clear in the expression of this worker quoted below:

"I have heard that the General Director has said that he was 'prepared to give 2 T.L. (i.e., 2 T.L./hour wage increase) anyway, so what the hell is this noise all about!' So if we were getting that, why did we go out on strike?" (The union, after a 25 day strike had signed for 1.70 T.L./hour wage increase)

Whether the General Director said this or whether he would have said it (if he had done) had there not been a strike; or even whether he would have given 2 T.L. (if he said so) had there not been a strike is not important. What is important, however, is the fact that a certain 'myth' was created and this has permeated some of the workers' consciousness. Next time, when the union calls for a strike, they will remember it. Some certainly did in 1978, when I was around.

"They do not like those who ask too many questions here", is another widespread myth. Who 'they' are is not always very clear. Sometimes it refers to the managers on the site, sometimes to an invisible body of rulers, company executives, or perhaps to share-holders, or it may not be to anyone in particular; 'They' seems to be an all-purpose subject. Like all the other myths about the Company, this one also works both ways. This phenomenon can be formulated briefly: All those myths become influential because they are usually verified in managerial practice. On the other hand, only certain aspects of managerial practice become influential because there has existed an a priori myth about it already.

'Chinese Whispers' Tactics

The success of the managers in gaining total control depends partially on their ability to predict the workers' reaction to a particular action by management. Should the reaction be predicted as 'negative', then the management must also be able to prepare the workers for the consequences. This tactic has certainly enabled them to fire 110

workers at a time without causing much unrest amongst the other workers.

"In the past," the Personnel Manager explained, "firing of workers has caused great unrest - and after unionization of the workers - this has become impossible without legally accepted, valid causes, and that with the obligation to pay compensation to the fired workers. Even when legal requirements were fulfilled, this did not prevent the workers from exerting a great opposition, especially when they did not see it coming, when the firing of some was sudden. Then, if we fired one or two workers it would cause great trouble - it would be like doomsday." Whereas, "Recently, we redistributed some employees, especially those in the woodwork department. To some of them we offered new jobs - if they did not accept, they were expelled. Some of them, we simply fired on the basis that we had more men than we needed. Sixty were expelled on that basis. Altogether the numbers added up to 110. And what happened? No reaction came from the workers. Because we got them used to the idea; starting a few months earlier, we put the word about that there will be a reorganization in the woodworks department. Everyone talked about it and everyone expected it. They knew there were too many men in woodworks. Well, you see, it was necessary, because there was no peace in that department. Now everybody works better. Too many men around creates chaos. Peace is the most important thing (in the work-place)."

The day manager in the cold-section of SG, who is also in charge of the woodworks department, admitted that in the woodworks today half the number of men do three times more work in the same time. Although he did not mention it as a cause, time and motion studies carried out in that section must have determined the minimum number of men required in the woodworks department.

How the tactics of 'Chinese whispers' worked is essentially based on a general characteristic of the workers: a feature very well-known and successfully utilized by the management, but also part of the conclusions I have drawn as a result of my participant-observation in FAB. It is this: the workers in general do not react to anything that has the 'absolute' appearance. If the most contradictory, and disadvantageous case for the workers can be presented as unavoidable/ compulsory/absolute, then the workers tend to give in. In other words, what matters, what happens ultimately is determined not by the nature of the 'event' yet to happen, but by the perception/definition of that 'event' by the workers. Whether this perception/definition is imposed ('ideological/false consciousness-bound') or spontaneous ('natural') does not alter the nature of what actually happens. Otherwise it would not be possible to explain the success of the managerial tactics above;

or any other occasion when the workers have given their consent to what is antagonistic to their interests.

Such attitudes of the workers could be regarded as indicators of a predominantly 'false-conscious' labour force. This is a point of discussion for the concluding chapter. Here, I intend to assert that the success of the capitalist system (or any other social system for that matter) lies in its ability to make its members accept the fundamental assumptions of the system as correct, unquestionable, and the system itself as absolute. For FAB and the workers in it, managerial ideology and practises (some outlined above, others given below) certainly play a determining role in achieving this.

Managerial myths constitute part of the 'invisible managerial control'* and there are various other 'invisible' elements of control manifest in especially non-technical forms of control. In the following section, first, managerial control in 'the technical division of labour', and second managerial control in non-technical aspects are investigated. The latter is predominantly 'invisible managerial control'.

iii) Control

That 'control' and 'management' are synonymous terms in the capitalist labour process is well argued in the context of advanced capitalist economies (U.S. and Britain especially) by Braverman.¹³⁸ Instances in managerial practice in FAB were shown to be instances of control: control of the labour-power, and, more specifically, control of labourers extended to influence their consciousness as well as their mode of operation. While this control is partially 'invisible' - some examples of this have already been cited - there is also a control function embedded in the organization of work, which is more overt. In other words, in the case of FAB, it can be asserted that the technical organization of work assumes a control function.

This section attempts to demonstrate the above under two headings:
(a) Technical Division of Labour in the organization of the Production

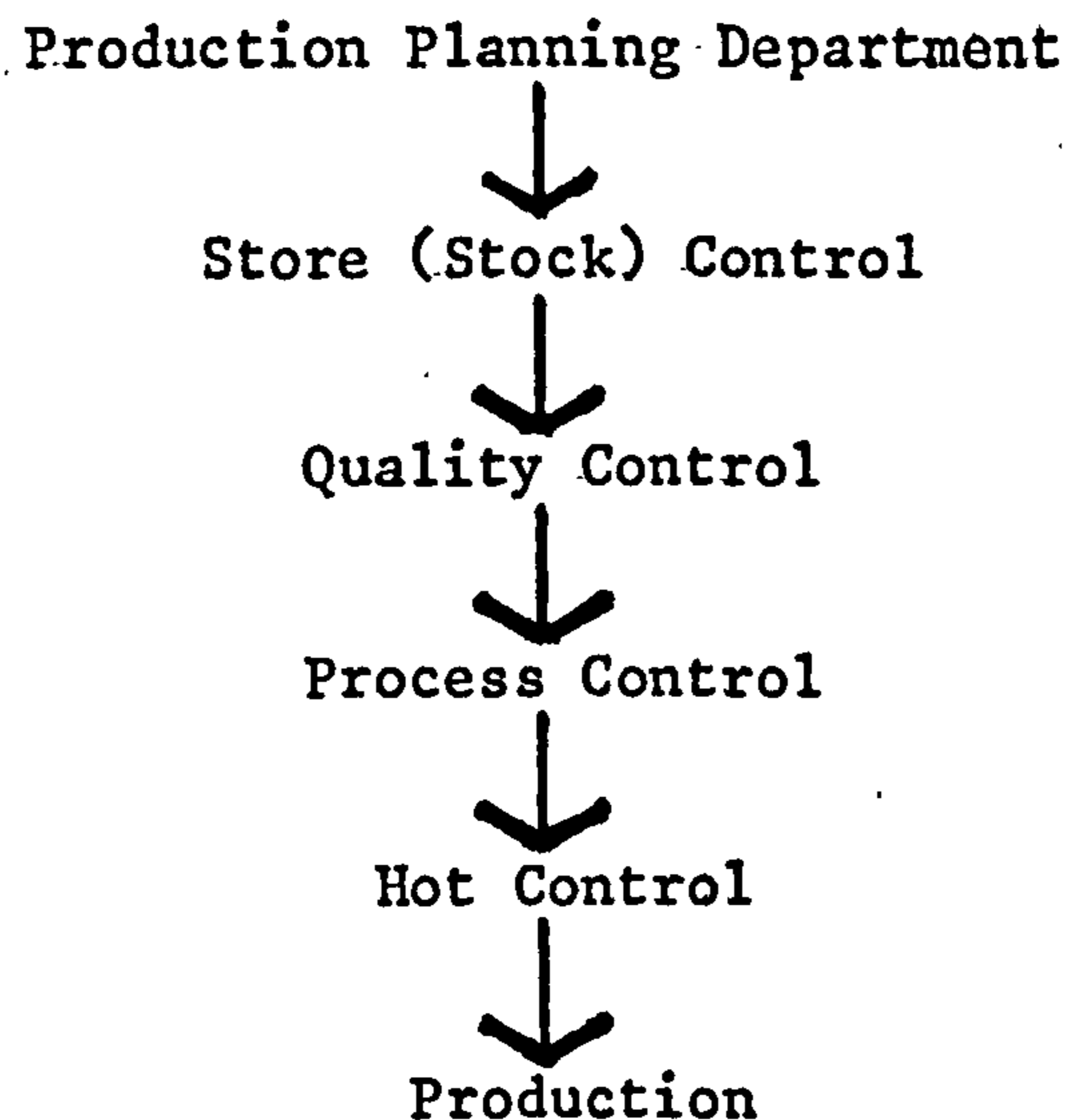
* A phrase coined by P. Cressey, for which I am grateful.

Process as control; (b.) Non-Technical Control (i.e., 'invisible' control).

Between these two, a third manifestation of managerial control is analysed which is observed in the decision making process, and this is covered under the heading: 'Managerial meetings and decision making'.

a) Technical Division of Labour in the Organization of the Production Process as Control

The primary separation of the labour-process into various departments of decision-making and execution, in other words, into hierarchical control cells, is introduced technically. The technical control function as prevalent in the two major plants of FAB can be shown schematically as:



The direction of the arrows indicates the direction of the control function such that the Production Planning department has control over and above all the other units, and the production process is controlled by all the units above itself. The chart only contains the major departments of control. There are, in fact, other minor technical levels of control (such as the 'receptionist' between the quality control and store control, or the dispatch control at the exit gate) which are not included since they are simply variations of the pattern. There are, however, some differences in the technical division of control function between the SG and BIC which are worth noting.

In SG, process-controlling is subsumed under the Quality Control process. Therefore, the separation is mainly between the Production and the Quality Control department. Process-controlling (though it exists in the form of 'hot-control'; i.e., when the glass is still in the process of forming) is not assigned to a separate unit. This is important, since the control of the production is intensified by introducing intermediary levels and assigning them to specific departments. The further away the final Q.C. control is from the production (i.e., execution), the more efficient that control is, and the more complete the separation of execution and decision-making.

In BIC, all the levels introduced in the chart above apply. The 1978 quota projection for BIC informs us that there are altogether 4 chargehands in the Process Control Unit, and 28 Process Control workers, added to which of course is a day-manager. There are also 4 provisional places reserved for a potential Process Control Unit in SG.

What is important here is the amount of labour consumed unproductively, for the sole reason of controlling the products of labour of other workers. From the making of the glass to its dispatch, the steps technically necessary to ensure the quality and quantity of the goods are assigned to various specialised units. Thus, those who make the glass are separated from those who assess the quality of that production. This is based on the implicit assumption that the workers regarded as competent to produce are not considered to be reliable to assess their own production. This 'unreliability' however, is created by the system itself, which, in order to maximize production, operates on a premium system, which then impels the workers to increase production. If production workers' interests lie in achieving a surplus (in order to increase their premium wages) then, they cannot be relied on to give an 'objective' assessment of their own production, since 'below-standard products' are deducted from the total production, and hence from workers' premiums. Hence the need for a specialised group of inspectors who have interests distinct from those of the production workers. In effect, the process and quality controllers and, over and above them, the production planning department, keep a very thorough check on each other throughout the production process. This creates tension and conflicting interests among both workers and managers. How this manifests itself in FAB will be described shortly.

A further division among the personnel is introduced by the fact that various sets of controllers do not work for the same department, but for different ones, and are thereby prevented from sharing a common status or a sense of belonging. This system performs a 'life-blood' function, since, even at a technical level, it ensures that controllers are also controlled.¹³⁹

What the management theoretically aims to achieve (i.e., products of good quality) is inconsistent with the methods used in practice (i.e., organizationally, not technically). This is best expressed by J. Lomox, who works for the United Glass Co. in the United States:

"Quality control is a philosophy which must be adopted by every member of an organization right down from the highest executive to the lowest paid worker - a genuine desire by everyone to produce the best."¹⁴⁰

This certainly is the definition of an ideal case; yet given that both in the U.S. glass-companies, and in FAB, producers and quality controllers are separated, then clearly such a 'genuine' desire does not exist. On the other hand, it is not achievable in a system where producers and controllers are differentiated, since, by definition, the latter have control over the former, thereby making their 'genuine desire' to produce the best both absurd and redundant. Hence the 'life-blood' function of the technical division of labour in the organization of production, is control and not simply efficiency.

Diverse interests, at the point of production, which derive from the way production is technically and hierarchically organised, create internal divisions among the management (the daily managerial meetings become an arena of struggle between the production and quality control managers). Each side presents a different evaluation of the quality of the glass produced; while the production manager presses for increased daily production, the Q.C. manager usually argues about the quality of the goods. The established hierarchy is such that the Q.C. department's decision is final. The control over the Q.C. manager, however, is exerted indirectly by the customers. If, on receipt of goods, the customer finds more faulty bottles/sheets of glass than the agreed proportion, he asks for a 'reclamation', and every such reclamation is not only a bad mark on the record of the firm, but also a blow to the Q.C. manager.

So, the Q.C. manager tightens up the strictness of the inspection while

the Production manager fights to loosen it: the latter has a target to reach, determined for him by the P.P. department, and all the rejected glasses/bottles put him further back in the fulfilment of this target. This struggle gets rough at times, and after at least one such argument, the two managers stopped talking to each other for weeks.

Managerial Meetings and Decision Making

Managerial meetings are held separately in two major plants. Immediate problems of the production process are discussed during these morning meetings and not the issues of general managerial policy. Even so, decisions made have a direct impact on the workers and often far-reaching implications. I shall elucidate these points by giving examples of some of the central issues that were debated during my presence. The topics of debate to be analysed are:

1. Production targets
2. Manpower shortage
3. Labour problems
4. Role of the managers

1. Production targets

The establishment of production targets is another cause of managerial dispute. In a typical managerial meeting in SG, there are two Production Planning officers, the production managers of SG, the managing director, the engineer, the furnaces manager, the quality control manager and often the General Director himself. The two officers have already got a scheduled production-target, designed by their department, in co-operation with the glass-marketing company. This is initially put as a demand to the SG production department. The production managers' immediate response is often a refusal based on one or more of the following reasons: the batch is not good enough, or there is a problem with one of the machines, or there are not enough men per machine per shift, or there is an insufficient number of 'healthy' men to fill such targets. This reply is usually followed by a long discussion between the two sides about the productive capacity of the SG production department.

Every such meeting is a splendid demonstration of the discrepant concerns.

of various departments/individual managers, arising from their conflicting interests. The Holding Co.'s interest is to make profit and gains for its shareholders, and hence their calculations are based on the total sales which will yield the desired profits. The subsidiary marketing firm makes these sales possible. However, in order to keep a stranglehold on the market (both indigenous and international) they must ensure that the demands of the customers are satisfied. Hence the pressure on the FAB management to fulfil the targets. On the other hand, whether these targets are realistic, from a technical point of view, depends upon the technical managers on site. The latter's concerns are altogether different. They cannot allow the machines to overwork and wear out, because they would then have to replace some unavailable spare part while a production target needs to be met. Any such hold-up is fatal.

The production manager, under the plant manager (therefore one level closer to the workers), has yet different concerns because he has to take the human factor into consideration. He will be confronted with the opposition of the workers. Yet, he is caught between two sides: he can envisage the problems involved in pushing the workers too hard. But, at the same time, it is his duty to pressurise workers as required by the production targets, or else he must look for a job elsewhere.

On some occasions, when the general director was present at the SG morning meeting, some of his responses to the production manager when the latter said that it would be impossible to fill the target demands due to manpower shortages, were as follows:

"I don't care about your staff problem. I want ----tonnes for this month. The manpower shortage cannot be solved before the collective bargaining."

or:

"I don't want to hear about it. How you do it is your problem. I don't know how you're going to do it, but you have to get that tonnage done this month."

The striking aspect is that usually the target is reached. What was said, by the production manager, to be impossible, was contradicted by his own efforts. Subsequently, in deciding next month's target, this achievement is taken into consideration and the target is set at a higher level. Increasing production trends thus continue until the

saturation point is reached, until the workers can no longer be pressurized, either due to physical or technological limits, or to the reactions of the workers/unions.

This dilemma lived every day by the individual managers, can be seen as a conflict of interests between the profit motive of the capitalist owners and the concerns of the individual managers who make such profits possible. It is precisely this and similar contradictions that characterise the CLP, and not the 'equilibrium' based on 'common' interests, even if, in the last analysis, all efforts (of managers and workers alike) contribute towards profit-making.

2. Manpower shortage and managerial meetings

The problem of labour shortages often accompanies the need to fulfil production targets. Employment of more men to reduce the pressure on the workers is constantly demanded by the union, and the workers themselves. It is also brought to the attention of the General Director by the plant managers. During the managerial meetings, this problem presents itself in relation to the search for further methods of increasing productivity. The General Director's problem is to explain to the Board of Directors, 'why FAB has still not been able to increase its level of productivity'. The production managers presented the problem of manpower shortage as an obstacle to increasing production. However, this was precisely the point the General Director wanted to make: to increase productivity is to produce more with fewer workers. He reminded the managers that 'as a company policy' the cadres have been frozen, and no new recruits to any of the departments would be possible.

"Except of course," he added, "transfers of men from one department to another are possible, alas, on the condition that this will not spoil the wages-equilibrium.141

On this question, no opposition from the union was expected since the General Director declared that he had made an agreement with the union to the effect that the transfer of workers was permissible so long as wage-levels remain unaltered. Such a 'favour' was done for one group of workers in Reset (where then labour shortage was most acute), to decrease their workload, but its purpose was only to meet the target programme. The interesting thing, is of course, that the union actually

gave its consent to a policy which would initiate wage differentiation within one department, with the ensuing divisions among the workers which this implies.

The decision taken at the Holding Co. level, despite the opposition from the site managers, to freeze the cadres affects the workers adversely and forces them to adopt a faster pace. It also affects production negatively, at least in the short-run, until the workers are habituated to the new conditions. While the latter (production-productivity) is the concern of the managers at every level, the former (effects on workers) seems never to be given precedence. This indicates that the concerns of the management are not primarily humanitarian.

3. Labour problems and the managerial meetings

In one sense, all the issues raised during the meetings, as exemplified above, can be reduced to labour problems. One related issue is the times the workers took their yearly vacations. In 1977, efficiency had dropped drastically because many workers were on leave during the summer months. The General Director argued that the distribution of yearly vacations was too unequal and that this year (1978) the managers should 'do whatever they can to prevent this happening.' He said: "start sending them away from this March." The production manager opposed him again, saying that this would only be possible if the management could offer an incentive for them to take their vacations during months other than summer.

July and August are the hottest two months of the year (the temperature hardly dropping below 40°c.), which makes even mere survival a strain, let alone working with the additional heat from the furnaces. Not only that, but it is also the harvest-time, hence some of the workers are needed in the fields. The General Director, reluctant to admit the bad effects of the heat on people, was more concerned with the fact that some workers had an agricultural job as well.

The meeting ended with a discussion to the effect that the most important problem in increasing production was the human-relations problem. "This has to be solved," the General Director claimed. What he means by the human-relations problem is, of course, workers not

obeying fully and unquestioningly the requirements of the company, whose only concerns are: filling the March target, concentrating on 7 mm. glass for more profits, and how the General Director can answer the questions of the Holding Co. about low productivity in FAB.

The other significant labour problem, as managers perceived it, was discussed in at least two meetings in my presence. The problem was the workers' unrest in the cold section of SG. One cause of unrest was again the timing of the yearly vacations. The workers simply did not want to give in. For the managers the problem was not their own policy of restricting the workers' holidays but the workers' resentment of such restrictions. And the workers could resist since they were unionised. The managers recognised this, and admitted during the meeting that 'the union was in their way'. The solution seemed to be to contract out storage and consignment (the workers in the 'cold-section' are partly packers, and partly loaders and storers). Then, 'FAB would not have to deal with the labour problems'. "They (the contractors) will have to face the labour problems" one manager remarked rubbing his hands.

On the same issue, Osman Koray, the managing director of SG, elaborated a further reason for the workers' unrest in the SG warehouse. He said:

"Well, somehow the union has heard about the fact that in Greenplains (another long-established Holding Co. site, in Istanbul), no sheets of glass larger than 1.40 x 2.70 m. were carried by hand (during packing, storing and loading). They want the same thing to be applied here. They want this 'collibeille' cabin installed here. It makes things really easy. You pull it up, then down and that's it!"

The production manager jumped in:

"You know, Osman, it is very dangerous to handle large-size sheets of glass by hand. It breaks, it explodes. You know...."

Osman responded:

"Our problem is the union here. FAB should give that job to a contractor firm. Then the contractor will have to worry about it. He'll make his men do it (handle it by hand)!"

What is apparent from the foregoing discussion is that the management has access to information which is of importance to the workers, but which it has a vested interest in not divulging to the workers. Discovery (by the workers) of such knowledge automatically presents problems to the management.

In all these managerial meetings the absence of any worker representative must be noted. The workers are not allowed to participate in the decision making, even at the most mundane level. The workers' only 'participation' comes later, in their reaction against managerial decisions and actions.

4. Role of the managers

The question of the role of the managers in relation to the issues mentioned above, was raised by the General Director. He was not pleased with his managers who persistently presented problems (either in the form of labour shortage, or workers' reactions to the question of yearly vacations) in response to his target requirements. He needed to remind them where their allegiance lay, and what they ought to be doing. In one instance, faced with tremendous pressure from the SG managers for more men he seemed to succumb:

"Alright then, temporarily we will employ a few men from elsewhere (i.e., from other departments for Reset)."

But then, he clearly expressed what he wanted of the managers:

"But look, you (the production manager and the managing director) should be concerning yourselves with other problems, other possibilities of improving your techniques of production. You should be doing some research, working on paper, not just with the problem of manpower shortage!"

Earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned that further specialization of management aimed at intensifying the separation between conception and execution was the general tendency. The General Director, as he is more integrated with the Holding executive, sees his role as counterbalancing the tendency of managers to be more directly involved with the production process. For these managers, as they often argue, job satisfaction is in action, in being involved in the production. As engineers, they are nostalgic about 'getting dirt' on their clothes, yet this somehow is incompatible with what is expected of them as managers.

ib) Non-Technical Control, or more of 'invisible managerial control'

This second dimension of control is a structural one in the sense that it is assumed in the capitalist organization of labour. In the relationship between capital and labour, the role of management is

of crucial significance in employing labour for capital. Unless this nature of the relationship is questioned, the individual managers have little choice but to serve capital in furthering its expropriation of 'value' from labour. In this context, i.e., in considering as natural the way capital and labour are related (in fact, considering it as the only possible relation) management can justify their ideology and practices at the point of production, both to themselves and to the workers. This attitude of management is demonstrated in everyday encounters between individual managers and the workers, especially when the decisions and actions of the managers were responsible for a loss of jobs, thus calling for justification from the management.

An anecdote recounted by Osman Koray (the managing director of SG) is extremely interesting and revealing:

"When I was at BIC, there was an 'illegal' passive resistance movement carried out by the workers protesting against the distribution of the shoe allowances.(142) Eight or nine of the workers I, in fact, liked the most, had to be fired. I was sorry on the one hand, but I also thought it had to be done. There is accertain set of rules and we naturally have to act accordingly. If I violate those rules, I am no longer part of this system, this order, I have to get out. I also spoke to the workers we fired. Because when we did it, we did it for everyone's benefit, not to disrupt the social order which is good for the country, the nation, and all of us. We didn't do it to protect the interests of a person, an establishment."

What he did was justified because it was for 'the good of all of us', the whole Turkish nation and the status quo. Yet, when I inquired more, it emerged that his justification had deeper roots. I reminded him that the workers had had little or no say in the first place, in formulating and establishing these rules. He objected by saying that all these rules were the result of collective bargaining, and both the union and the management had agreed on them. I suggested that the rules to which I was referring were somewhat different: that the workers in FAB, have had absolutely no say in designing the organization of work, the division of labour, etc., which a priori determine the other, negotiable rules, and in doing so leave very little room for any radical change from the already established technological and administrative base. His answer is most striking:

"But what you are saying is like: the man and woman get married, form a family, have a child, and the child comes into the family whether he wants to or not, and has no say about the family." Did he mean, that the workers' situation in the factory is as compulsory and as natural as this?
"Yes, of course, it is that natural."

In the absence of any vision of an alternative social order, the justification of the present one becomes naturally part and parcel of the managerial world view.

Yet, the labour process this social order engenders is not taken for granted by the workers. This was recognised by the management since, from the early days of FAB onwards, they had consciously implemented ways and means of habituating the workers to factory working conditions.

Habituation

Habituation practices in FAB have had a twofold aim: to

1. To habituate the ex-peasant to industrial factory work.
2. To force them to work at a greater pace.

In doing this, time and motion studies were decisive, as has already been explained for the woodworks department.

The first phase of habituation is geared to achievement of the first aim above, and the second phase to the latter. A few cases of first phase habituation will be sufficient to illustrate the nature of the techniques used by the management.

It is the contention of FAB managers that habituating the ex-peasants to industrial work cannot be carried out 'scientifically', since there are no text-books on the subject. They did this 'intuitively' dealing with each worker individually. While teaching the new worker the job on the spot he was also given 'good' reasons why he would get used to the job, even though it might initially be objectionable. Most information on this issue is provided by the manager, Osman Koray. The teaching practices and some of the ideas workers were exposed to can be summarized briefly:

- a) A factory job provides the worker with a future. When he is old and can no longer work, a life-guarantee for them can only come

from industry. On the land, he can only earn on a day-to-day basis, and 'no-one will stretch out a hand to him when he can no longer work'. Osman Koray said:

"Once the worker is convinced about his life-guarantee, then he starts to value the work, and is determined to learn the job."

b) Another method of convincing the worker that this industry offers a 'bright future' and that, in O. Koray's words, 'this industry saves our lives', is to make the newcomer work with experienced workers and those who have come all the way from Istanbul. The mode of thinking of the ex-peasant as a response to this is thought by the management to be that his only sacrifice in coming to FAB has been leaving his field '3.5 km. away', whereas the older workers he sees around him have travelled '1000 km.' leaving everything they have got there. Hence the job must be worth it.

c) The union co-operates with on the spot training. At various times everyone from the general director to managers, foremen and skilled workers has gathered around the newcomer to show him the job and its intricacies. This, according to O. Koray, is highly appreciated by the ex-peasant, since 'he has never experienced any such interest in himself, especially from such men high up in the hierarchy.' "They like it a lot." said O. Koray.

Regardless of the extensive use of the method above, FAB management still has been unable to avoid a 100% loss in the labour-force. According to O. Koray, the rate of labour turnover in this firm should be at the most 1:2, 1:3; yet it is over 100% (i.e., in a seven-year period between 1971 and 1978). This is because "however hard you try, some just will not get habituated, will not develop that propensity for working in industry."

Some cases of workers resisting habituation is illustrative of the initial impact of factory work.

The first case I want to record is of 4 peasants whose first industrial job was in the 'fission' unit of BIC where they had to remove the glass fragments and the unused paste. From the management's point of view, the fission unit was 'only a bit nasty', because it was humid and very

hot. However, it was 'an easy job, because they only had to work at the time of production change when the paste ran freely, and therefore, they had much more time to rest than any other worker.' The workers were shown the job, and a few days later, they refused to work, saying they were exasperated. Their own conception of the place they had to work in was: "Vapour comes from below, fire falls from above. You have put us right into Hell! How can we work here?"

The second case concerns a man who worked at the conveyor-belt carrying bottles from the cooling furnace (lehr). Bottles from the lehr come out like soldiers in a row on a wide vibrating belt. This particular worker's job was to return the falling bottles to their place. He did the job for a few days, then one day left the job in the middle of the shift, rushed to the admin. block saying he wanted to quit because 'the bottles are coming, the bottles are constantly coming....' He could not cope with bottles coming, thousands of them during one shift and could not find any meaning in erecting the falling bottles day in and day out.

The third case recorded is of a foreman of the cold-end operators in BIC. His previous jobs had been in various workshops in town and he was a skilled worker of the artisan type. What he did in the factory did not seem to comply with what he knew work to be. He quit after a while, explaining his reasons in these words:

"Look brother (to the day-manager) I am gonna die. I have been working in this factory for three years now. I haven't seen once that the work in this factory ever comes to an end. What kind of a job is this?"

In a workshop the job is complete at the end of a day, unlike factory work where it is continuous, and he felt degraded. The interesting thing, in terms of habituation, is that the very same operator now works in the sodium plant of the same Holding Co., doing another factory job, but as a shift manager, and seems to be quite happy with it too.

The management's response to all these and similar cases was to employ new men to replace those who had quit, starting the habituation process all over again. Some improvement of working conditions did take place, not 'as a response to human suffering' as one engineer said, but only when efficiency considerations necessitated

a re-organization. "This is industry, that's the way it is" most of them say. This is simply the law that man, as species, is subject to - and the fittest survive.

The interesting question however is not why some workers could not be habituated, but indeed, how the ones that did were habituated. As will be clear by the analysis of the second phase of habituation below, forcing peasants to accommodate themselves to factory work is only the first step. Once this is achieved, others follow, degrading the workers further by gradually depriving them of the skill and meaning involved in work.

In the second phase of habituation, the union acts as an obstacle to the management rather than in a co-operating manner (as in the first phase). If it is not able to prevent altogether what the management wants to achieve, the union at least plays a hindering role. The number of men per machine has been an issue of continuous dispute between the two sides. For the management, it is a problem of increasing productivity by reducing labour costs, but it is also a problem of an increasingly heavy work load for the workers. Succumbing to managerial demands, in lowering the number of men each time the issue arises, is a loss of power for the union in the eyes of its rank and file members. As will be seen in chapter IX, where workers' definitions of the union are discussed, workers are aware that they are powerless against the management in resolving such disputes to their own advantage, unless they act collectively, i.e., through the union. However, workers also retaliate individually against management (a nightmare for management known as industrial sabotage).

One example of the second phase of habituation took place when a dispute over how many men should be on jar-packing per machine became an issue. The union insisted that there should be 8 men, and the managing director of BIC, after watching the men working, decided that 8 was too many. The problem was taken to the Research and Development Department, which carried out time and motion studies on the jar packers. Their conclusion was that 6 men were sufficient. It is interesting to note that the union could not object to this, since time and motion study is "scientific", and its findings therefore indisputable.

O. Koray admitted that 'of course, the workers were pressurised initially (after starting to work in groups of 6).' The method then used to habituate the workers was one of "subtle" persuasion. The workers were told how to do the job in order to catch up with the new pace, - "It was simply a matter of getting used to it." said O. Koray. "If the worker believes that he has nothing to lose by working hard, then he works. It is a must that he believes in this. Then he shows an 80-100% performance." This is the underlying managerial view, and in this, and the other cases cited above, one can grasp the invisibility of managerial control. It seems that to find evidence of 'hidden persuasion' one need not wait until Aldous Huxley's Brave New World becomes a reality.

On other occasions, however, the management was not so skilful in persuading the workers of the 'rationality' of fewer men doing a certain job. In the summer of 1978, the Reset glass-carriers started a spontaneous passive resistance, which alarmed the management. This took place in June, 1978, just before the new collective bargaining contract was to be signed in July. Manpower shortage had been a problem in this unit since January 1978, when the old contract expired and negotiations on the new one started. Management, while admitting the problem, had been postponing new recruitments until after the new contract was negotiated, in order to save money. Workers employed before the new contract would be entitled to the full benefits negotiated therein, whereas workers engaged afterwards would only receive a percentage of these benefits in their first year of employment.

Workers were aware that the management was prevaricating on the question of new recruits using the excuse that the new contract was not signed yet.

An ex-shop steward, who is now a rank and file worker in Reset, explained:

"This problem has a long history. Since last January they have been working on this. The set number for this unit is 121 men. Then, about 20 were made redundant, and no one was employed to replace them. Later, 9 were injured and were allocated to other departments. 95 men were left in Reset. Reactions to this came continuously from the shop-floor, and the syndicate leaders and the General Director made promises about it. Now another 20 are on holiday, so we are left with

76, for 8 machines, 4 shifts. The problem started in January, because at that time two additional machines were put into production. Even though that should have meant more recruitment, it was the opposite. All we got was promises from the General Director."

It was the statement put on the board one morning in June, 1978 by the managing director which triggered off the workers' hostility. The notice said that, from that date onwards there would be 2 men per machine - and that would be the norm. For the glass workers, this would mean 8 hours of heavy work, so heavy that the management had agreed previously that 2 work while 2 rest for half an hour. Having read the statement, the workers stopped sorting out the broken sheets of glass from the palettes, and refused to go for lunch. The protest quickly spread all over the site, and the majority did not eat including many foremen and managers. This protest is central to many issues pertaining to the union and consciousness etc., which will be analysed more thoroughly in the related chapters. For my purpose here, I want to emphasize the managerial-policy aspect of this conflict. A power-ridden manager who under-estimates the workers' reactions, can prevent a well-planned, persuasive managerial policy from achieving its aims. As soon as the movement started, the statement was removed from the board by the management, and another was posted, signed by the General Manager himself; saying that no such rule would be imposed (2 men per machine) and the vacancies would be filled as soon as possible. Soon, there were nine new recruits, and more men were promised by the General Director, after the implementation of the Contract.

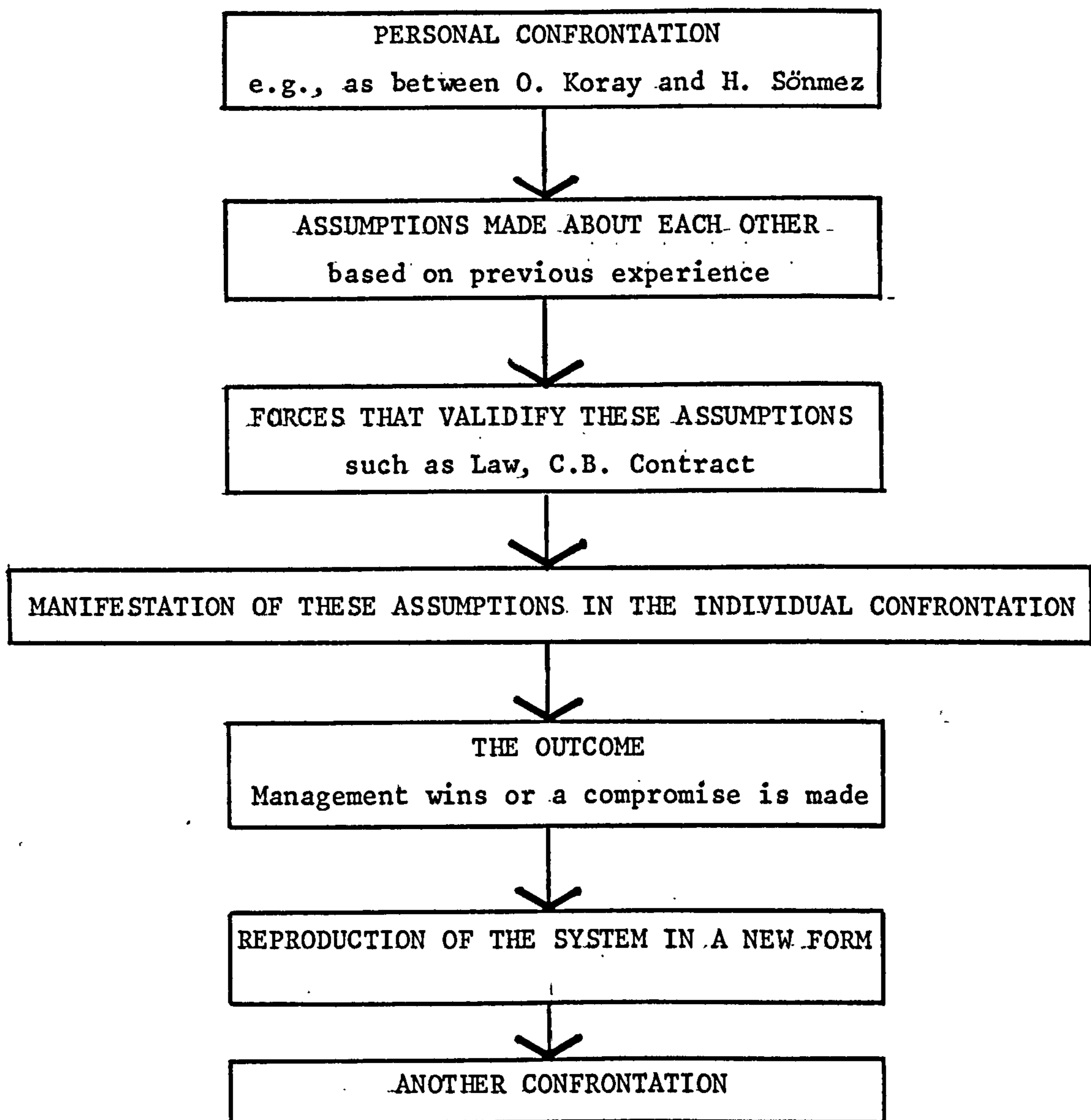
The second phase of habituation, as is seen above, is in its true nature a process of exerting strict managerial control on workers so that no one can doubt who makes the non-negotiable decisions; in short, who is the 'boss'. Many methods, from the so-called scientific to persuasive, or forceful, can be implemented in the course of this process. Yet, this phase of habituation has a more concrete aspect: it does not always take place on a grand scale, but occurs at every moment on a day-to-day basis, with every single encounter between manager(s) and worker(s).

An encounter between Osman Koray and the shift foreman of general maintenance and repair demonstrates one kind of method used by

management. A job of replacing a drum which carries glass fragments from floatation to the SG furnace had to be done as quickly as possible before the furnace ran out of glass fragments. Management had estimated the time needed to be 1 to 1½ hours, but Hasan Sönmez (the shift manager) said that his men would need 3 to 4 hours at least. Osman insisted that it was not only possible but necessary that it be done in his estimated time. In the end, the job was completed in 2 hours, and the furnace did not run out of glass fragments either!

One of the points to note of course, is that the Managing Director was not ordering the shift-foreman, but trying to impress him with the urgency and necessity of the task; and this, of course, was objective. More importantly however, not all foremen would stand up to a director on behalf of their men, and the workers who actually do the job have no power to control the way things develop. Because the management, and not the workers themselves, control the manner and pace at which their labour power is utilized, it often acts against them, as could clearly be seen when Osman said to Hasan in the above encounter: 'You've done it once before.' The next time, they'll be asked to do even more impossible tasks, in shorter times, and management will claim that it is 'simply a matter of getting used to it.'

Viewed analytically, the personal confrontation between the managers and workers, or top managers with lower rank managers (especially those who are in the category of both 'works and supervises') helps to reproduce the dominant position of the higher managers. This can be expressed schematically:



These personal confrontations sometimes take a more 'humane' form, which becomes yet another way of getting the workers' assent to work faster and to take more risks.

Arman Insan, a shift manager in SG production department does not use methods of rigid control, but employs techniques of persuasion with a human face. He is a good-natured man who likes to be on good terms with everyone, and this quality of his makes it all the more difficult for the workers to refuse the difficult tasks (not always included in their job definitions) he asks of them. One of his men summarized the situation:

"You (to A. Insan) come and ask us to do things that are impossible in the time you give us, and yet we still do it because of your sweet words."

It is not only the workers who are aware of the dilemma here. Arman himself admits the dilemma, and often questions how justified the role he plays is. He said:

"I am aware of what I am doing. I am taking things to the limit of bursting-out, helping the continuation - to its limits - of a work order that can no longer continue under these conditions. But, I know one day they (the workers) will say 'enough' to me, too. One day, I will say to them (as I usually do) 'come on my lions',* and it won't work. 'We have had enough' they will say."

A. Insan sees this as a dilemma not only because he upholds the objectionable conditions of work, but also because he himself lacks the power to alter them. He explained that he passes on to higher levels the workers' demands, and complaints, but that 'nothing changes, nothing is done about them'. Therefore, instead, he is nice to the workers as a compensation, yet his degree of 'niceness' is constrained by his position as a manager.

Whether the everyday interaction between the supervisors and the workers takes place on a formal/informal, hostile/friendly, inconsiderate/understanding basis does certainly make a difference to whether factory-life is easier, or more difficult to cope with, especially for the workers. There are individual flaws in the system of strict managerial control allowing some supervisors (who sometimes go beyond the bounds of 'nice manners') to take sides with the workers. In other words, every individual manager within the constraints imposed by the hierarchical system can choose to use the power he has over the workers in either one way or another. All the managers are confronted with the question of 'humanity' versus 'rationality'.

The case of an ill woman in BIC Quality Control suggests that it is possible for the manager to use his power in the interests of the worker, even though this may mean acting against the interests of the company and, in an indirect way, his own interests. This woman had had an operation and the resting period prescribed by the doctors had expired. She still felt too weak to work; wanting to go to the

* This is an endearing Turkish expression used for men especially, to encourage them by comparing them to a lion: strong and powerful, the 'head' of the animal kingdom. "There is nothing a lion can't do." is the inference.

capital for better treatment, she also needed money. There was a strong feeling of solidarity among the other Q.C. women, who put pressure on the manager to fire her so she would receive the redundancy payment, which she wouldn't get if she resigned. His solution was to suggest that she took 2 or 3 more days rest, and if she still felt too weak, to stay at home for two more days. According to the C.B. contract, any worker who doesn't clock-in for two successive days without telling the employer in advance/without a 'good' reason, can automatically be fired. For this day-manager, the choice was between 'humanity' and 'rationality'. In this case, humanity won. It must be noted however that the freedom to choose between these two alternatives cannot become the norm, since the system requires 'rationality', and 'rationality' in this context, excludes 'humanity'.

I want to conclude this section by emphasizing two characteristics of management: firstly, the management in FAB does not constitute a monolithic body, in terms of their practice and conceptions of management.¹⁴³ This can be explained in terms of the highly differentiated past work-experiences of the managers, and their class origins, both of which endow them with traditional values. These conflict with the requirements of the CLP at present; hence the need for, and emphasis on managerial seminars, to produce a more homogenous managerial group. These seminars based on foreign (largely U.S.) ideas¹⁴⁴ assist the growth of a tendency which is already contained in the CLP in FAB. This is the tendency to further the separation of conception and execution. Management is the agent of this tendency and regardless of their individual differences (in terms of beliefs, attitudes and practices) they ultimately regenerate the CLP and its ideology. The readiness with which the FAB management undertake this task is a result of their present 'class' position in relation to the workers.

The second point to be emphasised is that despite the 'good intentions' of some of the managers, because the two sides do not share a common cause, the gap between the workers and the managers cannot be bridged. On site, status, power, privileges place them in divided camps. In the morning, they do not leave the same type of houses; their family lives, concepts of friendship, respect etc., all vary; cultural formations and ideological influences they are exposed to are different.

All these differences are contained in the definition of their separate existence as labourers and as managers: the latter contribute to the exploitation of the former by controlling them throughout the labour-process, and the promotion of the managers relies totally on the efficiency of that control. Hence, although the managers' relation to the means of production (to capital) is not fundamentally different from that of the workers' (since neither of them own it), their respective situations in the labour process give rise to antagonistic interests.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNION

There is a lot to be said about Trade Unions in general, and the Turkish Trade Union Movement in particular. My purpose here however is limited to the concrete grounding of union activity in FAB, and particularly to those aspects which seem to have implications for the workers in shaping their views about the union and politics. That is, what impact the union actions and ideology have on workers and what the workers themselves see shop-floor politics to be. This chapter will give examples of union activities in FAB, leaving the assessment of the impact of these activities on forming workers' consciousness to later sections (Chapter IX, section (v) and Chapter X, sections (v) and (vi)).

So far as this chapter is concerned; a brief history is given in section (i), of the trade union movement in Turkey, with particular reference to DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Syndicates). While section (ii) is concerned with the politics of representation; section (iii) looks at the 'dual' nature of unionism under capitalism as exemplified in the FAB case. Finally, section (iv) deals with the issue of union and control, and the arising tensions between the union executive and the shop-floor. Addendum I at the end of the chapter gives a breakdown of labour movements, both union-organised and spontaneous, in FAB, since its establishment. Addendum II presents a detailed description of the union activities that took place in FAB, while this research was being carried out.

i) Trade Union Movement in Turkey, and DISK

Leaving aside the sporadic working-class movements of the nineteenth century, the beginning of an organized trade union movement in modern Turkey dates back to the early fifties.¹⁴⁵ It was in 1952 that the Federation of Turkish Workers Syndicates (TÜRK-IS) was founded. The establishment of Türk-is must be viewed within the context of the relations with the United States of America because, as A. Işikli, a prominent author of Trade-Union movement in Turkey explains, Türk-is

was the brainchild of A.I.D., I.C.F.T.U., A.F.L., and the American Embassy in Ankara.¹⁴⁶ The growing working-class movements for recognition of workers' rights and union representation put pressure on the Turkish Government, who in turn sought advice from United States experts, since Turkey was under the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Aid Programme.¹⁴⁷ In addition to the vast amounts of financial aid given by the above named organisations towards the setting-up of Türk-is, many Turkish unionists were taken to the U.S.A. for training in labour-leadership. As a result, it was possible to establish a trade-union Federation in Turkey, comparable to the American model of trade-unionism. The setting-up of Türk-is in this way, from above, can thus be seen as an impediment to the formation of a genuine working-class organisation, rather than as the ultimate realisation of the workers' right to organise.

The 1960 coup in Turkey, generally regarded as the coup of the industrial bourgeoisie against semi-feudal landlords and commercial capitalists, led to significant reforms in the Turkish Constitution.¹⁴⁸ Essentially, the new Constitution aimed at the creation of more favourable conditions for the development of industrial capitalism at the superstructural level, and it was considerably successful.¹⁴⁹ But what it also did was to legalise the right to strike and lock-out. A more liberal policy granted the trade unions the right to be politically active, and the new direction that the union movement took in Turkey was influenced by the socialist ideas that could be freely communicated in the atmosphere of freedom which the May 27th revolution brought.¹⁵⁰

It was due to such an atmosphere that the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) and an alternative trade-unions confederation to Türk-is, namely the Revolutionary Workers' Syndicates Confederation (DISK) could come into being: TIP stood in the 1965 general elections, and won 7 seats for the syndicalists (and 5 more in the 1969 elections), thus proving that there is room for alternative politics. Meanwhile, within the union movement, a strong opposition to the 'incorporationist' policy of the Türk-is leaders gained momentum and this opposition finally led to the establishment of DISK in 1967.¹⁵¹

With the impetus of the new Confederation another 18.7% of the Turkish workers were unionised by 1973, under either of the two confederations,

in addition to the 10.9% that were already organised in the mid-1960's.¹⁵² It must be noted here that most of these 29.6% organised workers belonged to the medium and large scale industries and the service sector, but agricultural workers were by and large un-unionised. At the end of the decade, approximately one quarter (2.5 million) of the Turkish labour-force were members of trade unions.¹⁵³

Finally, in order to bring this brief history up to date, the impact of the 12th September 1980 coup on the trade union movement should be added: On its first day the National Security Council, made up of the 5 generals who led the coup, banned all strikes and forced all workers back into work. DISK was immediately outlawed and most of its members, including the whole of its executive board, were subsequently arrested. Türk-is, on the other hand, is free to operate (except a few of its member-unions) subject to the newly imposed constraints on industrial relations, such as the ban on all forms of industrial action including the right to collective bargaining. Moreover, the general secretary of Türk-is is given a ministerial post in the cabinet which the generals formed.

ii) Politics of Representation

As mentioned before, FAB saw two unions in its history: Kristal-is (C.W.U. in English abbreviation), a member of Türk-is; and Hürcam-is (or F.G.W.) of DISK. During the initial years of FAB, C.W.U. represented the workers. Later, F.G.W. came on to the arena and won over the majority of the FAB workers, but C.W.U. still co-exists representing a small number. C.W.U. was the first union to have the right to represent the FAB workers because unionisation is arranged along the branches of industry in Turkey in such a way that the union which represents the majority of workers in a certain branch of industry (glassworks, in this case) has the right to organise the workers of any new factory in this branch of industry. C.W.U., which was strong elsewhere at the time thus had the right to branch-level representation of FAB workers. As for F.G.W., it has the factory-level representation-right in FAB because it now commands the majority of FAB workers' support. Because of these two different levels of representation, the two unions can co-exist in FAB.

Such co-existence however is dictated by rivalry, and it often causes division and hostility on the shop-floor. This was the principal item on the agenda at the first union meeting held while I was there (which will be discussed in some detail below). Since then the rivalry between the two unions came to an end by their amalgamation in November 1979. The reason for this was declared to be "to unite against the monopoly power of (glassworks) employers".¹⁵⁴ By this time, however, the Collective Bargaining (C.B.) contract to last till the end of the year was already finalised, and as such the amalgamation of the two syndicates did not have any impact on this round of bargaining in FAB. On next years talk, in January 1980, the joint-forces strength was apparent. This time negotiations with the employers came to a dead-lock with the result that glassworkers on all the sites of the Holding Co. decided to resort to strike action. This strike was still on in September 1980, when the coup took place, and was banned as a result of it.¹⁵⁵

We now go back to examine the union's (F.G.W.'s) actions in FAB before the amalgamation of the two unions.

The unionist activity in FAB gives the impression that it is predominantly geared to collective bargaining, and that other phenomena are secondary to this preoccupation. The issues raised during, and after, the C.B. negotiations in January 1978-also centred around talks on pay, but in this case, these issues had a more direct relevance for an all-embracing union politics and working class movement.¹⁵⁶

F.G.W. insisted on settling the question of branch-level representation before the C.B. talks could be finalised. This was important to F.G.W. because if they also had the branch-level representation-right, which they believed was their due in view of the support they commanded in FAB, then they could stand more firmly against the management.

The issue 'who represents FAB workers' is not a matter of simple arithmetics, although even the employer knows the exact numbers of each union's members on site (since it is the employer who deducts the union-affiliation fees from wages and pays this amount to the unions). The issue is much more complicated: first, each union presents its case to the local Labour Authority, which takes over the job of determining the size of membership. This first stage was already

under way when a union general meeting was held. At this meeting, F.G.W. (as part of DISK's nationwide policy) was propagating the use of the methods of referendum and 'statement-of-will', which were argued to be more democratic and conclusive. The educational secretary of F.G.W., who came from Istanbul for the meeting, explained to the rank and file that:

"Arithmetical calculations would not be sufficient for us to gain the right of representation at the branch level.¹⁵⁷ The decisive factor is political; for example, it depends on who controls the Local Disputes Authority, and also on the loopholes in the law. A drawback to the industrial laws for example is that a worker can belong to more than one union. Secondly, there is no way of knowing whether the signature on the membership card genuinely belongs to the worker concerned. The third point is that, there is no referendum-right (to determine the true numbers of members). Even the 'statement-of-will' method is only legalised recently."

To DISK, referendum is the most democratic method, and for a long time they have been nationally campaigning for the Right-to-Referendum.¹⁵⁸ (Türk-is, on the other hand, was happy to keep referendum illegal.) Until the time when referendum is recognized by the government, DISK has a policy of supporting the method of 'statement-of-will' in preference to some vague arithmetic calculations.

'Statement-of-will' is the word-for-word translation of the Turkish term 'IRADE BEYANI'. This system works such that each worker is individually taken to a room and asked to declare, in the presence of a government representative, which of the two unions he/she supports. This method is regarded as democratic and a secret ballot, however, since the worker is forced to state his choice in the presence of the government representative, it can hardly be defined so. In the FAB case, the possibility of the presence of a management representative in the ballot room shed further doubts about this method's democratic nature and even led F.G.W. to ask the workers to refuse to vote unless the management representative left the room.

F.G.W.'s position indicates that there are two undercurrent assumptions they make: one is that the workers, when pressurised, can change their union while in the room, especially if he is not a politically committed member. The other is that the employers and the government representative may put pressure on the workers to support C.W.U., which

in turn, is based on the assumption that the employer prefers Türk-iş to DISK. This latter assumption is based on facts however, and at least for the FAB case, one manager admitted to me that they preferred C.W.U. to F.G.W. This certainly relates to the respective politics of the two confederations: Türk-iş confining itself mainly to improving economic conditions, and DISK which claims to struggle along class lines, aiming ultimately at the overthrow of the capitalist system. Furthermore, it is a fact that some of the DISK syndicates have gained better economic conditions for their workers than Türk-iş syndicates have done.¹⁵⁹

These considerations account for the reservations F.G.W. had for 'statement-of-will'. "Arithmetic calculations", on the other hand, to determine the right to branch-level representation, were regarded even less satisfactory because F.G.W. believed the management and C.W.U. to be collaborating to show non-aligned workers as C.W.U. members. It was also F.G.W.'s conviction that when such disputes were taken to first, the local authority, and then to court, the employer's declaration and documentation (of the number of members of each union) were regarded to be more valid than the union's.

These concerns led DISK in general and F.G.W. in the FAB's case to be more determined in their struggle to gain the right to a referendum. This was the message conveyed to the floor during the meeting.

A related attitude of the union and various individual workers should be noted here: it is the total disbelief in law and the conviction that the law is always on the employer's side. This certainly has important implications for union politics and the consciousness of the rank-and-file. It takes the question of shop-floor politics beyond the boundaries of the workplace, and transposes it to a struggle between the state (with its legal institutions) and the working classes. F.G.W.'s position in this respect is one of broadening its politics to convince its members that rights must be fought for, and cannot be taken for granted. The majority of FAB workers supporting F.G.W. can therefore be interpreted as workers consenting to DISK's struggle for the right to a referendum, and to its political content as reflected in its against-the-state characteristic.

Until the right to a referendum is gained, the solution to right of

branch-level representation lies with the local authorities. For FAB the authorised labour officer is located in a town far from the workplace. The significance of this is twofold: the first is that workers themselves, who are the party most affected by the decisions to be taken, are not allowed to participate, in any real sense, in the decision-making process. Secondly, the place of decision-making is physically and metaphorically distanced away from the source of the problem - the point of production. The physical distance manifests itself in that authorised personnel are located miles away and thus the only evidence that is conclusive to their decision-making are those produced on paper. It is not an unknown fact that there can be grave misconducts in such procedure. (We have already seen, in chapter VI, how documents can be filled in with misleading information.) The metaphorical distancing refers to the fact that the local authorities' loyalty is to the government and not necessarily to the workers and their families. It is not their concern how such bureaucratic decisions can have significant implications for the latter.¹⁶⁰

This is one significant manifestation of corporate bureaucratic decision-making, and of the separation of conception and execution on a nationwide scale. And as this case clearly shows, this separation is not based on technical concerns but is a manifestation of class concerns. A referendum is technically the most efficient method of resolving such union disputes, and since this enables the workers and unions to decide for themselves, this counteracts the bureaucratic, institutional and managerial control over the workers.*

iii) Trade Unions, Capitalism, and F.G.W.

A further manifestation of the separation of conception and execution (or power to control, and subject to control) is the low degree of shop-floor participation in union affairs. The workers are aware of this, and often express their frustration. For example, during the

* Both Local Authority's decision, and the results of the 'statement-of-will' were inconclusive as to which of the unions had the right to branch-representation. The problem was solved however, when the two unions amalgamated in November 1979.

union meeting mentioned above, one worker promptly said:

"You forget that the real game is played between the employer and the workers, and not between the two unions."

This was a sobering reminder to the union officials, expressing the workers' discontent about the union's focus of attention on its own interests as an organisation, more than on the interests of the workers. The union officials claim that this is for the benefit of the workers, however such an identification of the union with the workers collective is not always justified, and certainly not seen in these terms by many workers. The tension and conflict between the discrepant attitudes of the rank-and-file and the union executive become divisive forces, often more effective than the divisive attempts of the management in deterring the workers from partaking in the unionist struggle.

The issue is well illustrated by the following two cases: the first case involves a female worker, Jale, known to be extremely hard-working who used to be very actively involved in union politics. She was subjected to tremendous pressure from the management, including confrontation with the Discipline Committee and also verbal threats by various managers, who wanted her to stop her active participation in the union. The management did not have a legitimate reason to sack her because, as she explains,

"My superintendents were quite aware that I work more than anyone else."

In the end it was not the management who defeated her, but the ideological conflicts with the union officials. She belonged to the independent socialist opposition group in the union, which was in direct confrontation with the 'party-members' that made up the union executive.¹⁶¹ It was the contention of this opposition group that the shop-floor issues should come first in the union, rather than promotion of the interests of the union officials' party, and atheistic propaganda which, the opposition believed, had adverse effects on the rank-and-file.

Kasim, a process-control chargehand, shares Jale's criticisms, being a 'socialist' himself. He also comes from a rural background and knows, for example, how sensitive the question of religion can be for many

FAB workers with similar backgrounds. While he, himself, is fully converted, he thinks, in general, that:

"the workers should be won step-by-step in transforming them into class-conscious proletariat." But, "the present union cannot achieve this since they hold the party interests above the union's and the workers."

Kasim found the solution in committing himself to an independent struggle for socialism on the shop¹-floor.

One way of consciousness-raising, by the union, is through educational seminars - recognised under the C.B. contracts. However, until 1978 there was only one such seminar, on Marxist economy-politics, which did more harm than good. At the end of the meeting, the union officials tried to sell their party's propaganda leaflets, which led the workers to say "they gathered us here to make party propaganda, and to convert us to communism."¹⁶² It is clear that the union failed, in such educational seminars, to convince the workers of a connection between the immediate problems at the place of production and the wider socio-economic and political issues.

One further doubt cast in Jale's, Kasim's, and many others' minds about what the union really stands for relates to the 'last strike', in 1976. This was the only strike in FAB until 1980 and therefore the experience of this strike and the lessons learnt have had a significant impact on the workers, especially in forming their views about what industrial action and working-class movements are.

The strike failed to improve the workers' economic conditions. Furthermore, during the twenty-five days it lasted, the union was unable to pay compensation to its members, and therefore the feelings of 'failure', among the workers, were all the more widespread.¹⁶³ The workers' initial excitement and will to actively participate in the strike was somewhat hampered when they found outsider 'extreme-leftists', instead of the union executive, leading the strike. Also, some of the slogans chosen by the union for the strike, such as "Independent Turkey", "M.C. resign",¹⁶⁴ "Down with the fascist government", were regarded to be "irrelevant to the workers' economic struggle" as one worker put it, and this shed further doubt about the true goals of the strike. (All this was used by the opponent union,

C.W.U., as a means of counter-propaganda, disseminating the idea that the strike was ideological and not economic in nature.)

For the F.G.W. officials however, the strike was a success since, as the union leader is quoted to have said:

"during the strike this factory turned into a consciousness-raising university for the workers. This is a great achievement." He also admitted that they "did not go out on strike for an economical struggle but for an ideological one."

The concepts of success and failure in their discrepant use by the union officials and the rank-and-file respectively, encapsulate the classic situation of the debate about "economism" and working-class consciousness. In this context, the union officials' notions of the 'political' and the 'ideological' needs to be examined more closely.

For the union, a direct action like the 1976 strike in FAB, is political in nature even though it was principally called for concrete pay and other more immediate issues and as such the participant workers did not necessarily conceive of it as a political matter. It is true that the strike imbued political awareness among the workers, amid strong feelings of solidarity, and that those days are still vivid in the memories of many workers as a valuable, teaching and empowering experience.

"During the strike", one worker said, "you got this sense of extreme power, what you can do collectively, and what it means to be working-class."

But this still does not tell us whether the workers would have responded as wholeheartedly as they did, had the strike been originally defined, by the union, to be an 'ideological' one.

The implications of the union's struggle and its perceived failure by its members are related to a theme which figures strongly in this thesis. It is the theme of the various manifestations of the separation of conception and execution; a phenomenon which characterises the capitalist mode of production or more specifically, the capitalist labour process.¹⁶⁵ The point to be raised here is that separation of the decision-making power of the union officials, and the workers as the subjects of the decision-making is not radically different from the

separation of conception and execution in the labour-process whereby the two functions are undertaken by the management and the workers respectively. This similarity, it must be emphasised, refers to the use of separation of conception and execution as a mechanism of control. Managers and union officials, in this respect agree on one important assumption, namely that the workers are incapable of deciding what is best for themselves. The union must therefore assume the role of leadership. In the management's case, the workers must be controlled presumably because, left alone, they would be unable to run the business. Just as it is clear that the managerial control on the workers is not for the causes they present; similarly, the hierarchical control mechanism within the union is not because the workers are 'illiterate, ignorant, apolitical, or not-class-conscious'¹⁶⁶ as the union leaders tend to see them, but because the union officials have vested interests to protect. This, to a large extent, eliminates the possibility of internal democracy: the decisions are first made by the union officials, and then (if at all) opened to discussion by the rank-and-file. The ordinary worker does not have access to the union's or the confederation's central decision-making bodies, and the union's decision-making procedure is carefully designed to render a possible challenge fruitless.

That existentially the 'unionists' and the rank-and-file workers do not share the same conditions of factory work sets them apart, and this accounts for the former's vested interests in the existing hierarchy. Every C.B. contract specifies the 'rights' of union officials and the shop-stewards. Their privileges are fully recognised by the management, and they allow the shop-stewards and other unionists to avoid some of the more oppressive conditions of work.¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, being a 'unionist' elevates one above an ordinary-worker status - most of the ones I met had that self-confidence the ordinary worker lacked. Being a 'unionist' is being something over and above a labourer; it opens the possibility of climbing up the union hierarchy, providing them with a sense of social mobility, of getting somewhere. Whereas to be a worker, as a glass-carrier noted, is to get nowhere:

"You neither go forward, nor backward. You are a worker, and that's all there is to it. Your situation never changes."

On the whole, that the 'unionists' are different is apparent in their manners, speech and clothing. Indeed, their lifestyles are closer to that of the managers. Because workers are aware of these differences between themselves and the unionists, most of them think that they are 'out for themselves'.¹⁶⁸

For the union, however, the difficulties they confront in carrying out unionism along class-lines stem mainly from the characteristics of the FAB workers. These traits, as the union leader himself described, account for the apolitical nature of the rank-and-file. They can be summed up as:

- 1) The rural background of workers;
- 2) Lack of a unionist and a revolutionary tradition.

The latter partly derives from the former, but the regional differences in the degree of industrialisation also play a role. Being mostly first generation industrial workers, lack of a working-class tradition from which the workers can derive modes of conduct in periods of crisis, and the absence of a revolutionary experience (of the kind metal-workers and miners have) make the FAB workers "a difficult case" as the union leader said, for F.G.W. He drew my attention to the workers' attitudes in relation to the C.B. negotiation periods: that in the pre-C.B. periods they are highly politicised, while in the post-C.B. periods a conformist attitude is apparent. This is because "in the former case, the workers believe they have nothing to lose", whereas after the C.B. is finalised "a cowardice impinges on them following the new gains made", he explained.

These are problems unique to FAB. Yet, they are also related to the inherent problems of unionism in a capitalist set-up. These problems (which I will come back to, in detail, below) are particularly significant in the case of F.G.W., a member of the Revolutionary Workers' Syndicates Confederation (DISK) which puts the political struggle over and above the economic struggle. For the union officials, who are also members of a socialist political party, the struggle is principally a class-struggle. Therefore, their position is beset by the contradictions that arise out of the incommensurate nature of attempting to combine the

trade-union struggle, and the revolutionary party's struggle for leadership of the working-class - as formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.¹⁶⁹

Marx and Engels, particularly in their early writings on trade unions, argue that labour is subordinated economically in the workplace, which is maintained by both the production process inside the factories and pressure created by the reserve army outside. Therefore,

"any fight here (that is, in the workplace) for meaningful economic reform, while necessary as a confidence-building exercise, is purely utopian if it expects real gains."¹⁷⁰

Lenin also differentiates between the economic struggle of trade-union movements, and the class struggle of a revolutionary party, the former confining itself to gaining economic concessions, while the latter is directed towards challenging and finally overthrowing the capitalist system.

What Marx, in Value, Price and Profit, states illuminates the true dilemma that confronts the trade-union movements and is particularly relevant to the experience of the FAB union. Hence I quote at length:

"I think I have shown that their (unions') struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system; that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labour, and the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent to their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement. At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction, that they are applying palliatives, not curing malady."¹⁷¹

The union leaders are, theoretically, aware of the relationship between the wage-system and the conditions of the workers in FAB: all the hand-outs and educational brochures that they printed during the C.B. period are full of references to the 'fascist' government and to the

capitalist system; their difference to Türk-is is precisely because they see a connection between the class nature of the society and the resulting servitude of the workers, and also because they believe the class-line politics of DISK syndicates can achieve better standards for their members.

The following extract from one of the pamphlets, distributed by F.G.W. during the 'statement-of-will' period, illustrates how the union sees itself and its confederation:

"F.G.W. is a member of DISK.

Those who sell the workers for a few pennies have no place in F.G.W.

F.G.W. undertakes a tooth-and-nail' fight, so that the workers take home more.

When a member is sacked, F.G.W. takes-on the management till the end.

Whether F.G.W.-affiliated or not, F.G.W. works for all glass-workers.

F.G.W. defends workers all-the-way.

F.G.W. recognises that the workers have the say and the vote (on union matters).

And, F.G.W. does not just confine itself to unionist struggle. It uses union rights to the full. Yet, to overcome poverty, it believes that signing a good contract is not sufficient. It maintains that workers should have a say in the running of the state, too." (My emphasis)

On the front cover of the same pamphlet, one of the reasons why, the union urges, the workers should vote for F.G.W., reads:

"For revolutionary class unionism - vote F.G.W."

These extracts do not only show how F.G.W. describes and presents itself to the workers, but also neatly summarises the confusion that the union officials find themselves in: as part of a trade-union movement, they are inherently confined and limited in their struggle, yet at an ideological level they assume the mantle of the agent of revolutionary social change. They fail to articulate the limited nature of the trade-union movement to the rank-and-file. An emphasis on this would mean

self-negation, given their own definition of themselves.

The contract signed by the union at the time of my research, and the workers' reaction to it, are significant reflections of both F.G.W. policies and the mechanisms that operate in determining the boundaries of a trade-union movement. The C.B. talks finished in July 1978, six months after they started. The union had to sign a contract which was regarded as a sell-out by the majority of workers, and in some cases violence followed: Three union officials were beaten up brutally, ending up in hospital. Subsequently, they also lost their union posts. The events of this period are given in detail in Addendum II to this chapter. Here, I want to consider the workers' reaction to the C.B. contract, and the structural factors, as well as the factors specific to FAB, that may go some distance towards explaining the union's role in causing such reactions, and also the union's activities during this period.

The contract granted a 10 T.L. increase in pay per hour, as well as a general rise in social benefits, premiums and over-time pay.¹⁷² The workers were not content with these. It needs to be emphasised that what lay behind their fury was not only that they thought the rises were insufficient to cover inflation, but they actually questioned whether these gains corresponded to their labour and effort. "See how (much) we work here, and look what the union got for us", remarked more than one. Others felt humiliated by the 2.50 T.L. extra given as compensation for the hazards of night-shift.

"It is like a bad joke. Do they have any idea what it means to work at night? Let them come and work at night and we'll pay them 2.50 lira for it"

was how one worker felt about it. Such comparisons of their labour's real value with the value recognised in the contract led to much frustration. This, to an extent, explains the workers' overt reactions against the union officials.

However, the union's mode of conduct prior to the C.B. contract can also be regarded as a cause of this outcome. By emphasising the power of DISK in negotiating with the 'bosses' by virtue of its class politics, they kept the level of workers' aspirations very high. When the

negotiations were completed, despite the fact that the pay-rise was considerably higher than the standards prevailing in Turkey at the time, this did not alter the position of servility of the workers. Hence the disappointment of the workers was as intense as their expectations in the first place.

More significant is the fact that on issues other than pay, such as worker-participation in the management or industrial safety, the new contract included nothing whatsoever. As the result of a union poll afterwards indicated, most workers were clearly dissatisfied and were ready to press their claims by direct action (see Addendum II). But the union was not prepared to pay much attention. It was unwilling to launch an official strike perhaps because it did not want the workers to discover that there was no money, yet again, in the strike-fund. In any case, the union once again lost credibility among the workers for somewhat deserting them, instead of guiding them.

Another consideration that the union officials had in mind was the delicate political situation in Turkey. With martial law in operation, any working-class movement ran the risk of suppression. The government in power, Ecevit's social democratic Republican People's Party (RPP), was dependent on eleven independent M.P.'s for the narrowest margin of a majority in the Parliament, and therefore was not in the best position to help the trade-union movement which played a major role in bringing them to power. Much to the contrary, it was again Ecevit who needed all the help he could get, at least to exercise that limited and delicate power he had, and in this context the government felt justified in asking for further favours from the trade-union movement in the form of co-operation to overcome the ever-increasing economic crisis. This clearly also influenced the F.G.W.'s decision not to call an all-out strike, and conveniently constituted a legitimate reason for restraining the FAB workers (see the extracts from a union pamphlet in Addendum II).

The union's shift of emphasis before and after the C.B. negotiations is also worth noting. Before the contract was signed, the stress was on an all-empowering class-struggle. This message was conveyed in such a manner as to give the impression to the rank-and-file that by a new contract, the workers' situation could be radically altered. After

the negotiations were completed, the union claimed that what they achieved was objectively realistic. This was a victory for the union, and if any further gains could not be made, the blame had to go on the social order, on the hostility against DISK and its politics. That is, the social structure and the trade union's situation in it did not allow for radical changes. Now, the union officials shifted the emphasis on to what they called the limited power of trade-unions for bettering the conditions of the working-class.

This explanation from the union came too late, though. It did not convince the workers. Especially after some bottles of whisky¹⁷³ were found in the union's car, the workers thought they had every reason to believe that the union officials had sold out.

They might have done. Yet, to interpret the outcome in terms of the bargaining-power of the individual union officials would not be accurate. Not only are there structurally imposed constraints on the trade union movement, but also the unionists face, at the other end of the negotiation table, well-organised and experienced management representatives. The Holding Company has a centralised and specialised group of managers for purposes of industrial relations. The union representatives' bargaining power clearly does not compare well with that of such a specialised group of managers, as is seen during the course of day-to-day negotiations.

As one ex-shop steward explained to me, the management was very experienced in the way they 'convincingly' presented their arguments, which often led the union to doubt their case, and withdraw. Such was the issue of over-time payment: The management put it to the unions that it was 'unfair' to the company to have to pay double to the worker who, after all, only replaces an absentee colleague on an extra shift. The head of the managerial board explained:

"In terms of the work done, whether this man works, or some other, it is all the same to me. So why should I have to pay 100% more for the same work if some worker does not turn up to work and another one has to correct his fault? But if you say I should cut two days' wages from the absentee and give it to the 'replacer', then it is O.K. with me."

The shop-steward who recalled this occasion admitted that they were

totally taken in by this logic, and could not help but accept that the management's deal was fair. If it were not for an equally experienced union central committee member, the union would have given in on this issue.

By making an issue of something in which they cannot possibly win (in most large work-places in Turkey, double-wage for an extra-shift is a recognised rule) and then giving-in in a demonstration of 'good-will' after making certain that the union see their point of view, the management is thus usually able to demand 'good-will' from the union on some other issue on the agenda.

Another aspect of the negotiations that should be underlined is that the union is usually unable to present an alternative way of defining the 'problem'. This indicates the significance of what I will term the 'unequal equipment' of the two sides. What is meant here is that the unionists, in comparison to the managers, are poorly equipped with the necessary skills, knowledge and experience to pull the weight of the scale to their side. The only alternative way of looking at the issue that the union could think about, in the above case, was to remind them that it was the management's responsibility to organise the work, and that the management could train a group of 'replacement workers' to solve the problems. When I suggested to the ex-shop-steward mentioned above, that this was already a common practice in some of the Western European countries, his reply was indicative of the crucial importance of 'unequal equipment':

"We are nothing more than simple workers. How are we to know about such things? Especially in those days, we practiced unionism improvisingly. We knew very little about work-law, or unionism, or anything else. Most of us had just a vague idea of what a strike is, what collective bargaining is. We were just finding out about these step-by-step."

The union in FAB has come a long way from those days to the present: Now they are certainly more informed, and feel more confident. There is also a movement from C.W.U. to F.G.W. Yet the union in FAB still remains a capitalist institution, at times hindering the development of independent trade-union movements or larger movements of the working-class. This is exemplified in section (iv) below:

iv) Union and Control

Hence, the union functions in mainly two modes, (1) as representatives of workers and (2) as an institution of the capitalist system. These are not two separate, isolated functions: the union, in representing the workers' interests, does this as an institution of capital. But in serving workers' interests, it also secures capital's domination over labour. As the FAB case clearly demonstrates, the trade union movement is ridden by internal contradictions. On the one hand, it is a hierarchical organisation with a legal status, operating within the set political boundaries, and thus, on the other hand, limiting its achievements for the working-class, and more significantly, to an extent, preventing the emergence of independent labour movements. It is this latter feature that marks the trade union as an institution of capital.

In the everyday struggle with the management, the unions remain relatively powerless due to the concentration of technical and other knowledge in the hands of the management, as well as to the inequality in the negotiating power of the union and the management. This emerges from each party's class positions which find expression in the nature of their respective training. To the extent that this is socially determined, that is, by the relations of production outside the workplace, it is beyond the power of individual unionists to alter the conditions to their own advantage. On the other hand, what power they possess is not always used for a more extensive shop-floor struggle: at least in the FAB case, the relative privileged position of the unionists as opposed to the rank-and-file stood in the way of a strong workplace struggle by the union. Furthermore, the use of the trade-union movement, by some unionists, as a social ladder that would rescue them from the servility of ordinary worker status, occasioned a further impediment in the struggle for the betterment of the conditions of the working-class.

That both of the aforementioned functions were carried out concomitantly is discovered in the practices of the two successive unions in FAB. When the glass-carriers revolted against the reduction of men per machine, to give but one example, the union leader telephoned the

'ring-leader' of the workers to tell him to immediately stop the passive resistance. The union would hold talks with the management and settle the matter. The workers' response was to remind him that this was not a new issue, and that many such talks had already been held. Nothing was so far achieved and the men were simply 'fed-up'. The determination of the workers to carry out the action despite the union, changed the leader's mind, and the action was made official. By this time, the resistance had spread all over the site. The union's taking over helped only in preventing victimization.

It is interesting to note that the General Director's reaction to the union leader, as a result of this, was:

"What kind of a union are you? You can't even control your own men!"

This is the precise function the management expects of the union: to control workers so that they do not independently organise. The management prefers to deal with institutionalised labour-movements, not sporadic revolts by the workers.

This above machine-manning problem in Reset is six-months old, during which time the union was preoccupied with its own organisational problems (it was both the C.B. period and also the time for an emergency general meeting, called in order to synchronise branch-elections with the Central Committee elections). By giving priority to organisational concerns, and thus by submitting to management's decision on how many men to employ and when to employ them, the union aided the managerial control over workers.

Similarly, during July 1978, the majority of workers made it known to the union that they were ready to go out on strike when they were dissatisfied with the management's pay offers. (For further details, see Addendum II.) However, the union had already signed the contract without the workers' apparent knowledge. This prevented the workers from carrying out their chosen action, because from a legal point of view, the C.B. contract establishes that no longer can there be an unsettled dispute between the management and the workers. Consequently, there is no legitimate reason to strike. In this case, too, the union was an obstacle to workers' aspirations and their freedom of action.

It is in cases such as these it becomes clear that trade unions are also means of aiding capitalist control over the workers.

To conclude, it needs to be stated that even within the structural limitations, other shortcomings and deliberate misdemeanours, the union still represents and safeguards the workers' interests at the point of production. It is a service-rendering organisation, a facility for the workers. It also allows the workers to realise their collective strength. That the majority of the FAB workers conceive of their union in such terms is one of the most revealing findings of this research. The relevant data appears in Chapter IX.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER VII

I

Labour-movements that took place in FAB are given in the book called The History of the Turkish Working Class, and its Struggles. In chronological order, these are, as given in the book:

March 1974: In FAB, 150 workers are sacked due to changing their unions to F.G.W.

1st September 1975: 700 workers in FAB started a passive resistance movement protesting the death of a worker as a result of an industrial accident. The workers demand industrial security.

6th November 1975: 1200 workers in FAB, all members of F.G.W. (a union of DISK) started a resistance against the employer. The movement was to protest against the sacking of 14 workers due to their union activities. The movement was lifted when the employer accepted to fulfil the workers' demands.

23rd January 1976: 1200 workers in FAB, all members of F.G.W. (a union of DISK) started an indefinite boycotting of meals. The reason for the boycott was to protest against 1) The local Labour Authority who did not bring to a conclusion, within the legally recognised time, the dispute over the right of representation of the unions. 2) The employer, who violated the rule of impartiality in the selection of the union.

25th April 1976: 1200 workers in FAB, all members of F.G.W. (a union of DISK) started a 3-day meal boycott to protest against the C.B. negotiations coming to a dead-end.

Source: The History of the Turkish Working Class, and its Struggles, a TIB (The Economists Union) publication, No.16, Ankara 1976, pp.283-325.

The data compiled in this source covers the period up to May 1976.
The labour movements in FAB after this period are:

July 1976: All the members of F.G.W. went out on strike when the C.B. negotiations came to a dead-end. Only some members of the C.W.U. joined the strike. It lasted for 25 days, and was ended by a government decree. After a period of postponement, the union could still call for the strike, yet an agreement was reached with the employer.

July 1978: All workers in Reset department in FAB, and many others on the site (the exact numbers unknown) started a meal boycott against the management who reduced the number of men per machine from 4 to 2 in the Reset department. Many foremen and shift-managers are recorded to have joined the meal boycott. The boycott ended when the management employed new men for the Reset department.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER VII

II

This addendum mainly covers the details of the union activities prior to, during, and after the signing of the C.B. contract in 1978 while this research was being carried out. The references made in pages 167, 168 and 172 of the text relate to the issues covered in this addendum.

All throughout the six months period between January and July 1978, the whole site was boiling with the tension created by the ongoing negotiations between the union and the management. It seemed to me that the situation was ready to explode any time although most managers and old unionists thought it was going much smoother this time than it had been in previous periods. This is important because such a comparison could prove useful in assessing whether managerial and union control over labour was able to incorporate the workers, thus reducing the hostility and the rising tension between the managers and the workers. In the previous C.B. period (1976) the workers had picketed, calling the managers "bosses' dogs", "exploiters", "blood-suckers". There was also tremendous unrest among the workers, and cases of industrial sabotage rapidly increased. Compared with that period, in 1978, the site certainly appeared calmer.

During the period of concern here, political and policy differences between the union central executive and the branch took them so far as to contradict each other during the negotiations with the management. The talks came to a dead-lock as a result. The management shovelling the unionists away saying that they should resolve their own conflicts first.

Meanwhile, two opposition groups were formed among the workers against the union executive. The difference between the opponent groups and the union executive was political, in that, one group was mainly composed of PRP supporters, the other, supporters of a rival socialist party to the party supported by the union executive. Right in the middle of these turbulent days, the union called for an extraordinary general meeting, which was normally due after the signing of the new

C.B. contract. This was interpreted by the rival groups as serving only the interests of the present committee members. There was soon going to be a general meeting of the central committee at the branch level in Istanbul, and it was a possibility for the FAB union leader and the secretary to be elected for the central committee posts, provided that they held their posts in the FAB branch until that meeting which was due six months later. During this time, the C.B. contract would have been signed, and had the workers not liked it, they could have brought down the union executive during the union general meeting had it been left to take place when it was normally due. This would be the end of their careers as unionists, of the union leader and the executive.

One other reason quoted by some of the opposition members for the union to call for an earlier, extraordinary general meeting was that 'various tricks could be played during the elections if the union leaders held it when they were still in power since only they would then have access to union facilities, have more say in choosing the chairperson and the elective body etc.' Things indeed seemed to work out this way; the union leader was re-elected, despite the fact that 8 out of 11 shop-stewards were replaced by members of the opposition groups.

The C.B. negotiations carried on, with some of the new shop-stewards, but because the latter were inexperienced, the old cadre still took the lead. Besides, until then, the union had already agreed on many items with the management.

One day, when workers were still expecting to hear from the unionists who were negotiating in Istanbul, and not getting any consistent news from the union, all sorts of rumours adding to the situation which was already very tense, the news was dropped by the management which had the effect of a bomb. On the 3rd of July, the management spread the news that the contract was signed. On one occasion, the day-manager entering his office said 'congratulations' to the workers, 'the new C.B. contract is signed'. The shop steward who was then called in by the workers argued fiercely that he had made a telephone call to Istanbul the previous night and learnt from the union-leader himself that the contract was not signed.

accordingly, and the remaining hours will be paid by 85% extra on the normal wage.

9. The pay-rises granted by this contract are to be calculated as a percentage of the government determined subsistence wages.

NAME: _____

I accept this offer

I do not accept this offer

Signed

Signed

Several points should be raised about this questionnaire form. First of all, that names should occur on the form indicates that the union wants to know not only the numbers of 'yes' and 'no' answers, but also who have said 'yes' or 'no'. Secondly, there are no explanations about the rest of the contract, concerning vital issues such as industrial security, reduction of work hours per week, the union's demand to hold educational seminars on site; shoe, overalls, sugar and tea allowances, and many others. Thirdly, the last item, is very general and open to interpretation. The majority of FAB workers do not work for subsistence wages anyway, but well above it. Hence it is not clear whether this article applies to all FAB workers or only to recently recruited ones who are employed at subsistence wages. It seems more likely that the former applies, in which case some of the seemingly high pay rises will, in effect, be reduced to near to nothing for the majority of the FAB workers.

As far as I could find out - at the time - by asking the workers I met, and talking to various others who knew what their group signed; the outcome of the questionnaire was an obvious 'no'. This was the same as saying 'yes' for a strike. This was taken no notice of by the union executive; and it could not have been, because the contract was already signed. The union was simply hoping that the vote would be a 'yes'; thereby turning the contract to a victory. It did not work out as expected. The management played an important role in determining the rank-and-file's reaction to the contract. When the questionnaire was given out by the union I was already told by one of the managing directors that the contract was already signed, but the management

was also involved in the conspiracy with the union against the workers. The management cunningly manipulated the situation: on the one hand they 'co-operated' with the union allowing them to give out the questionnaire although it was too late, and also by not officially announcing that the contract was made, i.e., by holding back the press statement. On the other hand, by permitting some of the managers to spread the news that the contract was already made, the management spoilt the plans of the union predicating the executive's resignation; thus paving the way for the stronger opposition group - that group which supports a social democratic politics. (Members of this group were already seen in the Admin. block, holding private talks with the management.) Thus the management was able to kill two birds with the same stone.

When the majority of the answers to the questionnaire came as no, the union had to reveal that the contract was already made, because otherwise it would have automatically meant to go out on strike. A group of workers raided the union office in town and brutally beat up three of the leaders. As was said earlier, the whisky bottles found in their car proved the leaders' betrayal to the workers.

I held an interview with the union leader after he came out of the hospital. His account was that the achievements of the contract were considerable, and it was a victory. He was convinced that the majority of the workers were pleased with it, and the revolt pertained to a limited number of workers provoked by the opponent groups. There was certainly no question of bribery, and that they had to work hard to obtain these results. These points were later made in a hand-out distributed to the workers. The hand-out is dated 11th July 1978, and addressed as "Brave glass labourers, brothers". Saying that the contract was signed on the 3rd of July, it goes on to explain:

"Glass workers: Capital's and all the reactionary powers' attacks on DISK and its syndicates have been going on, on all four sides, since the establishment of DISK. The class-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie grows rapidly into a new phase with each passing day. In our present day, during which the class struggle has gained a new intensity (in these turbulent days), we brought to a conclusion a new collective bargaining and signed a contract with the Glassworks Employers' Union, at the table. The results obviously cannot be expected to satisfy the glass workers economically or from a class point of view. However, the past strikes we carried out, and the contracts we signed

as a result of these strikes do not allow us to realistically say that strikes have enabled us to obtain different results. Yet, these strikes have been most valuable in terms of class struggle and gaining experience...."

The statement continues with the emphasis on that the gains made by the new contract are the results of a 'tooth-to-tooth' struggle with the employer. It ends by blaming the C.W.U. and the employer with involvement in a conspiracy against F.G.W. and DISK, and urging the workers to stand more united than ever against this conspiracy, and in order to strengthen the class struggle.

Soon after, the union leader and the two members of the executive were brought down, and one of the opponent groups replaced them.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCEPT OF TIME, ITS EFFECTS AND THE CLP

One of the main themes of this thesis is the recurrent manifestation of the denial of the workers' control over their own labour-power. This was demonstrated in relation to the nature of work in FAB (Chapter IV), and in the context of managerial ideology and practice (Chapter VI). Here, the concept of time, and the transformation of its 'sense' - in transition from pre-industrial modes of production to industrial capitalism - are introduced in order to demonstrate that 'time' itself becomes a means of control and factory discipline.

E.P. Thompson, in his well known article, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism",¹⁷⁵ analyses the shift that occurred in 'time-sense' with the advent of capitalism in England, and inquires into the extent to which this shift affected labour-discipline.

I intend to show how Thompson's analysis of the change in 'time' concept is applicable to the case of FAB workers and furthermore, how the existence of external structural models ready-made for the use of Turkish capitalists, has meant that several stages of capitalism are imposed simultaneously.

E.P. Thompson contrasts the 'task-orientation' of pre-capitalist (mainly peasant) societies with the 'time-sense' of the industrial capitalist formations. He proposes three points about 'task-orientation': first, it is more 'humanly comprehensible' because, the peasant or labourer acts upon 'observed necessities'. Second, there is minimal discrepancy between 'work' and 'life', that is,

"social intercourse and labour are intermingled - the working day lengthens or contracts according to the task - and there is no great sense of conflict between labour and 'passing the time of day'."

Third,

"to men accustomed to labour timed by the clock, this attitude to labour appears to be wasteful and lacking in urgency." 176

These characteristics of 'task-orientation' become problematic as soon as "actual hands are employed" - both in cases of family enterprises

(where the father is the employer and the wife and children are the employed), and in the case of industrial manufactures. In such employer-employee relationships, 'time' gradually becomes equated with money, and in this context, "the shift from task-orientation to timed-labour is marked."¹⁷⁷

According to Thompson, where time is money, a "straight-forward time-measurement is (was) more convenient",¹⁷⁸ and this creates a distinction between the 'employer's time' and the 'labourer's time'. The labourer experiences this, and also that "the employer must use the time of his labour, and see that it is not wasted."¹⁷⁹

This is a significant alteration to the 'time-sense' of the labourer: no longer the task, but

"the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent." 180 (My emphasis)

The process of transformation from 'task-orientation' to 'time-orientation', and 'time-as-money' (despite the fact that Thompson is writing about eighteenth century England) is readily transposable to twentieth century Turkey in an important aspect;¹⁸¹ namely to that aspect which arises out of the nature of the labour-force. We have seen that most FAB workers are first generation industrial workers, and many of them are still connected with agriculture.¹⁸² Because of their peasant past, they are inclined to be 'task-oriented', and this contradicts their present situation whereby a 'clock-time' sense is imposed on them. The FAB workers are aware of this contradiction, and the new time sense imposed on them is experienced as oppressive, more so than the work itself. One of them clearly expressed this:

"The job here is not difficult. It is easy, but boring. The work there (in agriculture) fits me better and is more enjoyable. Here, however easy it can be, I couldn't get used to it. For example, you are thinking of making a visit to a friend, you say to yourself, 'but I will have to be at work at 3 p.m.' That is you are tied, you are bound here for eight hours. Even if you sit doing nothing, you are still bound. There (in the village) you can leave your job, like go to swim or to a wedding. That is why I find that work easier. In fact it is tiring, but it does not tire you, because you are free....You can sit and rest whenever you feel like it, or go for a stroll. Here however, even if you are sitting idle, the supervisor tells you 'get up from there and sit here', and things like that, so I find it hard."

In his peasant life, he experienced no demarcation between 'work' and 'life': in his present situation they are separated and the former is a restriction on the latter. In doing his factory job, he is not free to act upon an 'observed necessity', but must do as he is told. The 'idleness' he refers to is, in fact, only the surface appearance of his job, which is attending the diesel pumps. He simply has to be there, even if nothing happens to necessitate his intervention. The imposition of a 'time-sense' on him, and all the other FAB workers, is engendered by the nature of the exchange between the capitalist who buys the labour-power, and the labourers who sell their labour-power. As Braverman neatly puts it, what is exchanged

"is not an agreed amount of labour, but the power to labour over an agreed amount of time." (His emphasis.) 183

Thus in an eight hour work-day, the capitalist utilises means and methods to ensure that the power to labour is used for the full eight hours, and not one minute is lost unproductively. This necessitates the imposition of 'time-attendance'.

The extent to which the workers have accepted this is shown by an incident which occurred while I was working in the Q.C. department. At the end of each shift, the pace of work slows down, and those workers not directly involved with the machinery are left with little to do for the last half hour.¹⁸⁴ Management are aware of this but do not intervene because they are equally idle. On such an occasion, I, with my student sense of time, suggested going outside to get some fresh air, at which one of the P.C. workers replied that this was not possible.

"For the employers five minutes is five minutes. You must spend it all."

Attention to time rather than 'task-orientation' in labour depends, according to Thompson, on 'the need for synchronization of labour' to a large degree.¹⁸⁵ However, he emphasises that it is not possible to explain this shift of time-sense solely on technological grounds. He writes:

"What we are examining here are not only changes in manufacturing techniques which demand greater synchronisation of labour and a greater exactitude in time-routines in any society but also these changes as they were lived through in the society of nascent capitalism. We are concerned simultaneously with time-sense in its technological

conditions, and with time measurement as a means of labour-exploitation." (My emphasis) 186

Factors that demand the shift in the time-sense therefore can be summed up under three headings:

1. Technological conditioning: The workers, whose labour is subordinated to the machine, must also work with the pace and rhythm of the machine.
2. Exploitation of Labour: It is more convenient to measure labour in terms of time (which is reduced to money) since the purpose of capitalist production is profit-making.
3. Work-discipline: Initially, labourers, coming from a position of 'task-orientation' resist new conditions of work and time-attendance. The need to habituate workers to the CLP, and the need for 'time-attendance' (due to 1 and 2 above) assume each other.

These factors explain why the FAB workers must be subjected to various disciplinary rules and mechanisms, especially since they are undergoing the transformation from peasantry to industrial proletariat. The ex-peasant like the one quoted above (p.183), who until the establishment of production for the market has been producing with a view to keeping his body and soul together, and who squatted to roll a cigarette when he felt tired, must learn that in the new order he cannot expect to do the same, that the employer (to whom now belongs both his labour-power, and his product) will not be satisfied with just enough to keep his body and soul together. He must be made aware that the employer will take every measure to ensure that every penny he pays him turns into value in the production process, because the purpose of production is no longer to satisfy immediate needs, but to make money. And in order to make money the ex-peasant must be seen to take less frequent cigarette breaks. He must learn all this so that he will not revolt against the 'new' work and living conditions which will gradually become more difficult for him. From the outset he must be habituated to factory 'work'-discipline, and he must be made to see this new system as natural and absolute.

While a similar transformation took place in England, the nascent capitalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave birth to

its own theory through well-known figures such as Ricardo and Smith; accordingly the theory of capitalism progressed in parallel with the development of capitalist practice (J.S. Mill, J.M. Keynes, Straffa, Friedman and Galbraith, etc.) until the present time. Similarly, as the capitalist relations of production presented problems of labour for capitalists and management, the system also generated remedies, which can be traced through the development of managerial theories and policies such as the scientific management of Taylorism, the conveyor-belts of Fordism, and the modern Human Relations school. In the Turkish context, where the development of capitalism took off in the present century, both sets of theories and policies were readily available to the Turkish capitalists and managers. The impact of this phenomenon on the FAB workers will be analysed later in this chapter. Before that, I want to look at how the rules and regulations concerning 'time' and punctuality operate in FAB, in the context described above: that is, in the presence of imported superstructural elements, and labour legislation both of which assume that the shift in time-sense has already been established.

Control of labourers' time and imposition of factory discipline are carried out by means of the 'clocking-in' department, and rules and regulations that appear in the C.B. contract. First, I shall briefly describe the workers clocking in on a normal day, with the aim of demonstrating the strictness of the control.

The workers' entrance gate in FAB is under the surveillance of a special department, the Administrative works. Two security guards carrying pistols check the faces and the identity cards the workers have to carry as they come in. The workers, as they flood in from the gates, form a queue in front of the shelves where their punch-cards are located. On finding his card, each worker feeds it into the punch-machine. The machine prints the time and the date on it; the worker takes his card back and places it into a box provided. These cards are then collected by clerks of the 'clocking-in' unit, who will, after checking the cards one by one, make a report of late-comers and absentees. These reports are later cross-checked, in the personnel department, against similar reports prepared by the foremen of all the plants. This is the extent of the work involved in maintaining a strict control on punctuality and regularity.

The number of personnel employed in the clocking-in and security units is another indication of the significance of the control of 'time' in maintaining work-discipline. The check on the entrances and exits, and the 'security' of the site are provided by fourteen security guards and porters, four 'clocking-in' clerks, six supervisors and one manager. Therefore, a sum total of twenty-five personnel - not to mention the staff of the Personnel Department (who deal with control of regularity only as part of their jobs) - are employed by the FAB factory in order to impose a rigorous 'time-discipline'.

If a labourer causes loss of profits by not being on time, or by not using every minute of his time productively, then he must also be made to lose something valuable. The rules against clocking-in late are the second means with which a time-discipline is imposed on the workers. The related article (14) of the C.B. contract states: ¹⁸⁷

"In the case of clocking-in late; up to 15 minutes, the worker is allowed in for the day, and his daily wage is not subject to any cuts. Up to 45 minutes, the worker will be admitted, but he will lose one hour's pay. Late check-ins cannot be repeated more than 6 times a year. If a worker is late for more than 45 minutes, the employer is free to let the worker in or not. Provided that he is allowed to work for the day, he will only be paid the hours he works." (My emphasis)

In addition to loss of wages - which can have frightening results for the labourers and their families - the workers who clock-in late, are also forced to go through complicated bureaucratic procedures, causing much fatigue and anxiety. As an old worker complained:

"The thing that worries, that bothers us most is to miss the service bus, and then be late to work. If you have arrived one hour late they won't admit you. However, it is obvious that they can't lose on that; they can pay you for only 7 hours. What they want you to do is to ring in advance and make up a story."

He clearly experiences the distinction between his time and the employer's time. The dominance of the latter continues, after the worker enters the factory. Article 20 of the C.B. contract dictates:

"To stay for extra hours of work is up to the worker's choice. However, in extraordinary circumstances of unpredictable or unavoidable occurrences, and/or in the case of a necessity for repair, the worker's choice to stay extra hours of work is not relevant." (My emphasis)

This statement is a concrete manifestation of the production relations in capitalism: under this system, the worker is 'free' to sell his labour-power - free because all the other means with which he can earn a living are destroyed by social change. He is also free to choose which capital-owner to sell his labour-power to. Once he chooses the freedom to work, as opposed to freedom to starve (or go without the means of livelihood), then he is not any more free to decide how long he extends his labour. He is totally deprived of control over his time and his labour. This 'right' to control belongs to the capitalist who owns his labour-power.

Control of the labourer's time is all-embracing: not only the 'normal' working hours, but also leisure hours are subject to domination by the employers. Article 24 of the work contract states:

"National and public holidays are those that are determined by law: on these days if work carries on partially and/or totally in the workplace, the workers, then, must also work." (My emphasis)

Holidays are for humans, or more precisely, for a certain class of citizens, and not for 'parts of machinery'. Machine-parts can have a rest when they are worn out, since they will then be quickly replaced.

All the laws and sanctions against idleness and leisure and the laws against clocking-in late can be imposed on the FAB workers because the official, legal and judicial structure is already based on the capitalist notion of time. Similarly, the capitalist categories of work and work discipline (as described by Thompson); as well as managerial theories and policies which reinforce these in industrial manufacturing are well established at the superstructural level. However, the individual labourers and, to an extent, the managers, have not yet totally internalised this shift in 'time-sense'. On the one hand therefore, the FAB worker experiences the tensions and conflict between his 'time sense' (which is initially task-oriented), and the 'attention-to-time' as the norm imposed by the employer, backed up by law. This is one dimension, the larger social dimension, of the transformation he experiences individually. According to E.J. Hobsbawm,¹⁸⁸ 'in the society of nascent industrial capitalism' it took three generations of workers to learn the lesson that time is money. In the Turkish case, the 'shift' is so compressed that one worker may experience it within a short time of starting his first industrial job.

On the other hand, the FAB workers have lived (and are still living) through this transformation in a more dramatic way. The set-up period was characterised by 'task-orientation' and attention to time replaced it gradually. This is the more particular dimension of the FAB workers' experience of the shift in time sense. During the 'set-up', the workers as well as many managers stayed on the site. The most extreme example is the production manager of SG, who, during this period literally lived on the site. He remembers having worked for 72 continuous hours, and he imposed the same manner of work on his men, who, in his own words "worked 32, 48, 56, 98....hours continuously."

That both the managers and the workers were 'task-oriented' in this period is important. It is necessary to stress that this 'task-orientation' did not take place within a pre-industrial network of social relations but within the existing capitalist relations of production. Both sides acted upon an 'observed necessity' (the need to complete the installation in a given period of time), and this pre-industrial attitude served the interests of the capital-owners. This was facilitated by the attitudes of people in an underdeveloped society like Turkey. In this society not all the social relations are transformed into cash-relations. Collective effort, mutual aid and 'task-orientation' are still widespread attitudes towards work. And when the task is completed, a pat on the back, a compliment on his skills can replace the wages received, can make them forget about fatigue, and can sometimes even give the meaning they seek for in work.

These characteristics do not pertain to the network of social relations in advanced industrial societies, as described by E.P. Thompson. He states that:

"Mature industrial societies of all varieties are marked by time-thrift and by a clear demarcation between 'work' and 'life'." 189

They are rather peculiarities of the relations in an underdeveloped society where workers and managers are still in a transitional stage between a 'task' and 'clock' oriented existence. It must be noted that the ambivalence between the two still exists in FAB today, and it is almost always resolved to the advantage of the employer. For example, SG workers replacing a 'furnace-mixer' (when I was present as an observer) were forced to operate in a task-oriented way. Until the

task at hand (which lasted for nearly a whole shift) was completed, they were given no rest, or legally-acknowledged rights such as lunch-breaks. This is what is expected of the workers, and this is what they submit to. It is not so alien for them, to act upon an observed necessity, hence this does not create any ambivalence. Workers' expectations from management however, do create ambivalence. When they ask for time off work to fulfil their social and domestic roles, or when they expect to be 'tolerated' in cases of late clock-ins, or 'dozing-off' at work, they are quickly reminded that 'time-attendance' is the rule. This, workers find very difficult to understand and obey, as many of them indicated. In the words of a woman inspector:

"When it is their job, we stay behind, we don't go for lunch. When it is our affairs, they don't give us permission to go away. Or at best, you can take it from your own allocated days off."

There are many other instances of workers commenting on the difference between their time and the employer's time, and saying that if there are any 'sacrifices' to be made, they have to be made by workers. This is so because the managers' demands from the workers are not personal in nature, but are supposedly the objective requirements of their jobs. Workers' demands, on the other hand, are personal, therefore cannot be met within the structure of work.

Managers play an important part in designating which notion of 'time' is to be the norm at different times. But being part of the same ambivalent situation themselves, as individuals formed by the same transitional society, they might, at times, loosen the strict managerial control and impose less rigid time-discipline on workers (and themselves). The system has taken measures against such possibilities: it has created men who will sell their labour-power - in order to maintain punctuality and regularity - in the system's interests. The institutionalised bodies that these men form are the 'clocking-in' departments in all the factories, and similar workplaces, as well as in FAB.

Conclusion

I have said earlier in this chapter that in England for example,

managerial theories and policies developed gradually in response to the labour problems created by the imposition of a time- and work-discipline. The Turkish capitalists and managers, on the other hand found an established model to follow. In the case of Turkey then, it can be said that the organisation of work, the 'time-sense' it requires, and the practice of control were based on a priori conceptions deriving from "model" theories. FAB managers, therefore, live the contradiction of having to apply techniques of mature capitalism to a predominantly 'task-oriented' labour-force, when they themselves are in the process of transformation. In their policies, both attitudes can be observed. Where it is advantageous they still resort to 'task-oriented' methods of work, thereby perpetuating them. But when workers' 'task-orientation' challenges the work-discipline, they impose the time-discipline more vigorously. Therefore, an ambivalence concerning the notion of 'time', the context of which is provided structurally, is created and preserved.

Such managerial policies further the ambiguity in which the workers find themselves. This ambiguity can be explained in terms of the transformation the workers have had to go through in a short period of time. They are forced to live through the three phases of capitalism at once, namely, manufacture, industrial capitalism and monopoly capitalism (not to mention the primary experience of peasantry - sometimes in the context of feudal production relations). In other words, they are subjected to Taylorism, Fordism and Human Relations practices all at once. This burdens the Turkish proletariat with the weight of a condensed history. Furthermore, they are required both to preserve their 'task-oriented' nature, and submit to 'time-discipline' simultaneously. Both the general socio-historical phases, and the shift in the 'time-sense' are experienced by the workers, and have significant consequences for their consciousness. E.P. Thompson believes that,

"time-discipline....will come to the developing world....
....whether....in the form of Methodism, or of Stalinism,
or of nationalism." 190

It is not my intention to speculate on which form it is taking in Turkey. However, for the FAB workers, it can be said that the internalisation of time-discipline is not complete, is not perfect. What we are talking about are human actors who are not simply playthings of the superstructure, but who act consciously upon it. Imposition of

a total time-discipline by rules and regulations is what the system aims for, but these rules cannot immediately change the natures of the labourers, and certainly not without resistance from the workers themselves. Some of these themes are analysed in the following Part II, in the context of the FAB workers' own perceptions of the tensions in the labour process.

PART II

Introduction

The second section of this thesis focusses on consciousness. In the first section, the background to the analysis of working class consciousness was laid down in presenting the quantitative and material aspects of the labour-process in FAB. Now, we move on to the more qualitative aspects of the labour-process which entails the study of the consciousness domain. Here, the analysis of the labour-process in FAB shifts to an emphasis on workers' perceptions.

First, the definitions of the various aspects of the labour-process as given by the workers themselves are presented. These definitions pertain to internally related parts which make up a totalistic notion of the labour process. When brought together in analysis, these form an integrated map from which elements of working class consciousness can be traced. One note on the terminology is in order. In most of this section, the term 'situational awareness' is being used to refer to the consciousness the immediate conditions (of industrial work) give rise to in the workers' minds.

Secondly, the concept 'situational awareness' is broadened to cover the related aspects of the labour process, that is, workers' definition of the management and the union.

Thirdly, non-work activities, and conceptions of those activities (by the workers) is introduced into the frame-work. These constitute the interactional aspects between work and non-work domains of workers' lives. Only then will it be possible to use the phrase working class consciousness, since, class consciousness is taken to be a process whereby work and non-work conditions of workers' existence interrelate. In other words, 'class-consciousness' is comprised of the ways in which the worker perceives his life situation and the ways in which he (consciously) acts on this perception. Work is central to his life situation, consciousness of which, I have termed 'situational awareness'; but in order for the concept class-consciousness to be applicable, the relations which envelop the work-situation must be

considered. In this context, the concept class-consciousness has limited applicability in this thesis, since the research does not cover the study of the non-work domain of workers' lives. As a concept it will be relevant to the extent those non-work aspects of workers' lives are reflected in their work activities, inasmuch as they may be studied as part of the workers' personal histories.

CHAPTER IX

WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF AND REFLECTIONS ON THE LABOUR-PROCESS.

i) A General Evaluation of the FAB Workers' Conception of the
Labour Process

The workers' definition of the labour process is assessed on an interpretative grouping of their answers to five open-ended questions of the questionnaire. These are, in the order in which they occur in the questionnaire form:¹⁹¹

- Q 18) Are you happy with your job? Why?
- Q 20) If you have any complaints about your job, what are they?
- Q 28) Are there any changes you would like to see made on site?
(or in the work-place?)
- Q 29) Are there any changes you would like made concerning your own job?
- Q 30) Do you think this is the best possible way to accomplish the job you are doing here?

The statistical distribution of the answers of the workers in my sample population are presented in the tables below.

Table IX,i,1: Job Satisfaction

Answers to Q.18: "Are you happy with your job? Why?"

	Number of workers	%
Happy	73	72.27
Not happy	19	18.81
Not clear	9	8.91
Total	101	100.0

As the table indicates, a high proportion of the workers are happy with their jobs. The category 'not clear' only, needs further explanation. The nine workers while stating that they were happy with their jobs, completed their sentence with 'but, if it were....' which indicated

that they were not really content with their jobs. The distribution of the answers to the next question (Q.20) implies that even those who reported satisfaction with their jobs must be regarded with some reservation.

Table IX,i,2: Job Complaints.

Answers to Q.20: "If you have any complaints about your job, what are they?"

	Number of workers.	%
Have complaints	58	57.42
No complaints.	35	34.65
Conditional 'No' answer	8	7.92
Total	101	100.00

Well over half the sample population said that they had complaints about their jobs and listed the main ones (a detailed analysis of those is presented below). Some of this group of fifty-eight workers are among those who expressed satisfaction with their jobs (since 73 had said they were happy). An inference that can be made here is that the answers to Q.18 do not truly reflect how the workers relate to their jobs. The thirty-five workers only in the above table (IX,i,2) who had no complaints can be said to be consistent in their answers to both questions, i.e., are 'happy' and have no 'complaints'.

Some respondents who said that they had complaints about their jobs, but refrained from giving reasons, did so because they believed 'the difficulties are inseparable aspects of work and being a worker'. These are gathered under the category 'conditional 'No' answer'.

Table IX,i,3: Demands concerning alterations in the work-place

Answers to Q.28: "Are there any changes you would like to see made in the work-place?"

	Number of workers.	%
Favours changes and gives specifications	72	71.28
No changes required	26	25.74
No reply	3	4.95
Total	101	100.00

The majority of the sample population of workers demanded that changes should be made on site. For nearly a quarter of the workers no changes were necessary (26, in the above table IX,i,3). Two of the workers who gave no reply said that they have "never thought about such things before" and therefore, they "did not know what to say".

Table IX,i,4: Demands concerning specific jobs

<u>Answers to Q.29: "Are there any changes you would like to see made concerning your own job?"</u>	<u>Number of workers</u>	<u>%</u>
Favours changes, and gives specifications	54	53.46
No changes required	32	31.68
Conditional 'no' answer	13	12.87
No reply	2	1.98
Total	101	100.00

The conditional 'no' answer in this table has a similar meaning to that in Table IX,i,2 above. These workers (13) said that there were no changes they could recommend, because "there could not be any changes anyway", this being due to either technology, or the nature of the system as a whole. Even when the straight-forward 'no' answers (32), and the conditional 'no' answers (13) were taken together (adding up to 45), fewer workers seem to think that the conditions that apply to their jobs need not be changed, compared with the workers who advocated various changes concerning their jobs (54 = 53.46%, Table IX,i,4).

Table IX,i,5: Best modes of conduct of specific jobs

<u>Answers to Q.30: "Do you think this is the best possible way to accomplish the job you are doing here?"</u>	<u>Number of workers</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes, accomplished best	48	47.52
'No', gives alternatives	47	46.53
'No', does not give alternatives	2	1.98
Question is regarded irrelevant	4	3.96
Total	101	100.00

Finally, the answers to Q.30 as given in the table above indicate that those who think that their jobs are accomplished in the best possible way, and those who are convinced of the opposite, are approximately evenly distributed. The remaining four are more interesting for my main concern here, namely that of finding out whether workers have a totalistic and consistent conception of the labour-process. These four said they did not know or could not answer because: "We don't do the job anyway; we do what we are told to do."

While the inconsistency among the answers to these five questions may be partly due to the shortcomings of the questionnaire technique,¹⁹² this cannot be very significant, since the five questions are designed to cross-check each other. Indeed, these questions were designed precisely to bring out inconsistencies, if any were present. The inconsistencies thus brought to the surface, point to various important phenomena:

1) Regardless of whether workers respond by saying that they are happy with their jobs, when looked at in depth, it is clear that there are many 'negative' (to put it mildly) qualities of their jobs, which they are aware of, which they are able to express when asked to. This finding, in turn, may indicate that questioning workers' 'job-satisfaction' is meaningless, since, as these workers have stressed on many occasions, when one is doomed to be a worker, it is irrelevant whether one likes the job or not. How to make the conditions of work better, more secure, safer, more bearable, humane, etc., comes out as a more meaningful question. And this is a lesson taught by the workers themselves, had the researcher not been aware of it in advance. (Yet, that there is a question of 'intrinsic' job satisfaction is undeniable. This is also articulated by the workers themselves, and I will analyse its significance below.)

2) That at least half the workers in each case provided alternatives to the way in which their jobs are accomplished, to the running of the site, and to the organization of work by the managers is of crucial importance. This indicates that at least half of the workers in FAB have a fair notion of the nature of the labour-process, a general awareness of the whole of the production process, of the flaws in the system, and that the system is subject to malfunctioning.

Providing alternative solutions to the problems they themselves

visualize, is of further significance in that all the workers do not regard the existing organization of work as a must, as an absolute nor 'natural' way of things. Therefore, in the FAB case, not all the workers have been habituated to the role of mere 'appendages to machinery'. They have not fully yielded the 'responsibility' of the production process - in their own consciousness - to the management. Neither have they totally submitted to the managerial control. These findings (further substantiated below) when viewed in the light of: one, that the tendency of the CLP in FAB is to separate conception and execution to its natural limits, and two, that the managerial practice, on the whole, is geared towards furthering this division, becomes all the more crucial. This is an important issue, hence, I want to expand on it; mainly by integrating the idiosyncracies of FAB/Turkey with the general nature of labour in the CLP both of which help to explicate the above phenomena.

First, on the question of those aspects and mechanisms of the CLP in FAB which can be said to have implications for the FAB workers and their relatively comprehensive view of that labour-process (most of these have already been presented in the first part of the thesis, therefore, here I will only establish the relational aspects by reference to the characteristics of the CLP in FAB).

i) FAB is a relatively recently established factory, in a society which is in the process of industrialisation. Hence, what can exist as a tendency in the CLP, has not been established completely. That is, neither concretely nor in the consciousness of its participants.

ii) A consequential element of the first factor is that the life-span of FAB allows for the presence of many workers who have been there since the "set-up" period, whereby they have acquired a comprehensive notion of the production process. This is important, because those workers then, are not and do not feel totally imprisoned in the jobs they are doing at present, even though they may be detail tasks. Their past experience allows these workers to see the contribution their own labour makes to the production process, thereby counteracting the degrading impact of the CLP.

iii) The majority of the workers have an immediate peasant past (or

ongoing contacts with agriculture), and similarly many other workers have been previously employed in non-factory types of workshops. Both of these groups' relationship to the CLP is easily seen in the CLP's transient nature. By implication, this means that most workers are not habituated to an industrial 'time-sense'. Until the workers acquire this new 'time-sense', there is a time-lapse which makes it all the more difficult for the management to control. Conversely, the novelty of the industrial experience for these groups evokes alertness and enthusiasm for the industrial work.

iv) The novelty of industrialization for the society as a whole keeps workers' interest alive in the achievements of the company. An often reiterated solution to Turkey's economic bottle-neck is that it can only be through further industrialization and more exports, both of which call for more 'hard-work' and commitment from the people. A strong national identity, a national consciousness of being an under-developed society, and the role each individual has to play in order to break this spell, are significant determinants of FAB workers' ideology and consciousness. For these reasons, there is a tendency to downgrade the individual problems faced in work, on a particular site, and conversely up-grade the importance attached to creating a better future by working harder (regardless of conditions of work), and hence the interest in the nature of the productive process and how to make it better, more efficient.

v) The controversial nature of management due partly to their aforementioned background, and partly to their participation in the national consciousness, precipitates flaws in the strictness of managerial control. Some individual managers' sympathetic attitudes towards workers makes the managerial body less rigid. Furthermore, for most managers - what they learn theoretically in the universities (during their engineering courses) - and the technical knowledge and skills required of them at the point of production are divergent. Therefore, at least, when they first arrive to the site, they are dependent on the skill and technical knowledge of the experienced workers. In this respect, there is wider scope for more workers to have access to 'conception'. And also, the managers cannot be said to be totally monopolising 'conception' in the production process, in an immediate sense. 193

vi) The dualism intrinsic to the problem of further specialisation and separation - of tasks into detail work and assigning each detail to a single worker - from the point of view of management is evident in their controversial treatment of this problem. The lack of spare parts for imported machinery places the continuation of production (all the more) on the labourers' skills. By further specialising tasks, the management would be deprived of their reliance on workers to replace missing spare-parts with their skills.

Furthermore, by allowing for fairly broad job definitions, hence obscuring what the real job of a worker is, they can (and do) ask a worker to accomplish tasks that a detail-worker could not be asked to perform, or would simply not be able to. This usually comes in the form of "drudgery-work"; workers object to this vehemently, as will be seen below when their specific complaints are quoted. This points to a contradiction, because the tendency of the CLP in FAB is to achieve a certain stability in terms of profits, continuity of production, and factory discipline, etc., while simultaneously management as an institution is established to ensure this. The contradictory tendency can be detected both from an internal evaluation of the labour process in FAB alone, as well as by looking at the tendencies and the temporary stability reached in the CLP's of the mature capitalist world, which both point to the fact that although the drive is for stability, what governs the capitalist mode of production and the CLP is instability. In other words, the management of FAB on the one hand is geared towards 'stability' - which would necessitate a clear-cut definition of jobs as well as maximization of specialization. And, on the other hand, there are historical and cultural characteristics of the Turkish working class which, at times can be used in the interests of the system, which in turn tempts management to preserve some of those characteristics - even though they hinder this further division of labour. Stability and instability obviously contradict each other, and can only be resolved at specific instances of bargaining/confrontation between the management and the workers (or the union).

All these six factors considered are specific features of FAB, as situated in Turkey, which account for the findings of the questionnaire, indicating that FAB workers have a 'comprehensive' conception of the labour-process.

This brings us to the second, related aspect which has implications for the occurrence of this totalistic conception. This aspect emerges from an analysis, in abstraction, of the specific nature of labour-power. In this respect, Marx, and following Marx, Braverman,¹⁹⁴ by emphasising the inalienable nature of labour power from the labourer himself, have examined the relationship between Labour and Capital at the point of production. Real subordination of labour, that is, capital materially controlling the worker at the point of production, is not totally feasible, because it is not possible to separate the worker from his productive activity.¹⁹⁵ To say that capital materially controls labour, degrades the worker to a commodity, a factor of production, a mere appendage to the machine; for capital to do this is for capital to cease relying on labour's social productivity, it has to have accumulated all knowledge, skill and creativity to itself. The scientific management techniques of Taylorism were the most extreme attempt to achieve this, but they failed because of the inseparability of labour-power from the labourer himself. Furthermore, for capital to yield profits and accumulate, it needs 'cost efficiency', a constant increase in productivity, for both of which it is dependent on the labourer's knowledge of the details of the production process itself. Hence, by reducing the labourer to a mere automaton, by depriving him of all skills and knowledge, capital also deprives itself of the creativity of labour which it is so dependent upon. In this context, this very lack of the real subordination of labour caused post-Taylor managements to attempt to garner workers' skills - labour power, by more use of wage incentives, by strategies of measured day work, by job evaluation and motivation: that is, by the larger strategies of Human Relations, Industrial Psychology and Industrial Democracy. Once it is accepted that this separation and isolation of control cannot be totally made, then it seems managerial strategies (even in the context of greater mechanization/cybernation - these demand new skills, new creative inputs, etc.) acquire a 'motivational' cast. That is, the battleground (between Capital and Labour, or managers and workers at the point of production) becomes one about levels of productive control and consent. So the labour process controls (i.e., restricts, imposes routines; requires definite actions and sequences) the worker, yet labour, by putting capital into motion for production, can also be said to control. The process of labour is thus reciprocal. So, there is a potential for labour - given that management relies on it - to produce goods to challenge both the

labour process and ideology.

It is this potential that can be observed in the FAB workers' relation to the labour process, and which is reflected in the answers given to the above five questions. How this potential is manifest in the sphere of ideology can be found, in their definition of management and union (see sections iv and v of this chapter), as well as in the workers' individual and collective actions which challenge managerial control. (Such as those discussed in Chapter VII.)

3) Going back to the point of this chapter; it has been said that apparent inconsistencies in the replies of the workers to these five questions point to various important phenomena. So far two of these have been presented. As for the third one, the tremendous variation in the workers' responses (of the sample population) must be pointed out. The features of this variation are such that they can be referred back to the differentiation of work situations in FAB (as explicated in chapters II, IV and V). It can be seen that the complaints, demands, and dreams of workers concerning the labour-process, have an almost direct correspondence to their immediate job experiences, and therefore point to how they relate to their own productive activity. In other words, just as workers have a varied material existence, despite their similar situation as workers in the same factory, the way they define this material existence is also varied, implying therefore, that the definitions (or conceptions) derive directly from immediate experience.

Based merely on the workers' own statements (as they are extracted by the questionnaire), it is certainly not possible to assess their 'situational awareness' as positive or negative, high or low, or as 'correct' or 'incorrect' (in other words, as class-consciousness or false consciousness). What can be said however, is that in an 'untidy', complicated and contradictory environment, the workers' conception of the environment is also contradictory (this applies to both within an individual worker's conception, and the working-class's collective consciousness). Determinacy of the 'environment' over the 'conception' can be and is transcended however at the level of consciousness. The inquiry into this is undertaken in the next chapter.

Here, I want to substantiate the points made so far, by presenting a detailed analysis of the recurrent themes in workers' responses to the questionnaire.

These themes are first grouped together to elucidate:

- 1) worker's relation to his productive activity, and
- 2) worker's relation to his fellow men,

which constitute the subject matter of the following sections (ii) and (iii) respectively.

ii) Worker's Relation To His Productive Activity

The 101 workers in my sample mentioned several factors against which they judged their jobs, either in the form of a complaint, or as reasons for being content. A survey of all the answers to Q.18 and Q.20, made it possible to group the factors mentioned by the workers under various themes which seemed to recur. I want to point out that, by this method, I could analyse workers' responses without introducing any esoteric criteria. The themes I have been sensitive to especially, are determined by the main concern of this thesis; that is, to inquire into the mechanisms in the labour-process which give rise to accertain consciousness of it, as it is expressed by the workers themselves. Therefore, the titles of these main themes are introduced as they occur in the replies; as themes workers have thought important to mention, that is, important to the way in which they relate to their productive activity.

- A: Environmental Conditions
- B: Previous Job Experiences, and work of other departments.
- C: Division of Labour, and tools
- D: Shift-work
- E: Wages
- F: Manpower Shortage
- G: Lack of Better Alternatives
- H: Intrinsic Job Satisfaction

The number of workers who mentioned one or more of these themes as a response to Q.18 and Q.20 are illustrated in the table below (IX,ii,1)

Table IX,ii,1: Reasons for Job Satisfaction, and Complaints

Title of the Themes	Occurrences as a response to		Total Occurrences*	Total occurrence as reason for complaint/dislike**	Total occurrence as reason for satisfaction/lack of complaint***
	Q.18	Q.20			
A: Environmental Conditions	19	41	53	45	8
B: Previous job experience and work of other departments	10	1	11	1	10
C: Division of labour, and tools	3	11	14	13	1
D: Shift-work	14	9	19	11	8
E: Wages	17	11	27	16	11
F: Manpower shortage	1	8	9	8	1
G: Lack of better alternatives	31	8	35	not applicable+	19
H: Intrinsic job satisfaction	25	12	34	8	26

Q.18: Are you happy with your job, why?

Q.20: If you have any complaints about your job, what are they?

Total sample: 101; Columns do not add up to 101 because: a) only those workers who have cited this theme are entered, b) one worker is included in as many themes as he has mentioned.

* Total occurrences is not obtained by adding the rate of occurrence for each question. If the same worker has mentioned the same theme, for the same reason, in answering both of the questions, then in obtaining the total occurrences he is only counted once. This is in order to prevent a superfluous inflation of the rate of occurrences.

** This figure is obtained by counting all those who have given the theme-in-concern as a reason to complain about, or dislike the job - regardless of whether they have expressed it as an answer to Q.18 or Q.20. The method described in (*) above also applies here.

*** Same as (**) except that this total brings together all those who have cited the theme-concerned as a reason for liking their jobs or having no complaints.

+ It is not applicable because, other than the 19 who gave this theme as a reason for satisfaction, or lack of complaints, the remaining workers simply stated this theme in a matter-of-fact way; therefore they cannot necessarily be said to be complaining.

A: Environmental Conditions

On the complaints side, this is the most recurrent theme in the workers' responses. This high occurrence shows that the environmental conditions of work are important criteria which workers use to evaluate their jobs as 'good' or 'bad'. The term environmental conditions brings together the physical conditions, such as pollution, noise, lack of air, cold, heat, poison, un-safe conditions, or working conditions whereby industrial safety measures have not been taken. Forty-five workers (see table IX,ii,1) mentioned one or more of these factors as making work, or working, more difficult for them. It is important that these forty-five workers did not think these negative qualities were intrinsic properties of 'work' per se, but in actually putting them down as complaints, they explicitly express that these conditions are not 'natural' or at least that they may be corrected. Here are a few of the more striking examples which perhaps are also representative of different types of awareness:

Q.20:1* "...And also the lack of air here. I wish it were a spacious, airy place which takes in sunshine. What wears us out most is not the work so much, but this airlessness."

Q.20:3 "It is too hot. The dirt from the glass particles in the air and the paraffin fumes. When I handle a part of a machine, I can't even find a screw because of the dirt it is covered with. Heat and noise."

Q.20:108 "That the work-place is too dusty. It becomes boring. When we need overalls, shoes, they don't make it easy for us. Those sort of things."

Q.20:19 "Winter or summer we enter the freezers - with a lot of sweat, then we get cold....But most of all, airlessness. The windows have been installed terribly shapelessly (in the wrong direction)."

Q.20:26 "Glass-dust, heat. It is dangerous, it is tiring. It is heavy sometimes. The glass-plates (we handle) are (literally) very heavy."

What can readily be underlined in most of the responses is the immediate

*a) Numbers referred to in quoting from the workers are the questionnaire numbers.

b) Words in brackets throughout this chapter are mine. All translations are mine, and again, some of them may read peculiarly (from a linguistic point of view) - but no attempt was made to refine them in any way in order to preserve the workers' idiosyncracies in expressing themselves.

correspondence of the conditions of a certain job to the particular dissatisfaction expressed by the worker doing that job. It is not surprising that a 'cook's hand' complains about having to go inside the freezers, or a glass-carrier should complain about heat and glass-dust; neither that an inspector complains about having to sit for eight hours and stare at the same point continuously.

What I find most interesting is the reflection in those responses, of a high 'situational awareness'.¹⁹⁶ Having such awareness is a double-edged sword for the workers. On the one side, this awareness reflects a hope in the fragility of the negative qualities of the labour-process. On the other side, this awareness brings feelings of anger, frustration, futility because of the possibility (which the workers see) for correcting the faults in the system, and the concurrent awareness that they lack the power to do anything about these themselves. Notice how this is expressed by two of the workers:

Q.20:18 "No complaints whatsoever. Because I find it uncomfortable, the job seems heavy to me. We work as slaves. What if I had complaints anyway? What would come out of it? What can we do?"

And:

Q.20:100 "Dust....we can't exhaust the counting of our problems - but there are no remedies. Now we submit to anything."
(My emphasis.)

It seems that capitalist 'alienation' and total habituation of the workers to the conditions of work as they are, will be 'complete' if more workers submit to these conditions without acting against them; if more workers believe it is futile to fight against, or attempt to change these conditions; and if more workers regard these conditions as naturally part and parcel of industrial work. Such tendencies are already there (see the analysis of theme G below), yet tendencies that contradict or counteract these are also present in the collective consciousness of the FAB workers as expressed in their responses. One such tendency can be defined retrospectively, in that it is only eight workers (out of 101) who were satisfied with their jobs because they regard the environmental conditions that pertain to their jobs as favourable. More supportive reflections on these tendencies will be

presented under the relevant titles.

B: Previous Job Experience and Work of Other Departments.

Some workers (refer to table IX,ii,1) relate to their jobs favourably or unfavourably according to how their present occupations stand in relation to either their own past experiences of work, or in comparison with the work-activity carried out in the other plants of FAB. On that comparison ten workers decided that they have better terms in their current jobs. Only one complained that it is worse, and this is in comparison to the conditions in which he performed his task before the removal of a device which is essential for his job. Since then, he has to perform the scooper's function manually.¹⁹⁷

This criteria for assessing jobs points to the notion the workers have of 'good' and 'bad' jobs, which become meaningful only in comparison with their other experiences of work, or with what they see others doing. As in these examples:

Q.18:3 "I am happy (with my job). It is better compared to outside (the bottle factory production area)."

Q.18:94 "At this moment, I am happy. Why shouldn't I be happy? Instead of working with a pickaxe and shovel, it is better like this."

There is a difference in the main point of concern: in the former it seems to be the way her job stands in its overall context rather than simply being concerned with the work, the actual activity she carries out. She regards the circumstances that apply to other jobs worse than her own, and this becomes a reason for satisfaction. In the latter case, the present job is assessed against that productive activity characterized by pickaxe and shovel. The worker compares his present work (which is to grease and maintain the vehicles of the Floatation department) with the manner in which he had to work (with a pickaxe and shovel), and feels content.

C: Tools and Division of Labour

This sub-title brings together two separate aspects of the characteristics of the labour-process in FAB. One is related to the tools, looms and

equipment that various types of work require. The other is concerned with the job-definitions, and the division of labour this refers to. The common denominator in these two, which groups them together, is what the absence of either means for the workers, or more precisely, for the tasks they are required to fulfil.

The lack of tools, equipment, or the inefficiency of those available is a most common complaint amongst the workers - more than is actually reflected by the numbers who mentioned it (see table IX,ii,1).

For example:

Q.20:61 "Our complaint is lack of tools, equipment. You want to do a job - nothing (you need) is there. You want to research, to develop methods - there is nothing which is necessary."

Q.20:30 "...the organization and the looms in our workshop: the roof leaks, the air-conditioning is broken, the cupboards are not big enough (for the tools). Then we leave our tools around, can't care for them sufficiently - they 'die' as a result."

Only one worker (30)* mentioned that the looms he works on are modern and efficient, and therefore he was happy to work on this job. Perhaps more significant than the number of workers - who mentioned tools, etc. as important aspects in their relation to their productive activity - is the fact that this theme is there and expressed by some workers as either something to be happy about, or to be dissatisfied with in the accomplishment of their tasks.

Similarly, a lack of 'sufficient separation of jobs' or clear-cut job definitions is a recurrent dissatisfaction amongst workers. As far as the answers to Q.18 and Q.20 are concerned, not very many (a total of 13) mentioned this to be a problem. Some typical answers are like the following:

Q.20:57 "Which department we belong to is not specified - we're still not given a cadre (a quota, title). They take us

* Notice that the same worker gave contradictory answers to Q.18 and Q.20. The first quote being from Q.20 - and the second being from Q.18

from the machine, put us onto packing (or) wherever they want to. Even when the machines work, they take the machines out of circuit and still (find) something to give to you in some other place."

Q.20:41 "When there is no packing (to be done), they make you do numerous other jobs. They make you a 'hammal' (a porter, a 'coolie'), that's why I'm not happy."

Q.20:5 "Because we haven't got a specified job, whatever work the factory has, we have to do that. Regardless of whether a certain task is part of our job or not, we do it. For example, the furnace-workers' jobs. It would have been better if we stayed in specified jobs. Besides, when you work for many departments, it means you have to work with many superiors...."

When I first heard that many workers were keen on more specialization, for further division of labour, I was surprised. I discussed this informally with some of the workshop workers in BIC, and asked them if they would be more satisfied to work as, for example, a car worker, doing a simple, monotonous, repetitive but nevertheless very clearly defined and specialized job. They were puzzled by this contrast; the choice seemed to be between the frying pan and the fire. They responded that 'they wouldn't like to screw the same screws all the time' but, paradoxically, would like more specialization and better job definitions at FAB. One worker put it this way:

"Why we want more specialization here is because otherwise you are given too much work, too much drudgery. If you are someone who knows a bit about many things, then it is always you who they call for. You are given all sorts of jobs and your workload becomes heavier than the rest."

It is a very striking example of the tendency of the CLP to further separate conception and execution as well as the fragmenting and de-skilling of jobs, and support for this tendency from the workers themselves. When one's own skill, one's own knowledge produces heavier workloads, then, before one realises it, one unknowingly reinforces the process leading to de-skilling and the decline of knowledge. The last sentence of the worker quoted above, seems to confirm workers' internalisation of managerial values:

"Productivity would be higher if there were more specialization." 198

D: Shift-Work

A total of eight workers said that they are satisfied with their jobs because they work in shifts. This satisfaction, as can be seen from the examples below, is not due to shift-work as such, but that shift-work allows them to be out at different times of the day, and more often, allows them to work on the land as well:

Q.18:8 "I am happy; if I weren't I wouldn't have worked. The shift-work allows me to do my own things outside."

Q.18:72 "For the time being, we are happy. We work for eight hours, then you can do your own work for sixteen hours; if not, you can go around, stay at home, go to the coffee house...."

Q.18:98 "I am happy for the time being, because we only work for eight hours."

The way some workers stress the difficulty of working for eight hours (refer to table IX,ii,1), while others, like 98 and 72 above, think of it as favourable, is important. The implication is that a material aspect of work per se, such as 'shift-work' can not be said to initiate dislike/dissatisfaction amongst the workers even though the detrimental effects of shift-work can be objectively established. In other words, workers' relation to their jobs, to their productive activities, is not simply determined by the objective conditions of work, but workers' subjective evaluation of those conditions play an equally important role. Even the duration of eight hours, the question of how long eight hours are, is a question answered subjectively by the workers. Their subjectivity determines whether eight-hour work is something satisfying or something to endure, to suffer. ¹⁹⁹

F: Wages

This sub-title brings together those replies which deem wages as little/insufficient/unequal value for their labour, as well as those workers who expressed satisfaction with the amount of wages they receive.

For a total of twenty-seven workers, wages seem to be a criterion by which to assess their jobs (see table IX,ii,1). Those who are

satisfied as a result of this assessment gave mainly two reasons: either because the wages are satisfactory by their own standards, or simply because 'it earns them a living, their bread'.

Examples of each are given successively:

Q.18:71 "For the time being we are happy: it is the income; for what other reason could it be?"

Q.18:39 "I am happy. By virtue of this place, I'm going to provide a future for my children. I am happy both with the job and the money."

Q.18:34 "Well, a little bit happy: we work. We earn a few pennies. We look after ourselves (with that money)."*

Those who are dissatisfied with the wages simply stated this as a fact, such as:

Q.20:70 "Money issue....it is little. We don't get our labour's worth. That's all (of my complaints)."

F: Manpower Shortage

A total of nine workers (see table IX,ii,1) mentioned manpower shortage as a problem for their place of work, and more specifically, as a problem which makes their jobs heavier, more difficult than they would otherwise be. Some of them also expressed the fluctuations in their workload as a result of management's re-shuffling of the number of men per unit, or per machine. For example:

Q.20:98 "...or when they send some men of your group to another machine, then there are too few (of you) left and the job becomes harder."

More typical responses simply refer to a problem of manpower shortage, such as:

Q.20:89 "Not enough men. We get pressured."

Q.20:27 "Manpower shortage. When we need 4 men/machine, we have (instead) 2."

* Again an interesting case of contradiction between the responses to the two questions. The same worker said, in replying to Q.20: "Our wage is little,....on top of working so much...."

Manpower shortage seems to be the only theme whose occurrence corresponds to particular departments of both BIC and SG. In other words, all the workers who mentioned this as a problem, either work in the Reset department of SG (glass-carriers), or the Packing department of BIC. The acute problem of manpower shortage in the former department, and how this was created by a gradual process through managerial policies have already been mentioned (Chapters VI and VII). The interesting common aspect in those two departments is that, in both, the pace of work is determined by the rhythm of the machinery. Therefore, workers can be made to work faster, by speeding-up the machinery, thus gradually requiring fewer men to accomplish the same task.

G: Lack of Better Alternatives

Not all the workers responded with a straight-forward 'happy' or 'not happy' answer to the question concerned. For some at least, it proved to be a meaningless question; to ask them whether they were happy with their jobs or not. The question implicitly assumes that the workers have a choice (to be happy or not), or that it would make any difference if they were. Similarly, to have complaints or not about their jobs seemed equally meaningless or pointless to some of them. Expression of their complaints about the jobs (provided they had any), these workers assumed, would not help to bring any changes to remedy their problems.

The conceptions lying beneath such replies are mainly those that derive from the definition of themselves as workers, as working class, and therefore having no choice but to work. If it is not this job, it has to be some other, essentially similar job. Alternately, some mentioned their little education, or lack of any 'art', 'trade' as reasons for restraining themselves from either complaining about the jobs, or expressing satisfaction with them. "What else could we do anyway?" is the typical response. Yet others mentioned the problem of unemployment, the difficulty of finding other jobs, as reasons for being content with their present jobs, or at least, the reason for 'not questioning' the nature of their jobs. Some of the responses are quoted below:

1) Those who had no complaints about their jobs for one or more of the above reasons. These add up to six:

- Q.20:72 "We have no complaints, because we are old workers, because we are habituated, we are all right."
- Q.20:66 "I have no complaints. I am a working-lad; what complaints could I have?"
- Q.20:17 "Yes, I have complaints, but (I'll say) no, because this is a bread-winning place for me - there is the problem of unemployment about." (My emphasis)

2) The second group consists of those (16) who are 'happy' with their jobs because of lack of alternatives, or by the nature of being a worker, and the nature of work:

- Q.18:15 "I am happy. As a primary school graduate I couldn't find a better job - therefore I am happy. We are under social security, there is retirement benefit, that's why." 200
- Q.18:21 "We are happy and yet we aren't happy, because we guess that we couldn't find a better job...." (My emphasis)
- Q.18:43 "I am happy. - if we eat a loaf of bread (from a job) we say 'may there be abundance'."
- Q.18:48 "We are not happy but can be regarded as happy. You have to do it. (You are simply obliged)....Because we cannot find any other job we are happy. What good does it do to you if you're not happy anyway?"

3) The third group consists of the answers to the 'complaints' question (Q.20), which displays a 'non-questioning' of the conditions of work, and a total futility of answering the question. There are only two workers who fall into this group. These two do have complaints about their jobs, but this is subordinated to a more important concern: that 'they work because they have to.'

4) The fourth group consists of sixteen workers who, again do not question the nature of their jobs because 'they have to work anyway'. The difference between this group and the three (above) is, that while the previous group mentioned specific complaints, this group is made up of workers who question the validity of asking 'are you happy with your job?' The smaller number in this group, if they make an assessment at all, are on the 'happy' side, as opposed to group number three. The examples below will clarify this point:²⁰¹

- Q.18:10 "If I say I'm happy when there is such unhappiness here, it won't do. Compared to working on the land - there is

nothing that changes (for us)."

Q.18:17 "How can we be happy?"

Q.18:27 "We haven't got an art in our hands, we work out of necessity. Because there is no other hope (no remedy), faced with the obligation, we work."

Q.18:108 "No one is happy - but because there are no other possibilities, we will say we are happy."

As the examples show clearly, the idea of being doomed to be a worker, this awareness of their objective existence as members of the working class is important to the way the workers relate to their jobs. The problem of unemployment, the little education they've had, the skills they've acquired, all contribute to exacerbate the situation for these workers, and become the reason why they internalise and accept their subordinate position in the labour-process.

Yet, whether these workers regard the prevailing conditions as absolute and unalterable, or not, cannot be inferred from the answers to questions (Q.18 and Q.20) alone. The analysis of the answers to the questions of 'change' (Q.28, Q.29 and Q.30) will give a better insight into this issue.

One final note: As can be seen from the table (IX,ii,1) over one third of my sample population mentioned this theme as important in determining their attitude towards work in one way or another. This is of crucial importance on its own, whatever the reasons given for it are.

H: Intrinsic Job Satisfaction

It was said earlier that the phenomenon of 'intrinsic job satisfaction' is important. This is to say that both as a result of my participant observation, and the inferences that I made regarding the workers' own responses, I came to the conclusion that intrinsic job satisfaction is more relevant than job satisfaction as such, in determining the subjective relation of the workers to their work-activity. I simply mean that some workers like work. They also like machinery, are attached to their tools. They take satisfaction in accomplishing tasks using their skills. This is more reminiscent of those times when work

was completely a productive and creative activity whereby the worker fulfilled himself, extended his powers and skills, and in doing so, learned new skills, added to his 'powers' and so became more creative.²⁰² In analysing job specifics in FAB we have already seen that most jobs in FAB lack these creative qualities. However, it has also been argued that there are degrees of this 'lack'. Alternatively, some types of work-activities seem to contain more of the essential qualities of work as creative activity. Bearing in mind that I was not aware of this fact when I first went to FAB, one of the first things that struck me was my perception that there was no apparent (visible) resentment against machinery, and no apparent symptoms of estrangement, of alienation. Both of the latter are very broad concepts, and since Marx, the debate on what constitutes 'alienation' has not been satisfactorily resolved.²⁰³ This issue, as well as the idiosyncracies of the FAB case that may prove to be relevant to the discussion on alienation, are presented in Chapter X. The concept of 'intrinsic job satisfaction'²⁰⁴ is found to be useful in explicating one of those idiosyncracies. So, here, I want to relate a particular orientation of FAB workers towards their work - namely 'intrinsic job satisfaction' - to my initial observation of a non-alienated labour-force. The relationship between the two is discovered in the workers' own expressions in the questionnaire.

As the table indicates, over one third of the sample population used this criterion as a means of judging their jobs. This criterion is employed in one of two senses. Firstly, in their relation to their jobs as expressed in terms of 'love of work', love of doing their art/trade, or because they feel they are learning a trade; secondly, as feelings of unhappiness because they don't learn any skills, and because they are not allowed to use their arts/trades. Whether it is used in the former or the latter sense, in other words, whether it is an expression of a 'fulfilment' or a 'deprivation' due to 'lack of fulfilment', the fact that workers have chosen to mention these factors is a significant indication that 'intrinsic job satisfaction' is important in how they relate to their jobs. Furthermore, this may also prove to be important in explaining the apparent lack of 'symptoms' of alienation. This latter will be discussed later.

Here, a closer look at some of the answers given by the workers is

necessary to substantiate the argument. Elements comprising 'intrinsic job satisfaction' appear in various combinations in the workers' answers. These can be firstly grouped into:

- 1) 'intrinsic job satisfaction' - quoted as a reason for 'having no complaints' about their jobs; and
- 2) lack of 'intrinsic job satisfaction' - quoted as a reason for 'having complaints' about their jobs.²⁰⁵

First: four have declared they have no complaints about their jobs (regardless of whether they provided some points of complaint later) due to one or more of the factors which I took to mean 'intrinsic job satisfaction'. Such as:

Q.20:25 "So long as there is work, I have no complaints. I like to work, and I don't object to any kind of it."

Second: eight had complaints in relation to lack of some factor(s) related to 'intrinsic job satisfaction' in the work they do.

Q.20:2 "...When a controller rejects a certain line of production, the foreman comes and says you can't reject this, go and get your report back. But then, we have no function - if and when the foreman decides about 'pass' or 'no-pass' out of his own head. We are not allowed to do what we think is correct." (My emphasis)

Q.20:10 "...Besides, at best, what I learn is to break glass (here) and nothing else. That's why I'm not pleased."

The next grouping concerns:

- 1) those workers who are satisfied with their jobs because they approach towards them from an 'intrinsic-job-orientation'; and the jobs qualify for this purpose; and
- 2) those who are not satisfied, because they are 'intrinsically' oriented but the jobs don't fulfil this need.

First: there are twenty-four workers who expressed satisfaction with their jobs - their reasons clustered around the use of their 'skills', 'arts', 'trades'; a general liking for work/factory life. Since this group is the most relevant for my concern, and also because I find most of their answers fascinating, I quote many of them.

Q.18:2 "...most important (after I came here), I loved this job;

I love to work."

Q.18:14 "I am happy - I do the things I'm familiar with. When someone gets return for his work (labour) one is always happy - but it doesn't satisfy us materially."*

Q.18:29 "Of course I am happy. It is similar to how one finds peace at home, I feel like that when I enter the factory. I like working." (my emphasis)

Q.18:31 "For the time being we are happy. We wouldn't be working otherwise. I like moulding, I like my trade. What interests me is my job...."

Q.18:32 "I am happy. It is tough, but we got used to (it). It is considered an 'art' (trade). The reason is this: I liked the job - having regarded it (as) my own."

Q.18:33 "Yes, if a man does not regard the job as his own and doesn't like it, he can't be successful. Given that we are successful, then we are happy."

Q.18:42 "I am happy - instead of sitting at home doing nothing, to work is better from both the material and spiritual sides. And I like to struggle in life." (My emphasis)

Q.18:56 "I am happy - probably because I am doing the job with love...."

Q.18:62 "I am happy - because I work on machinery. I like to handle machines."

Q.18:70 "I am happy....I like to work anyway."

Q.18:81 "At the moment I am happy - since the New Year. This is my 'work' (art, trade) - it is within my 'branch'. Before they made me carry heavy iron bars. It was like a torture to me. It was a psychological oppression."

Those quoted here, and other similar expressions of workers' 'like' for their jobs, supports my observation that workers seemed to like machinery, that they liked being at the factory, and that it was difficult to suggest they were an alienated section of the working-class. A few examples of the second group of replies will suffice to show that a lack of intrinsically fulfilling working conditions is an important cause of complaint among FAB workers.

Q.20:13 "I am a graduate of the Art Institute; the job is not related to my profession - so it goes unused. This happened once I accepted this job."

* Since he has added that he is not happy with the money, the 'return for labour' he is talking about refers to his accomplishments. He is a lathe-operator working on 'moulds' - that is, completing them.

Q.18:61 "I am both happy and unhappy about my job, (the reasons for the latter are): there are not very many breakdowns that require our attention. So, we come in and out (of the factory) like civil servants. It is something different from being a labourer.(....) I can't accomplish anything along my branch. This forces me to be wasted in our own trade. If we were in other departments, we would at least learn the engines...."

The examples indicate that the FAB workers in this group (the total 34) have a conception of work other than that implicit in the FAB labour-process. They feel wasted, and their skills unutilised when the labour-process lacks those qualities that are present in their conception of work. On the other hand, to the extent that they find these qualities in their jobs, they feel satisfied. The implications of this for FAB workers' consciousness are to be further discussed in Chapter X.

iii) Worker's Relation To His Fellow Men

In answering questions 18 and 20, some workers mentioned managers and, to a lesser extent, workmates as influencing their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their jobs. These two categories define the relationship workers enter into with each other and management during production.

This is assessed in a similar manner to the previous section.

A: Superiors-Management

B: Mates

The table below summarises the findings of Q.18 and Q.20 concerning the themes A and B above.

Table IX,iii,1: Relations with management and work-mates as reasons for job satisfaction or complaint

Title of the Themes	Occurrences as a response to		Total Occurrences	Total occurrence as reason for complaint/dislike	Total occurrence as reason for satisfaction/lack of complaint
	Q.18	Q.20			
A: Superiors-Management	21	22	43	23	16
B: Mates	13	6	19	6	13

Note: Same method of calculating the total occurrences applies here (as in the table IX,ii,1)

A: Superiors-Management

In answering Q.18, six workers expressed 'unhappiness' with their jobs because they could not get on well with their superiors, or the management (often referred to as 'they') who made things more difficult for them. Here are some examples:

Q.18:24 "We are constantly confronted with the chief (day-manager) - only if it were an open relationship...."

Q.18:46 "No, (I am not happy with my job), we are not regarded as equals with the memurs: (referring to both white collar and managerial personnel)....What they seek here is only work - human health, the psychological situation of the workers is not taken into consideration at all."

In answering Q.20, twenty-two workers have centred their complaints about management around their relationship with their superiors. These twenty-two include responses which directly mention superiors/management as negative factors, such as "They are not understanding, helpful, etc." as well as where they are indirectly mentioned, such as "They make us do...." followed by a complaint. The more typical examples are as follows:

Q.20:2 "...And when the chiefs (day-managers) grant you the premiums, they do it without considering who is working and who is not. Although they changed my department, they didn't give me a 5 kuruş (one penny) pay-rise, so that they could 'curry favour' from above. When I was 'squeezed' into a machine, when I've been working for what

I'm worth, then the foreman comes to me and says, 'don't you say that I assigned you to work here'...."

Q.20:24 "There is a friction between us and the chargehands (postabaşı). They put the wrong tickets on the wrong types of products (sometimes the 'accepted' tickets on the rejected products), then we are asked to make a report about this. If we write the report, we are in trouble with the 'postabaşı'; if we don't, with the foremen and the chiefs. And what we say is, after all we are all workers under the same roof."

Q.20:30 "...There is no communication between the employers and the employees - no mutual talk about the problems, no relationship...."

Q.20:81 "(....), we don't get on with the supervisors. Some problems arise, there is friction. Then it is O.K. again. Then it is rotten again - carry on with the job...."

Q.20:84 "For example, our superintendents put too much pressure on us. They tell you to go here, there. Sometimes there are hard jobs. The lift-truck slows down a bit. Then they come and ask you why you load so slow."

As the table (IX,iii,1) shows, a total of twenty-three workers complained about their superiors/management for non-co-operative behaviour, unequal treatment, for being unfair and inefficient. However, sixteen workers mentioned good relations with their superiors/management as part of the reasons why they are satisfied with the jobs they are doing. That the workers of the same factory should have such diverse attitudes towards the same management implies firstly, that individual differences among the managers are observed and important for the workers. Secondly, workers, in their subjective judgment of managerial attitudes, place the emphasis, in varying degrees, on different aspects of these attitudes, that is, mainly in accordance with specific departments and their corresponding managers.

However, without qualifying the nature of the relationship, that nearly half of the sample population (see table IX,iii,1) mentioned the management as a criterion for job satisfaction shows that what is regarded as 'good' or 'bad' relations is important for the workers: important in making their tasks easier/harder, in making the factory conditions of work more tolerable or more intolerable. As in this case:

Q.18:4 "Yes, we are happy. The good intentions of our managers

primarily account for this...."

Or, as in these examples below, managerial attitude can be a positive influence:

Q.18:7 "I am happy. From my own point of view the shift managers and the chief (day-manager) behave maturely - that's why."

Q.18:78 "I am happy (....) Our supervisor (shift-manager) is a nice person, like a friend."

Q.18:89 "Thank God I am happy: both our superiors and the memurs have good will...."

B: Mates

The FAB workers do not seem to place as much emphasis on their relations with work-mates as they did with their superiors. This may be due to several factors: one is that the 'favourableness' of the relations with the mates could have been taken for granted, therefore not mentioned. Another factor could be that such a relationship may simply not exist due to them working in isolation from each other, or unimportant as an influence on the mode of conduct of the worker's job. Alternatively however, the dominant role of the superiors/management in the labour-process, and therefore, their influence on the workers being more powerful than that of mates, might have been the reason for the former appearing more often than the latter in the workers' responses. The questionnaire findings do not allow us to make further inferences on this issue.²⁰⁶

As table IX,iii,1 indicates, when the mates were referred to, this is as a positive effect on their relation to their work and factory life:

Q.18:49 "We are happy (....) because the friends we work with are good - because of friendship...."

Q.18:52 "In a way yes, and that's because when the mates you work with have similar minds, then the job is not so difficult...."

Q.18:77 "I am happy (....) because, we are 5 mates, of the same mentality; we do things together, accomplish things."

Q.18:78 "I am happy: there is harmony among us with the mates."

Only six workers reported their relations with their work-mates as

unfavourable, two of those being conditional, such as:

Q.20:16 "They give someone who knows nothing to the machine-operators (us), and until we teach him the job, this creates too many difficulties."

The remaining four are more direct in evaluating their relations with work-mates as negative influences on their job-satisfaction:

Q.20:2 "Sometimes, those who are inconsiderate among your mates can burden you with all the work-load...."

Q.20:31 "...various other irritations - amongst the mates. For some it is their first job, so they don't know anything - they haven't got a labourer's life (behind them). They are ignorant...."

The last two answers point to an important divisive factor among the workers. Some workers who are not habituated to the CLP, or do not conform with the norms of the CLP, by virtue of these qualities, either consciously or intuitively seek for individual liberation from the oppressive conditions of work. In doing so, these workers act against the interests of their fellow workers, and create division and hostility. The same problem arises between the workers who are oriented towards an 'intrinsic job satisfaction' and those who are not. For the latter, passivity, non-participation and working less becomes meaningful political action; yet this creates a dilemma, especially for the former, namely to seek self-fulfilment in work, or aim for collective political gains.

Seeking both, individual liberation and self-expression in work becomes a dilemma because of the nature of the CLP, or more precisely because of the conditions of estranged labour.²⁰⁷ The estranged labour is a product of the social nature of labour and the private ownership of the means of labour. The former deems individual liberation practically impossible, and the paradox arises due to the inability of the workers to grasp this relationship (i.e., between his labour, and its impact on his fellow men). The latter puts the worker and the capitalist (or his representatives on the shop-floor) in two hostile camps due to the antagonistic interests it gives rise to.²⁰⁸ As exemplified in the FAB case, hierarchical organization of work at the point of production and its divisive features are concrete manifestations of

antagonistic interests, and also accounts for the workers' inability to grasp their common interests as a class.

Marx's postulate that the estranged nature of labour under capitalism determines how men relate to each other also sums up the FAB worker's relation to his fellow men (of both other workers, and the managers); and this as an expression of his relation to himself. Marx writes:

"The estrangement of man, and in fact in every relationship in which man stands to himself, is first realised and expressed in the relationship in which a man stands to other men. Hence within the relationship of estranged labour, each man views the other in accordance with the standard and the position in which he finds himself as a worker. 209

iv) On the workers' concept of 'change' as an aspect of their definition of the labour-process

The answers to the questions 28, 29 and 30 of the questionnaire constitute the basis from which the conceptions of the labour-process, by the workers, are derived. The questions are:

Q.28: Are there any changes that you would like to see made on the site (in the workplace)?

Q.29: Are there any changes that you would like made concerning your own job?

Q.30: Do you think this is the best possible way to accomplish the job you are doing here?

The analysis of the answers to these questions in terms of the recurrent themes in them provides information, and thus allows for interpretation, on three main issues:

- 1) What is the definition of the labour-process, and the workers' own relation to it, as articulated by the workers themselves?
2. What do these definitions demonstrate in regard to class consciousness?
3. What do we learn about the nature of the labour-process in FAB, looking at it through workers' eyes?

The answers to the above three questions consist of a description of the work-process; of alternatives provided by the workers to the present organization of work; and the demands made concerning these. ²¹⁰
The three factors do not always appear as distinct as I have presented them here. Often, a desire is expressed in a complaint; or an alternative is implicit in the demands workers make. Many other combinations also emerged. Most of the 101 answers however, can be brought together under 12 themes. These latter are constructed in the same manner as previously explained in section (i) of this chapter. The headings are as follows:

- A) Demands on alterations in working hours and in the shift system.
- B) Demands from the management; demands from the society/state, or life in general.
- C) Desire for more control over their work and the labour-process; over decision-making.
- D) Desire for self-fulfilment; for recognition of their knowledge and skills.
- E) Demand for environmental betterment; for making factory life more home-like.
- F) Concern for increasing efficiency and productivity and the alternatives they provide.
- G) Demand for equality, especially with managers and memurs.
- H) Improvement of relations with managers; demand for peace, harmony, trust, friendship, etc.
- I) Demand for recognition of their rights in general; and fair treatment from the management.
- J) Demand for higher wages; for social services and facilities on site.
- K) Demand for more men, in order to accomplish their tasks more successfully.
- L) Demand for industrial safety, and improvement of general physical conditions of work.

Three further criteria are deduced from the workers' replies to questions 29 and 30 only (because these two questions are specific to their own jobs) and are included in the analysis. These are:

- M) Technology as the limit to possible change.
- N) Demand for tools, equipment, spare parts; for further machine-use

and automation.

- 0) Changes suggested in the organisation of the labour-process:
division of labour and organisation of work.

First, the total number of workers who mentioned a particular theme is calculated (the 'total rate of occurrence'). The results are presented in the table below. Again, the actual number of workers who cited a particular theme will not be taken as the criterion of its significance but in order to distinguish between statistical distribution and subjective significance. In other words, the significance of a theme will depend on the workers' perception of its significance.

Table IX,iv,1: Concept of change as an aspect of the workers' definitions of the labour-process

The Themes.	Occurrences in response to Q.28	Occurrences in response to Q.29	Occurrences in response to Q.30	Total Occurrences*
A	8	3		11
B	5	2	1	8
C	6	5	9	20
D	7	12	5	20
E	18	1		19
F	3	2		5
G	6			6
H	5	1	1	7
I	7	3		9
J	24	1	1	25
K	9	5	5	18
L	20	9		29
M		9	5	12
N		27	19	39
O		15	9	22

Base: 101 respondents.

* The total occurrences is, again, obtained by first calculating the arithmetical total of themes occurring in each question, then subtracting the overlapping answers from that total.

A: Working Hours and Changes in the Shift System

This theme covers all those workers who disliked the existing working hours, either in terms of duration or in terms of when to commence and terminate. Similarly, the workers who mentioned the shift-system as a set-back to better accomplishment of their jobs, or to their own well-being appear under this heading. In the workers' concern about the hours and the shift-system, a desire to change them is also often expressed, such as:

Q.28:80 "To reorganize the shift system. Night shifts should be reduced to 3 nights a week (those days we work two shifts together could be lifted)."

Q.29:60 "...My week-holiday has been on Thursdays for the past 5 years. I would like to have Sundays as my holidays. I would also like to have no night-shifts for us women: only two shifts, or to work days only."

On the duration of work, and its continuity, one of the workers said:

Q.28:34 "The packing job is a clean job, but we work for 8 hours continuously. This is heavy."

On the question of the way the twenty-four hours are divided into three shifts a few workers mentioned that the shifts should start and end at even hours, not at odd hours, as they do at present.²¹¹ For example:

Q.28:95 "Instead of coming at 7 in the morning, to arrive at 8, and depart at 4 p.m. (instead of 3 p.m.). To work for 5 days/week."

As is clear from these workers' expressions, concern with working hours and the shift system is manifold. However, based on these replies alone, it is difficult to decide whether or not these workers are 'aware' of the way in which their demands concerning the changes in the shift system challenge the managerial authority on the organization of work.²¹² On the other hand, demands put forward to actually reduce the shifts to two per day, to reduce the work-week to 5 days, or to disrupt the continuity of work by introducing more breaks, certainly point to a broad notion of change which these workers have. This is important regardless of whether the workers see it as a challenge to the system

or not. To actually think that such changes are possible, or that they can make these demands on the management indicate that they do not feel totally cowed by the fact that decisions concerning issues of 'time' are regarded by management as their prerogatives.

If we go by the number of instances of this theme on 'time', it does not appear to be as important for the workers as some of the others. Yet, nevertheless, that eleven workers mentioned this is significant in its own right.

B: Demands from Management; Demands from Society/State

This theme is one of the most crucial in terms of its relation to the political awareness of the workers. It covers all those responses which include a connection, between specific problems of which they are aware, and the social system/the whole system of the factory mode of production. The obstacles, these workers saw to the improvement of the conditions of work, are embedded in the social system, and hence, a radical change in that system is demanded to overcome these obstacles. Some did not mention any specific changes, giving reasons like: it will either be impossible to initiate changes unless the whole system is altered, or the changes they would want to see would contradict the legality of the existing system, thereby endangering themselves. One such response is:

Q.28:10 "Even if we wanted, no changes would be (made), because the changes I would want would not be possible according to the constitution of the Turkish Republic. I won't be able to say anything."

Some others were more clear, however, in expressing both exactly what they wanted to change, and also in naming the political regime/social system as a prerequisite for possible changes in the organization of work in FAB. For example:

Q.28:24 "I would, of course, want changes. The kind of change I think is that the working (people) should own the means of production - that those who do production should also own. The working class should take part in the management of the factory. We would like certain anti-democratic laws that constrain our rights to change...."

Q.29:23 "...The change should take place in the system."

These responses cited constitute only one side of the theme (B). On the other side, in some of the demands made of the management, there is the question of identification of the managerial power with that of the state. By making demands to management for a better life, which are demands that can only be (or should be) met by the state, these workers seem to think of managerial power as an extension of the power of the state to organize social life. Note the demands made of management in the examples below:

Q.28:2 "....I wish there was a creche, a nursery. We can't hire a hall for our weddings. They (the wedding ceremonies) could be done here, service could be provided...."

Q.28:9 "....For example, something like a canteen (department store). There is something like a building-co-operative, but it doesn't work. There should be a better building co-operative. There must be an ambulance ready to take the patients to the hospital; also to, for example, Ankara or Istanbul. It may be the case that he has nobody; there must be someone to take care of him. It must be inquired (from here) how or where that patient has been treated. (I also want) houses to be built for workers."

Q.29:83 "We want seminars to be organized - related to our own professions, or general educational seminars." (My emphasis)

The workers point to a contradiction by making these demands: on the one hand their recently acquired proletarian position in the society creates new needs for them, and makes them dependent on the state institutions for their fulfilment. On the other hand, the state and its institutions do not provide the social services the new conditions of existence make imperative. The workers in FAB, by making these demands from management, are making them political in content. The political content can be seen in the inter-relationship the workers formulate between the deprivation in their lives, and the necessity for social change to overcome this deprivation.

C: Desire for more Control over their Work and the Labour Process

This is again, one of the more significant themes that emerges in both the demands the workers make on the system, and in the alternatives they suggested. The title brings together all those instances in which a desire to participate in decision-making is crucial. These include

being allowed to perform tasks in the way they best know, to have more control over how they do their work, and how certain tasks should be handled. It also covers those responses in which workers expressed a wish for a state of affairs in which they could develop a more integrated view of the labour-process, and also for less interference from the management (or fewer managers). Some of these answers, selected to be representative, are as follows:

- Q.29:1 "For example, if we could inspect the bottles on the spot, and notify the production department. I mean if we were each given to a machine, and instead of everyone doing a separate job, each one could do all the jobs on one machine. When we finally (as acceptors/rejectors) tell about (the quality of the bottles) a whole hour has passed." (My emphasis)
- Q.28:18 "I don't know where SG is. (he works in BIC) I've been working here for 5 years, I still don't know its entrance. I would like to know all the departments."
- Q.30:45 "Here our job is constrained. We are not operating machinery in its full sense, efficiently. This is because of hindrance from the foreman, or the shift-manager. It becomes a problem of authority."
- Q.30:82 "The superior shows us how to do a job. But he may be new, he may not know about the job. I know it better because I am the master over the years. If he said do it in your own way, then I do it my way. If he says, No, my word is valid here, then I say, of course, as you like it. Then the job doesn't come out well...."
- Q.28:93 "First of all, the excess number of managers. Since we believe that something can only be achieved by working (manually), the (number of) managers should be reduced."
- Q.30:100 "We've been working here for 4.5 years. I know every state of the machine. However, they wouldn't leave us alone. The shift-manager comes, feeds too much input to the machine, the machine gets blocked. If they left us alone, it would be more efficient."

The significance of these, and other, non-cited answers is their two-fold nature in indicating awareness of how both the workers themselves do not control the labour process, and how things could be run better and work could be more productive/efficient if they had more control. This broad awareness, expressed by one fifth (20) of the workers in my sample (101), certainly signifies that workers in FAB have a rather comprehensive notion (definition) of the labour-process in the factory. ²¹³

D: Desire for Self-Fulfilment, Recognition of their Knowledge and Skills, and Promotion

This theme follows on from the 'intrinsic job satisfaction' criterion, introduced earlier. However, in answering these three questions, most workers have been more specific about wanting to get satisfaction, joy, and a sense of self-assertion as a result of utilizing their skills, powers and knowledge. As well, they expressed frustration when their knowledge and skills are not recognized by the management. Along similar lines, some of them spelled out a desire to learn more, either about their own jobs, or the whole of the production process, as well as new skills or a 'trade'. Some of them also stated that they would like recognition to manifest itself in promotion. This connection some workers made between 'recongition' and 'promotion', I find particularly interesting, because this indicates that these workers do not necessarily see promotion as a ladder to climb up the hierarchy, but as a deserved right. This is illustrated in their own words. First, a group of workers who want to learn more:

Q.28:38 "For example, seminars should be held on both technical and social topics; the workers should be thus educated."

Q.28:105 "There should be some meetings on fixed dates, and various seminars, education for the workers."

It is interesting to note how these workers want to bring together manual work and the intellectual learning process, and they want this to take place on the site, at the point of production.

On promotion: either in order to learn more (as below 98), or because he/she is skilled (102 and 17) are the two most common reasons given:

Q.28:102 "I have been working here for 5 years. Despite this, no promotion - although I teach all the equipment to a new-comer. At times, someone who comes from outside is promoted to higher posts."

Q.29:17 "Everyone should be permitted to rise according to his own circumstances. For example, someone new comes, by pulling some strings, or by bribery, he is put above someone who has grasped the work well. For the latter, there is no progress."

Q.28:98 "I want to transfer to a higher place - like to be an operator."

The majority of the remaining workers in this group consists of those who want to learn more about their own jobs, and those who want to learn more about the production process, as well as those who want to apply their skill and trade if given the chance. For example:

Q.29:5 "I would like to have a table and an oxygen set. This is all I need to do all the necessary welding anyway."

And the frustration caused by no possibility of self-fulfilment:

Q.29:31 "We are like robots. The jobs we do are standard. We don't do anything but (work on) the drawings given to us. Always, the same old 'ebişör-finişör' (presser and finisher). Any change is not possible (....) there are some here who carve exactly the same section year after year. Training in industry is a must."

And wanting to learn more on the production process:

Q.29:32 "Yes, I would like to take a course which will accommodate us better to the job. I want to learn new things. I want to be trained on the minerals, on the feeder section."

Again, the same worker:

"....We are faced with various situations, but I don't know how they can be corrected. For example, the bubbles. Are they from the furnace, or from production? We don't know what is to be done, whichever is the case. For example, those who work at ATAS (a refinery) know about all the units. These are good things (to know). I don't know the furnace, the machines."

And of course, those who want their ideas listened to:

Q.29:46 "'They' don't value the workers. Although sometimes 'they' eventually come to understand that the way the worker has suggested was better. Still, all the time 'they' invalidate the workers' ideas; their ideas are not given any importance (are not paid any attention)."

And the sense of being wasted:

Q.29:81 "I am an experienced machine-operator, having worked for 8 years. They use an experienced man like me on meaningless jobs.. They make me carry heavy engines, they make

me carry pipes in the rain. They say, 'either you do this, or here's the door for you'. We work at 80°c., if necessary, for hour after hour. Then, we are still not valued."

A total of twenty workers mentioned the importance of one or more aspects of this theme. However, the significance of this number of instances is amplified when the theme is considered in relation to the previous theme (C), and as a follow-on from the desire for intrinsic job satisfaction. Wanting to do a meaningful job, and the fact that not all of the workers simply want any job that will earn them a living, but a job where they can learn/apply their skills, is of crucial importance. Furthermore, what is indicated in those responses is that many workers in FAB do not think that production is the management's responsibility alone but theirs too.

These phenomena can be summed up as 'identity striving'. They find expression later in this thesis where the sources of workers' search for a new 'identity' is looked into (Chapter X, sections i and ii).

E: Demands for Environmental Betterment; Making Factory Life more Home-Like

Some of the demands related to this theme are very straightforward; concerned simply with making the site a better-looking, more likeable place. These vary from wanting a park on site to having music played in the dining hall, or more and better sports facilities.

There is a little park in front of the admin. block, with benches shaded by ivy, which are nice and cool to sit on during the lunch break. One of the Q.C. women referring to that park said:

"They made a park here. We can't go and rest there. It is not useful for anything. If we go and sit, they make a fuss about it."

The same worker demanded a park which they, as workers, could use. This is an interesting demand since, being a shift worker this worker could make no use of it even if a park was provided. (Shift-workers do not have a lunch break, and by definition, have to work for eight continuous hours). Her demand, therefore, is interesting because it shows that she doesn't regard herself as being imprisoned to her work

for eight hours, despite the managerial prerogative; and also that even if she can't use the park, its mere presence there will make her happier.

Other similar demands are put forward by many workers, altogether nineteen, as can be seen from the table above. (Table IX,iv,1) Some of these are:

- Q.28:16 "When the workers come in to work, there is no way to walk in. Bottles are piled up everywhere, where shall we enter from? There is a sick-bay; the doctor comes in at 9-10; the patients wait outside in the morning cold. It would be better if they provided a closed room to wait. Oh, if you were among us....Everything has to change in this factory completely."
- Q.28:49 "First of all, a resting place like a beautiful park. Some cleaning- and tidying-up of the environment. A general tidying-up of the factory."
- Q.28:51 "Yes, we have a one hour lunch-break; we would like to be able to read during this period, so we would like a library, and a sports centre...."
- Q.28:67 "This site has enough room (in it); and we could pay rent. There could be housing on site. (I want) more emphasis on sports, and something like a garden."
- Q.28:70 "Many: a football pitch on site. The dirt (waste) ground should be done away with and a park should be built instead. There should be air-conditioning (cooling and heating) in the plants. In winter we freeze, in summer we burn."
- Q.28:100 "...A sports centre on site, and also a holiday camp at the sea-side."

As these examples clearly denote, the workers have a wide variety of demands from the management, and images of a nice, beautiful and comfortable site. The underlying desire in all these responses is to bring work and 'life' together once more. How this separation occurred in the first place with capitalism was discussed in Chapter VIII. Here, it is sufficient to note that the workers, in their awareness of this separation, express a desire for re-union.

Demands for a better environment, and the emphasis on wanting to indulge in recreational activities at the point of production have important implications for the workers' concept of 'public' and 'private' spheres

of their lives. This point relates to one of the theoretical issues of this thesis and hence will be discussed in the conclusions chapter. Here, it should be noted that, the workers' demands indicate the source from which they seek enjoyment and fulfilment: this is not so much in their 'private' lives, but in the 'public' domain of work.

F: Concern for Increasing Efficiency-Productivity

This theme is composed of statements of concern about increasing efficiency/productivity. The title simply brings together all those workers who said anything to the effect that: "If....(an alternative presented) then the efficiency/productivity will also increase."

The essential aspect of this theme is an explicit concern about the level of productivity. This management-like attitude is what distinguishes the workers in this group from the rest, in the alternatives they suggested to improve the running of the site.

Q.28:63 "...Everywhere there are electric bulbs on for no reason. Both the factory and the country lose energy. The productivity (fluctuations) should be more strictly controlled. Why does it decrease or increase? They must take care of this...."

Q.30:42 "...For example, if they provide for our rights and facilities, it will be more efficient. The productivity will increase. Because then we would be healthy."

That only a few workers (refer to table IX,iv,1) relate to this issue in a similar manner to that of managers probably means that it does not play a part in FAB workers' lives.

G: Demand for Equality, especially with Managers and Memurs

This theme is constituted by those answers which clearly state a wish for equal treatment with managers and memurs. For example:

Q.28:5 "When it is workers who enabled the workplace to achieve its purposes, things were made to go wrong - (the emphasis) shifted towards the 'memurs' (the white-collars) and the managers. It has been made to seem that 'memurs' are different, are better. There is always a green-line between the workers and the memurs. The difference between the two is like the difference between the bourgeois and the worker in France (during the French revolution!). I

want the social relations to change...."

Q.28:31 "The superiors here despise the workers under them. I mean this is a shameful thing. Human beings are equal. But it is different during 8 work-hours, something else when you go out. Some men should be corrected."

Some other workers in this group stated that they want equal treatment of all the workers.

Q.28:19 "....What I want is that all workers share the same situation (work under the same conditions)...."

Q.28:20 "....the premium-wages should be given equally to everyone...."

Whether the demand is directed towards equality between workers and managers or among workers, the common feature is the severe criticism of workers against division and discrimination. A humanitarian approach comes out strikingly in the above (19's) expression. Only six workers mentioned this in their responses to the questions in the questionnaire, and this is lower than one would have expected. During my stay in FAB, discrimination between memurs/managers and the workers, and the consequent advantageous position of the former, in every aspect of factory life, was brought up with resentment in every informal conversation with the workers.

One worker (cited below) however, summarizes the most common elements of where the separation manifests itself, and the workers' resentment about it:

Q.28:102 "There is a tremendous separation of worker-memur. For example, if I'm late, I can't enter by the front door. You are 10 minutes late, until you go to the back door, it becomes $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. Then 2 hours of your wages are cut. The 'salaried' can enter/exit wherever they like. All the luxurious buses (are allocated) to them, the shabby ones to us. E.g., a chicken is divided into 7 portions; this causes inequality - some portions are big, some are small...."

H: Demands for Peace, Harmony, Friendship on Site

Some workers, aware of the tension between the managers and themselves, and also among work-mates, react to this by their expression of a desire for better social relations on the site. Some explicitly demanded

that mutual trust should be the basis of relations on the site, and that 'peace and order must prevail'. Altogether, seven workers mentioned this.

Since this is one of the themes that occurred in questions 18 and 20 previously, a few examples will suffice to elucidate what some workers mean by asking for better social relations.

Q.28:60 "The chief, the foreman don't care about us, not even a hand-shake.* Nothing to make your job easier; they don't care. Everyone is left on their own. We said this to them too. But it is all the same; nothing ever changes."

Q.28:31 "...It is necessary to work fraternally. The upper ranks have to educate the lower ranks on the worker-employer relationship, and on management. How (under what conditions) does a worker work? There are many who don't know about this. Once he has the job, he becomes superior. Those who've had a working life (in the past) are more conscious."

Q.30:19 "...Some do less work. Then he puts pressure on the level below. There must be equality, unity, togetherness. What we do here is struggle."

I: Demand for Recognition of Rights and Fair Treatment from the
Management

The 'rights' they are referring to in these answers are the officially acknowledged rights - such as the shoe and overall allocations, and redundancy pay - which are not put into practice. Workers can, of course, go to the union, or appeal individually to the management when such rights are violated. Yet, having to do this for the acquisition of the simplest right to an overall is a strain, and therefore the workers often refrain from appealing. In their replies to the questions concerned however, some workers expressed the desire for the recognition of their rights. These workers seem to believe that fair treatment from the management is a necessary step in solving this problem.

Q.28:13 "Whatever we say is futile. We have demands from our own point of view, however the ones above us do as they think...."

* The hand-shake is an important ritual on site, see Chapter X, section iii, where the role of this ritual is discussed.

Q.28:78 "...They make a lot of problems in giving the overalls and the shoes. I work among glass-fragments; (look at this!) I haven't got the soles of my shoes. There are a lot of rituals to get new ones...."

Q.28:106 "...The employer fires workers and all of them should be paid redundancy. Otherwise the work-mates suffer, are victimized. The employer should help the workers on these issues...."

J: Demand for Better Social Facilities, and Higher Wages

All the workers who mentioned higher wages, better fringe benefits, special facilities such as a creche, nursery, bus services, better health services, overalls, shoes, etc., are brought together under this heading. As the table above shows, this is one of the most often cited demands; some examples of which are:

Q.28:30 "Social rights: our bathing conditions.. It is difficult to go all the way to the social building with grease all over you, and to wash there....And the food problem. Whether the oil they use is bad or something - you get itchy, or get something else...."

Q.28:34 "...The overalls are not so good; the shoes are given once in 6 months, they don't last. The towels once in 6 months, a cake of soap once in 15 days...."

Q.28:55 "Pay-rise, the granting of the social rights, like the overalls, shoes, wood to burn. While prices change twice a month, we change our situation once in two years with C.B."

Q.28:102 "...The doctor is chosen deliberately. Unless you have a horrific illness, he doesn't give you a sick-paper, won't send you to the hospital...."

The majority of the twenty-five workers who are in this group are those who stressed mainly: 1) allocations of shoes and overalls, 2) wage-increases, as the most acute problems, and therefore the most fiercely wanted items.

K: Demand for more Workers

Again, the demand for more workers in their departments/plants is one of the most consistent. Unlike the case in the workers' complaints (see p.212 of section ii) where the workers of only two specific departments reported this problem, here, the demand for an increase in

quotas came from workers of a large number of departments. Eighteen workers (see table IX,iv,1) said they wanted more men in their departments, either so that they could work better, or to lighten their work-load, or both. Each worker who simply said, "More men" is included in this group, hence I shall quote only one example (chosen because of its beautiful simplicity of expression):

Q.30:89 "When there is a manpower shortage, we can't bring our minds (ideas) together with our work. It (the work) lags behind. When there are enough men, then we do it."

L: Demand for Industrial Safety and Improvement of Physical Conditions
of Work

Demands geared towards industrial safety and improvement of physical conditions are certainly the most recurrent ones. The total number of workers who mentioned this (twenty-nine) constitute approximately one third of the whole sample. These workers want the conditions they work in to be made safe and healthy. They pointed to the dangerous conditions they are forced to work in, and made suggestions about improvements. Among the most cited conditions were air pollution, heat/cold problems, and lack of air:

Q.29:9 "A ventilation (system) that sucks out the glass particles from the air. This I want for the Reset department."

Q.29:13 "The overalls they give us should be more resistant to heat....In summer, it is too hot, (we want) a ventilator."

Q.29:18 "The kitchen is very hot. I said, 'there should be aspirators (air conditioning) installed here as in the banks.' The manager said, 'You are too fat, that's why you sweat a lot. If you eat less, you won't sweat!' It is too hot in summer. We want the kitchen to be cool. 'The dishwasher could be placed upstairs' we said, then we could do the washing up with some coolness. Nothing happened...."

Q.29:28 "For example, they have to find a solution to the problems of the fission department, in terms of safety. One pair of shoes wears out in one month, and that is a pair of heavy, army shoes! If the shoes and overalls wear out, how can a human being survive? Say we leave a (clean) layer of cardboard in the evening, when we come in the morning, we see that it is totally covered by dust. God knows how it (dust) covers our lungs. When the electricity goes off, you can't even see the face of your mate, it is that misty due to the dust."

There are more pressing problems of industrial safety besides air pollution however:

Q.28:61 "Here, where an animal can't enter, they put men and make them work....Examples: the lower section of BIC, the batch, the floatation units - where men carry acid on their backs and some getting burnt by it. For example, more gloves are needed. They are not given. They make us work without taking any security measures....And when you have an accident, they say, 'Why didn't you come to us before for safety equipment?'"

Q.28:71 "Our lives should be made safe in this factory...."

Most of the demands made by these workers, concerning industrial safety and physical conditions, are easily relatable to the actual conditions of work in FAB; hence it is not surprising that so many of them mentioned these aspects. What is surprising, however, is that other, equally deteriorating conditions, such as noise in BIC are not mentioned at all and no demands are put forward for the lessening of it. This, I think, is related to a point made earlier: if a condition, however detrimental for the workers, is seen to be a direct consequence of technology and inevitably due to the nature of technology (the IS machines in the case of noise in BIC) then, workers seem to accept it more readily. As was said earlier, the noise level in BIC, especially around the IS machines, is indescribably high. One would expect that, at least the machine-operators who have to endure that noise eight hours a day, would demand to have this problem solved.²¹⁴

Yet, none of them has. This seems to be an acceptance of the consequences of 'instrumental rationality' -- a phenomenon examined further in the next chapter (Chapter X, sections iv and vi). Strangely enough, the heat or glass-dust caused by the corresponding production machines in SG, seem to be easily remedied by aspirators/ventilators, etc., yet even I, although finding the noise more objectionable in BIC than the pollution and heat in SG, felt that nothing much could be done about the noise. The apparent impossibility of an immediate solution seems to prevent workers from making any demands for it.

The last three themes mentioned by workers relate to questions 29 and 30 alone. Some of the demands mentioned as a response to these

questions overlap with some of the desired changes already cited. The reason for reiterating these here is to note the change in the underlying emphasis, i.e., to include the alternatives provided by the workers and to explore where the emphasis is placed by them in alternative ways of accomplishing their tasks. The three themes are introduced in succession to the above themes.

M: Technology as the Limit to Possible Changes

Some respondents, in answering the above two questions, assumed that changes concerning their jobs and the mode of conduct of their work could not be made. The existing technology of production in the glassworks industry, and the machines they used were presented as natural limits to any further changes. The typical answers are such as the ones below:

Q.29:3 "The necessary changes concerning work are done. Things have been made easier than in the past, that is, relatively. With these machines, no other changes could be made. As much as can be, is done anyway."

Q.29:10 "In this glass-works (industry), with these machines, there can't be many changes...."

There is a less typical answer among this group, which is worth quoting:

Q.29:51 "Nothing at the moment, because what I tried to change, I have accomplished."

This worker's response is important to note because it reflects a radically different approach to his job and its circumstances. He is the clerk of the production department, whose principal task is to prepare production reports. He works on his own, and is relatively independent in the way he handles his job. This obviously allows him to say that he achieved whatever changes he wanted to make. Certainly, the concept of 'technology' is a broad one as applied to his case, if we include him in this group.

There are a few others in this group who stated that certain improvements in the techniques used in their plants have already been made, and so, until further technological innovation, no further changes seemed

possible to them. For example:

Q.30:22 "This is most efficient - with reference to the monorails. Before, the vacuum sucker moved with wrist-strength. Now it is with electricity."

Existing technology as an obstacle to further improvement in the way workers undertake their tasks, is seen, in some cases, in terms of a lack of knowledge about other/better technologies. This worker expresses it clearly:

Q.29:23 "Because we don't know whether there is better equipment, (I'll say) 'No'. (That no changes concerning my job are possible)."

Yet, this doesn't stop him from providing alternatives as to where the changes should take place, given the technology. He continues:

"....The change should take place in the system. The working conditions...."

The difference between the above worker's (23) response and the rest marks two distinct degrees of awareness. The latter, while being aware of the role of technological determination in the organization of work, questions only the level of technological development, and regard this aspect as a constraint on improvement of working conditions. In other words, the solution to the problem is looked for (and, in some cases, found) within the system. The former however, questions the nature of technology itself, and the social order.

N: Demand for Tools, Equipment, Spare-Parts; for Further Machine-Use and Automation

This is by far the most often cited demand of the workers. Approximately 40% (thirty-nine workers) of the total sample mentioned one or more aspects of this theme as a desired change for better accomplishment of their tasks. This is an important theme, and is made all the more significant by the high number of workers who mentioned it. It is important because of its implications for 'intrinsic job satisfaction', and in turn, for the presence of a totalistic conception of the labour-process. If so many workers demand tools, equipment and spare

parts, or "increased/more" efficient use of machinery in response to question 29 (changes concerning their own jobs) and to question 30 (whether their jobs are accomplished in the best possible way), then this clearly indicates that:

- 1) they want to accomplish their tasks in a better way, given the chance, and,
- 2) they regard the efficient and rational utilization of the resources during production to be their concern. Both of these point to a positive approach to work, and an implicit definition of work as a creative activity other than simply a means of earning a living.

Here are a few examples:

- Q.30:5 "Because of the lack of spare-parts we try to recycle the parts that have reached their life-span...."
- Q.30:26 "If it were fully automatic, it would have been better in the Green Plains site, it is said to be that way."
- Q.30:31 "No, of course it could be better. There are better looms for more efficiency. For example, Revolve Automatic Looms."
- Q.30:68 "If it were done more technically, it would have been better. For example, in foreign countries, there is a machine which tells you where the fault is - you can watch it from where you sit. Then you can immediately go and repair it. Here, everything is done with (human) power."
- Q.30:90 "Yes, maybe it is possible to do better, but not yet. For example, they install bunkers in some places, you throw the waste in it, at the bottom, tractors load it. If there were something like that here, it would be better."
- Q.30:105 "No, in fact they've chosen simple methods. They've chosen the cheap supplies, cheap chemicals. It could be more efficient. They have simplified a job which is not simple. The quality of goods is not right. Everything has been thought for short-term."

The underlying theme in all these quoted responses, and in the others of the same group which were not quoted, is self-explanatory. Workers have jobs which require the accomplishment of various tasks. From the workers' own words it is clear that they do not want to avoid accomplishing their tasks in a better, more efficient way. They do not regard these issues to be the concern of the management/company alone. Yet, the tools, equipment, machines, spare-parts, etc. that they require for the achievement of better results are not provided for them. Neither have

they access to the decision-making about methods that are more productive, and which supplies should be given priority. This counteracts the constant pressure put on them for more efficiency/productivity. They do provide alternatives, yet they are not taken any notice of. The division of labour is such that it is the management's, and not the worker's job to think of ways of improving the techniques used in production. Thus, on the questions of efficiency and productivity, the management will resort to their own, and not to workers' ideas, since the latter integrates concerns for comfort, ease, etc., - which are not necessarily managerial priorities - with the concern for efficiency and productivity.

Another aspect of the replies pertaining to the question of further automation is of crucial significance. It is the total absence of any resentment against machines, nor a fear of losing their jobs due to increased automation. In fact, this is a desired change. This has important implications for the collective consciousness of these workers, and therefore will be explored in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to note that many workers do not feel threatened by the machines. I want to quote one exception to this general attitude. This exception is significant in reflecting the dilemma of a worker who, being aware of how much easier his job (packing and sorting) would be made by the introduction of new machinery and thus wanting this to happen, at the same time fears that this may make him redundant.

Q.30:98 "They said there's gonna be a packing machine coming from Istanbul. Would they fire us if the machine comes? It would be better if it were more automatic, but we think of our bread."

O: Changes Suggested in the Organization of Labour Process: Division of Labour and Organization of Work

This theme, as the title suggests, brings together the fundamental aspects of the labour-process. The theme itself is composed of the alternative ways of task-accomplishment in terms of:

- 1) division of labour; either an alternative one is proposed, or suggestions are made for the existing one to operate rationally.

Examples from this group are:

Q.29:16 "Concerning our department: auxiliary workers; they employ some men who don't know the job. Instead, if they formed groups of 6 (it would be better). And the cleaning group could attend a course for 2 hours a day. And six months later, they could take an exam and then be taken to work on the machines."

Q.29:45 "The functions of the machine-operators should be reduced, and the assistant machine-operators should come down from above (the balcony) to work with and help the operators. When there is a breakdown, we can't reach everywhere."

2) Organization of work; either an alternative is proposed in this area, or the present one is criticised pointing out its shortcomings. Examples from this group are:

Q.29:105 "I am single in the shift; rotate on my own; there must be a helper. Legally, it can't be a single person anyway. Here, it is called the physics lab - the other is chemistry. No need for this separation - both can do the same jobs. The other side is regarded as salaried personnel; here we are regarded as workers. Yet, I can do the same job. No such discrimination should exist...."

Q.29:119 "First, this ore should be kept stored for a year, so that it gets in the rain and cleaned of dust, or actually by watering it here. The material supplied into the crushers should come in smaller...."

3) Demand for loosening of managerial control, and demand to be permitted to think about tasks and do them in the way they think best.

Examples from this group are:

Q.30:51 "It is possible to make it more efficient. The shift clerks should be able to work more independently. They should not be repressed. The extra jobs should be lifted, and they should (be allowed to) only deal with reports of production and supplies." (My emphasis).

Q.29:13 "We do our work according to the orders from above. Had we been doing it ourselves, we would have expressed more demands, (which would) also be for the benefit of the enterprise...."

The common feature in all the answers classified in three sub-titles above is this: the alternatives these workers proposed, and the criticisms directed against the present structure of the labour-process (with the division of labour and organization of work it involves) are congenial

to their view of the labour process, and, therefore, it can be asserted that the latter is relatively integrated. This totalistic conception of the labour-process suggests, in turn, that the separation of conception and execution is not complete. This is so with respect to the workers' subjective perception of the labour-process, and themselves in relation to it. They do not conceive of themselves as reduced to 'conscious organs of machinery' - to use Marx's phrase. What they are aware of however is that the present labour-process and the role of management in it, are ridden by that separative tendency, and are obstacles to accomplishment of their tasks in a creative, productive, and (in this context) rational mode. This awareness is not limited to the number of workers covered under this theme (twenty-two, see table IX,iv,1 above) alone. The responses to the themes C, D and I above especially, which are all indicative of the presence of a similar form of awareness, can be integrated with the present group (of theme O) signifying therefore that many FAB workers have this situational awareness.

An Additional Note

A further characteristic of some of the FAB workers, that can be observed in their answers to the questions 28, 29 and 30 is worth noting. Some workers, instead of using the first person in expressing their demands, put it in the form of "some friends want". In some other cases they mentioned desired changes for departments other than their own. Various others made it explicit that a particular change they have named, do not really concern themselves much, but still would put it down as a demand because their mates want it. Altogether eight workers can be classified in this category. One interesting example is:

Q.28:98 "I don't play football, but I would like to have a pitch."

He only makes a demand of it because many workers who like to play football have been asking the management to provide them with a pitch instead of the rough field they play on at present.

Although such answers are not very common, the fact that this occurs seems to indicate a degree of collectivity and solidarity amongst the

workers, which has found expression in some workers' responses.

v) On Worker's Relation to his Product

Man's existence under capitalism is an alienated one; alienated from his own productive activity, from his fellow men and from his product. This is one of the most well-known and much debated premises of the Marxist theory of capitalism. Man is alienated from his productive activity because his labour-power (which he extends in the labour-process) is estranged from him. He does not own it - it belongs to the capitalist who has purchased it. He is also alienated from his product. It does not belong to him, but to the capitalist. Furthermore, production is not for satisfaction of the needs of the producers themselves, but for needs created by the market. Those who produce do not have any control over what to produce, and over the destination of the products once they are produced. In this sense, the product becomes an entity, something alien to the men who produced it. The producer's only remaining relation to his product is through the market, in which he can buy the goods he himself or other workers have produced, with the wages he is paid for producing them. Additionally, because it was not the producer who made the decision what to produce, and on what happens to the product afterwards, the product itself becomes an alien power, since by its very presence in the market, it creates further needs, which can then only be satisfied again through more alienated labour, through the market.

Being the creator of this alienated product, man also, according to Marx, is alienated from himself. Marx's theory of alienation therefore constitutes his 'concept of man in capitalist society'. In this respect, according to Ollman:

"the theory of alienation is the intellectual construct in which Marx displays the devastating effect of capitalist production on human beings, on their physical and mental states and on the social processes of which they are a part."215

Marx's theory of alienation, regardless of his own and others such as Ollman's emphasis on it as an 'intellectual' construct, is often used as a representation of reality, i.e., as truly corresponding to the

reality of everyday existence of workers in capitalist societies. There are two points to be made here: the first point is that, insofar as one agrees with Marx's theoretical stance regarding the alienation of labour then, regardless of whether the alienated existence of workers is empirically available or not, or regardless of whether or not the workers themselves are 'conscious' of their alienation, the theory of alienation has to be accepted as a valid diagnosis of the nature of existence of man under capitalism.

The second point is that, the concrete situation of workers in various capitalist societies has still to be examined in order to discover how close Marx's theory of alienation is to reality, as well as to have an understanding of how workers themselves define this alienated existence. The latter is of crucial importance since, only by integrating the subjective perception of the participants in concrete situations can one avoid confusing intellectual constructs with real life situations.

Following on from these two points, my more particular concern here is focussed on one of the four constituent elements* of Marx's theory of alienation, namely that of man's relation to his product. More specifically, 'how do FAB workers relate to their products?'

Data on this question are compiled by interviewing twenty-one workers out of the 101 worker-sample population.²¹⁶ One of the questions asked in the interview was regarding the worker's opinion about the usefulness (or importance) of sheet-glass and bottles for human life. They were asked whether or not they thought that they were contributing to the production/consumption of these products, by their work in FAB. Furthermore, they were also asked to comment on how they felt about the finished products (sometimes, whether they took pride in them), even though they neither own them nor participate in the profits made from their sale.

All the workers except one responded 'yes' to all the questions above (i.e., these products are important, their work does contribute; and they do take pride in their products, all with varying degrees of emphasis). Only one worker said that he didn't think glass is essential for human life, but he expressed his belief that his work does contribute to the production of glass.

* 4 constituent elements are: man's relation to his productive activity, his product, his fellow men, and the species. Ollman (1977), p.136

The interview took a very informal tone, and thus the wording of the questions vary slightly. In the examples quoted below, I have also included the questions where the meaning of the response can only be clearly understood by the context of the question. Where questions are not cited, the answers follow the order of the questions as given above.

A furnace worker; SG

- What do you think about the glass produced here then? What is your contribution to the production of glass?

76*- First of all, the raw materials are melted in our section. So obviously I make a "contribution".

- Do you take pride in this?

76 - When it comes out good, I am proud; but when it comes out cracked it makes us worry.

- Well, the glass that comes out is not yours, and one could easily say 'what is it to me anyway?' Do you think that way?

76 - If you think that way, what are you going to eat bread with? One works with good intentions.

A Second-Cutter; SG

- Here, glass is produced. Do you think glass is important?

9 - Glass is important in every sense, because it is exported to foreign countries, by Turkey, or by the people who own this place. This is a source of income, it (the glass) is something that meets

* The numbers refer to the questionnaire form number, i.e., represents the respondent.

a need, and is profitable in every sense.

- Well, this glass is not yours, and the money does not go into your purse. Doesn't this mean anything to you? Doesn't it create anger?

9 - Why?! It's a good thing for me. Say, when I need glass, where am I going to buy it from if it is not produced in Turkey? It will come from abroad and therefore it will cost more for me. And that's why it's better to make it here.

- What you do here, does it contribute to the production of glass?

9 - Had there not been our section here, these sheets would be re-melted, i.e., would be recycled; I mean that these sheets would be discarded. But what we do here is to get the best out of the defective sheets.

A BIC mould-maintenance worker

- Bottles are produced in this factory - what do these bottles mean to you? I mean, what do you feel when you see them, or when you see them outside?

5 - Inside, when I'm working in the factory, when I see the bottles, I mean when I have repaired the breakdown and when it is over and the machine works at full speed, and then all the bottles coming out of the machines line-up in rows on the belt, it looks as nice to my eyes as the harvest crops in the field. It adds a fascinating colour....

- What about, say, when you see an Efes (beer) bottle outside?

5 - Yeah, I know many of my mates bet on the bottles, saying this must be our factory's property because it is strong.

- And what do you think your contribution is to the production of these bottles?

My contribution, of course, comes from making the bottle machines (IS) work without any halts. All the breakdowns are referred to us, and because of this, we use all resources to put the machine back into the cycle again.

A diesel-maintenance worker

79 - Of course it can be regarded as important. It meets certain needs. They have established a huge big factory for it, haven't they?

- If you had established a factory, would you have done the same?

79 - If I were to establish one, I would choose something to contribute to the country. It could be glass, or it could be something else too.

Our contribution is to give services to the BIC, so yes, we do make a contribution.

When we see bottles (in town) we look at their bottoms and when we see the trade-mark, we do say, 'Oh, that's our factory's good.'

- Doesn't it hurt your pride that the bottles are not yours, neither are the gains from them?

79 - Well, since we work here, since my labour has been involved in it, we still can take pride in it. Every year, when I see all these bottles wasted for nothing, I really feel sorry. I say 'so much labour is spent on this, that so many workers' labour, so much fuel-oil is used. Isn't it a pity that so many bottles are left to waste here? Wouldn't it be better to send them somewhere?'

Storehouse 'receiver' - BIC packing department

24 - Obviously, it has some place in human life. Like the windows, they're good for human health. Similarly, the bottles are important for soft drinks, fruit juices, alcoholic drinks, and medicine.

I do believe that I have a contribution.

I do feel proud when I see them (the bottles) outside, because it is a product produced by the hands of the working class.

The remaining sixteen workers' jobs²¹⁷ are as wide-ranging as the five quoted above. The twenty-one workers in this sample, therefore, undertake jobs with varying degrees of direct involvement in the manufacturing process. This is important because, it indicates that regardless of the differences in the types of work these workers undertake, their subjective relation to the products are the same. In other words, their responses to the relevant questions does not correspond, or derive from the actual work they do. It is therefore significant that all twenty-one of them believe that their own labour contributes to the production of glass/bottles.

It is also important that all the twenty-one workers said they took pride in having contributed to the making of glass, and that their relation to products was not undermined by their inability to own and control them. In other words, they don't relate to their product in an alienated manner, even though their objective situation in relation to their product is an alienated one (in the Marxian sense.)

All the workers in the sample know where and why sheet glass and bottles are used, i.e., what use they have for human life. Both products are part of their own consumption, and in this sense, they have a direct relationship with their products. The fact that the company donates a sufficient number of plates of glass to any worker who builds his own house contributes to them having a more direct relationship with their products. All this implies that the glass industry may not be an 'ideal' branch of industry to observe manifestations of alienation; or that alienation is not manifest in the glass industry. Certainly, if one goes by the workers' subjective evaluation of their own relation with their products, then, it can be concluded that FAB workers do not exhibit an alienated existence in relation to their products. Awareness on their part that their labour produces something which has a 'use-value', which meets a 'human-need' (that they can easily identify in their consciousness of the situation), counteracts their objectively alienated existence in

relation to their products.

There are two questions to be asked here following on from Marx and Ollman's expositions:

1) Are sheet-glass and bottles truly human needs, or needs created and imposed on the workers by the market mechanism, by the profit-making motive of the capitalist mode of production?

2) To what extent can FAB workers' responses be accepted at their face-value? In other words, could it not be claimed that idealizing their own role in the production of glass and taking pride in this is a form of 'false-consciousness', a conception which helps them to cope better with their alienated existence of which they might not be 'consciously' aware, but nevertheless feel?

The answer to the first question is not an easy one. Marx would certainly not deny that once a good is produced, it becomes a social need in that unless this need is satisfied (albeit through the market), people may feel discontented. But, if we go along with Ollman's analysis of Marx's conception of man,²¹⁸ then a truly human need is defined as one which, in its fulfilment, allows man to develop new powers and skills that in turn allow him to realise his potential for self-expression.

According to Ollman, the species character of man is such that his needs are simultaneously informed by the knowledge to fulfil them. He gives the example of the need for food. The sensation of the feeling of hunger (the need to eat) takes place concurrently with man's ability to fulfil this need by eating, which in turn, presupposes the power to appropriate/produce food. In doing this, man acquires new powers, skills which create new needs.²¹⁹ In this sense, according to Marx-cum-Ollman, needs and powers (to fulfil them) can be said to be synonymous, and are two different aspects of the same underlying human reality.²²⁰

Coming back to the case of FAB workers: the novelty of industrial experience for many of them means that by transforming themselves into industrial workers, they have acquired new skills. Many of them mentioned this during the interview. They are also aware that by

applying their 'powers' on the machines, they are able to produce something, i.e., by acting upon the external world, they create changes which become the reflection of their power to create, to affect, to cause. An assistant-machine operator in SG (67) said: (I quote in length as it is very pertinent to this discussion)

"When we first came here, we were astounded by the way the glass was formed, it seemed impossible. We visited the BIC and realised that there is work which is more detailed, more complex, more precise than any agricultural work.... We asked about things like where have these engines/machines come from? They said from Belgium, from America. We understood that there are more modern, more advanced countries. If we could go to other places, we would perhaps see that there is nuclear power. What I mean is that by learning some things from them it is possible to go forward (progress), whereas in agriculture, it is all the same work, no progress. It is the oldest kind of work. The only change takes place in replacing the animals by a tractor. Here, you don't think of yourself as doing exactly the same work all the time. Had you been thinking like this, you wouldn't carry on working anyway. You would go away. Everyone can find a job. No one will starve, or leave his family un-sheltered. Won't one even be able to feed his hunger? But of course, you would be initially sorry if you are fired. It is because, you have got used to your work, to your mates and to your superiors. From this point of view, I mean, because you miss all these that you feel sorry when you leave. Not to miss them, you don't want to leave...." (My emphasis)

The awareness of this worker about how industrial life equips workers with new skills, new powers that allow them to feel they are 'not doing the same old job all the time', needs to be emphasised. At the same time, his sense of progress, that it is within the power of mankind, and of himself, to further the use of energy in achieving more dramatic accomplishments for human advancement, is worth stressing.

The tendency of the CLP is in the direction of incessantly separating human needs from the power to satisfy them by establishing intermediary mechanisms between needs and powers. This is not however, what the individual worker experiences. From the perspective of this worker and many others like him in FAB, capitalist industrial production initially enriches them with new powers and skills. From these twenty-one responses it is possible to deduce that it is this latter aspect of factory work that most FAB workers relate to, and not the estrangement deriving from their class position. This should be borne in mind as it obviously constitutes an important element of FAB workers' class consciousness.

Again, these twenty-one workers have their own views on how 'truly' human the need is for sheet-glass and bottles: it is in the expressions like the below that one finds these views:

"Of course it (the glass) is important. Glass-bottle is both more healthy and better than plastic, aluminium or copper...."

"Glass is important in a sense....A house without glass is dark as a tomb."

"It is a must to have a window in a house. Of course, one could put polythene bags on the windows, 221 but glass is more healthy and cleaner. The plastic would also hamper vision."

"Of course it is important. Bottles in every sense are important for human life. From medicine to water, to soft drinks, to everything....And sheet glass for all construction, for vehicles etc. Since humans live in the houses, and since vehicles are also used by humans, it is important for human life." 222

Given that these workers also think that their work contributes to the satisfaction of a need they regard essential for human life, it is possible to conclude that FAB workers relation to their productive activity and to their products is not one of suffering from the 'devastating effect of capitalist production on human beings', that it is, subjectively speaking, not an 'alienated' existence.

This brings us to the problem of the second question posed above: is this non-estranged existence in relation to their work and product, as FAB workers express it, a form of 'false-consciousness'?

First of all, any notion of 'false-consciousness' by definition, presupposes a 'true' consciousness. G. Lukacs called this latter consciousness the 'attributed consciousness', which is to say that there is a nature and level of consciousness that corresponds to the nature of the objective-material conditions of existence of a class. Any deviation from this therefore, can be said to constitute the false-consciousness of this class-position.²²³ I do not wish to subscribe to the position of attributing class-consciousness to a working-class, or a particular section of it, because such an attribution is bound to be subjective, at least as much as the workers' own is (what Lukacs calls 'psychological-consciousness'); and in this respect as 'false' as the workers' own.²²⁴ Neither do I want to

maintain that the reality of everyday existence is unknowable, undiscoverable in its essentials, as this would imply that it is not possible objectively to observe and reconstruct the fundamental aspects of a class-existence.

My close association with the FAB workers, with whom I have worked over a long period of time has enabled me to draw objective conclusions about their consciousness. I was able to ask the questions outlined above, and truly hear their answers (i.e., not mentally translating what they said into the language of Industrial Sociology, thereby concluding that this is what they mean, and not what I hear them say). Finally, I have collected other relevant evidence (such as their definitions of various aspects of the labour-process and their actions, protests, etc. against it). As a result of all this, I have been able to conclude that most FAB workers' presentation of themselves as 'unestranged' is more than a means of coping with their situation, and, as much as one can say, is a true reflection of their experience of the capitalist labour process. This may obviously be regarded as 'false consciousness' by some, since, it can be argued that whatever the workers' experience of it is, ultimately, the labour-process acts against their interests. However, it is equally important to remember that by not estranging themselves from their work and their product, even if only subjectively, the FAB workers are in a position to struggle for their own control over the labour process. This is so because their un-alienated existence relies heavily on their awareness that the production of glass is dependent on their creative activity, on the contribution their labour makes to it. This aspect of their consciousness can be said to be 'true' in the Lukacsian sense, since there is ample evidence that most FAB workers enjoy a relative control over their labour-power, and that they are not totally subordinated to capital, or by managerial policies.

We now first turn to the workers' conception of management and the union, and then to an elaboration of various aspects of the labour process (i.e., work, relations with fellow men, management, and the union) for their implications in the workers' 'class-consciousness'.

vi) Workers' Definition of Management

Two of the questionnaire questions are specifically on management.

They are:

Q.24: "What do you think management is? What are its functions?"

Q.26: "What do you think the necessity of a management (like this one) depends on? Is it necessary?"

The answers to these two questions are classified by a similar method as was applied to the previous questions. First, (I) a general distribution of those workers who gave a definition or 'no definition' in response to question 24 is examined. Then, regardless of whether the description of management presented by the workers comprise a 'definition' or not, all the 101 answers are classified under seven headings. Again, the headings are comprised of the recurrent themes provided by the workers themselves. The respondents defined/mentioned functions of management in terms of one or more of the criteria below.

II.

A: Administration and organization

B: Responsibility/in charge

C: Peace and order on site

D: Represent employer(s)

E: Hierarchical communication

F: Cause trouble for workers

G: 'Don't do anything'

Similarly, for question 26 first the answers are assessed on whether the workers deemed it necessary to have such a management or not. Among especially the 'Yes' answers, there are qualitative differences. These differences are recorded by classifying the 'Yes' answers into three categories:

I.

a. Yes: supportive

b. Yes: dismissive

c. Yes: by nature of things

d. No, not necessary

Then, the answers to question 26 are classified according to the reasons "why/why not" provided by the workers as to whether the management is necessary. These add up to eight criteria:

II.

- A: The nature/size of the company
- B: Everyday job allocation
- C: Technical superiority
- D: Division of labour between workers and managers
- E: 'To make workers work' or the transformational problem
- F: Factory discipline
- G: Concern for production
- H: Management as 'consultancy board'

In allocating a specific answer to a specific category, there were many cases where it seemed that a category developed for question 24 also covered some of the responses to question 26 or vice versa. Therefore, instead of adding new categories, the existing ones were used interchangeably. Since the purpose of analysing the answers to these two questions is mainly to systematically present the workers' conceptions of management, the interchanging of the criteria does not become a drawback; on the contrary, it allows for a more integrated picture to form. In other words, whether a worker said that the function of management is to represent employer(s) on the shop floor (as an answer to question 24), or whether he said that management is necessary because they are the employer(s)' representatives on the site (in response to question 26), is unimportant inasmuch as the aim is to find out whether that worker's view of management defines management as a "servant" of the employer(s). This latter information is what I sought to obtain. Hence, the combination of the initially distinct categories proved to be useful.

I. The distribution of the answers to question 24, in terms of whether a definition of management is given or not, is presented in the table below.

Table IX,vi,1: Distribution of the answers to the first question on management

Answers to the question (Q.24):

"What do you think management is? What are its functions?"

	Number of workers	%
a. Definition	45	44.45
b. No-definition	55	54.45
c. Other	1	0.99
Total	101	99.89

The number of workers who gave a definition of management is slightly less than those who did not give a definition. The distinction between a 'definition' and 'no-definition' is important, because defining the management is indicative that the respondent can conceptualize management as an integrated structure, as an institution. It also suggests that these workers can grasp what the common characteristic is of various kinds of managers. Those who did not give a definition of management on the one hand, expressed only a partial understanding of what management is and does.²²⁵ These respondents cited their foremen/day managers, etc. and often said what each of their specific functions are rather than referring to the management as a whole. That the latter occurred more often shows that more than half of my sample population do not have a comprehensive view of management. As far as it can be deduced from the verbal expressions of respondents, the main reason for the lack of a totalistic view is that the workers do not have any direct interaction with managers other than the foremen. Hence, workers' failure to see management as a whole can be related to management's hierarchical structure. This structure prevents different strata of management from communicating directly with workers, thus obscuring its overall function and raison d'être. Those forty-five workers who did provide a definition, despite this problem, should be given credit for a high awareness, rather than downgrading those fifty-five who did not give a definition as having a restricted awareness.

Most of these definitions can be seen to correspond to the characteristics of the labour process and the management in FAB. However, in a

few of the cases, the definitions seem not to derive from the workers knowledge of the immediate conditions of the labour-process in FAB, but are based on sources of information outside the workplace. That is, it is likely that these workers have read relevant books, etc. and have been involved in political debate and education.

II. Functions of Management

A: Administration and Organization

A total of forty-eight respondents saw this criterion as one of the functions of management in response to question 24 above. Another fourteen workers cited this as the reason why management is necessary in response to question 26. So, a total of fifty-six* workers (of the total sample population of 101) denoted 'administration' as the management's main function. The term used by the respondents is not always 'administration' however, but may be one of the following: '(they) administer, direct, organize, govern, rule, manage, and run the enterprise, site, company, etc.'

For example:

Q.24:3 "Management means those who manages the work-place...."

Q.24:15 "Management means to manage everyone...."

Q.24:17 "...their job is to govern the factory...."

Q.24:23 "Management: Those persons who have the ruling position at the head of those who are managed...."

Q.24:38 "Management means one or a few men directing the community...."

The necessity of having a management is often based on the administrative function of the management as well:

* The total is again calculated by discarding the overlapping replies. The other point to note is that if, in a particular reply, there is a mention of more than one aspect of management then, each one of them is separately included under the relevant title. Therefore, the overall number of replies - in each category when added together - is more than 101 (the total sample population).

Q.26:42 "Of course, it is necessary....it is necessary in order to do the administrative jobs."

Q.26:56 "Certainly necessary. They are directing and managing the factory."

The number of workers who mentioned 'administration', and the modes of expression they used for this, indicates that the administrative function of management is well-established in the workers' minds.

B: Responsibility

Responsibility: that is, being in charge of departments or shifts as a managerial characteristic is less-cited than 'administration'. Altogether, fifteen workers saw this as a function of management. These workers tend to be those who referred to management in its separate ranks, or as specific people. Two of them said:

Q.24:88 "...Our manager manages our department, i.e., he is managing the persons in his department...."

Q.24:97 "...The General Director is a general director; the personnel is a personnel director. Everyone is responsible for their Sections."

Despite the general tendency in this group to express a fragmented notion of management, there are a few who have a totalistic view and who cite 'responsibility' as the raison d'etre for management. For example:

Q.26:106 "Management means that which is responsible for the factory. All the responsibility of the factory belongs to the management...."

There is one worker in this group whose response exemplifies an interesting (maybe more realistic) usage of the term 'responsibility' and its relation to managerial function:

Q.26:52 "That the management is necessary is good in one sense; like sometimes there are quarrels among the workers, and then sometimes there are important breakdowns of the machines. You are made responsible. But if you report to one rank above, then you are no longer held responsible."
(My emphasis)

In this reply, the emphasis is on avoiding the worker's responsibility, hence the convenience of having a management. The one quoted below exemplifies a typical way of dividing managers in terms of the 'size' of their responsibilities:

Q.26:58 "Management: for example, the director is responsible for the factory, the chief for his section, the foreman and the postabaşı (chargehand) for the workers...." (My emphasis)

Notice how the higher rank managers, with whom the workers don't often have direct contact, are assigned technical/administrative jobs, and the lower ranks, of foremen and gangers, are assigned the responsibility of manning. Obviously, the distance between the workers and the higher rank managers prevents the worker cited above (and a few others who are not quoted here) from seeing the manning function of the top managers.

C: Peace and Order on Site

Managers are regarded by many workers as maintainers of peace, harmony and order in the workplace and a total of twenty-one workers gave this as an aspect of managerial functions. The managers are often referred to as arbiters between quarrelling workers, and part of their function is to maintain 'fairness' and equality amongst the workers. In this respect perhaps there is a confusion between what management is and what it should be. This is an important general aspect of workers' responses to the questions on management, and is therefore discussed in the Appendix on 'Research Methods'. In the course of my present analysis workers' responses are taken at their face-value, that is, whether the workers meant that the managers actually were 'egalitarian', or that they should be 'fair' is not distinguished, since the distinction between them is often not very clear.

In the actual examples below, that the workers themselves do not make a distinction between 'should' and 'is' should be borne in mind.

Q.24:9 "(Management is) to run the community in harmony, with agreement. Functions (duties): 1) to regard everyone (as) equal, the same...."

Q.24:10 "To manage means to manage a community 'normally'. When a problem arises, to manage things without allowing things

to come to the point of explosion...."

Q.24:16 "...to maintain harmony among the workers."

Q.24:35 "...or when there is a fight, or someone is fired, they interfere before it is taken above, and deal with the case...."

Some of the respondents in this group suggest that the friction that is mitigated, the peace that is restored, is between workers and employers and not among workers themselves. For example:

Q.24:45 "...The prime function is to manage, i.e., to maintain a normal relationship between the employer and the workers."

Q.24:7 "...To run the business....subject to eliminating the uneasiness between the employer and the workers - and in a good manner...."

Whether friction is between workers themselves or, between the workers and the employer(s), it is clear that at least one quarter of the sample population conceive of management as an institution for maintaining order and harmony on site.

D: Represent the Employer(s)

Only one respondent mentioned the role of management as that of representing the employer(s) on site as a response to question 24, but seven workers said that management is necessary because 'they are the employer(s)' representatives on site.' While some among this group regarded this representative function of the management as 'natural', others emphasised that the management is necessary only for the employer(s)' interests. In both cases however, the fact that the workers distinguished the managers from the employer(s) needs to be emphasised.

One example in favour of the managerial representative function is:

Q.26:3 "It is obvious that the management is necessary: because if there is no management, to represent the employer, there won't be someone taking care of the workplace. The management must do this."

Another worker puts the emphasis on the fact that it is in the interests

of the employer(s), and not in the interests of the workers to have a management like the one on site:

Q.26:105 "From the point of view of the employer, to create various levels among the workers, is to coerce them indirectly. Very simply, even for getting permission to do this or that the worker has to go to the postabaşı (chargehand). In other words, those above distance themselves from the workers, and this is good from the employer's angle."

E: Hierarchical Communication

A large number of workers think that part of what the management does is to form a hierarchy or to establish a hierarchical flow of communication. While twenty-four respondents said this, eight others gave this function of management as the rationale for its existence. The fact that thirty-two workers (over one-third of the sample population) define management partly in terms of hierarchical communication and control, demonstrates that the workers are well aware of how the hierarchy works. It also indicates however, that the managerial prerogative that workers should always initially consult the person at the bottom of the hierarchy (the chargehand where applicable, the foreman otherwise), has been successfully established in some of the workers' minds. This is clear in the above worker's (105) response, and in others, who formulated the managerial function in terms of a hierarchy:

Q.24:40 "Management is a mechanism. One above is responsible for us - in this way it climbs up step by step. We also, are responsible to the one above...."

Q.24:61 "Here, with the managerial attitude, it happens that the workers and chiefs do not address each other directly; the orders from the chief are communicated to the workers in a hierarchical way. (In this way) the management is divided into various classes. It is better this way, not to address (oneself) directly to the chief. In my old job, I had to directly address the shift-manager, and when I rebelled because other shift-managers interfered with my work, I was fired."

The hierarchy amongst the managers maintains a distance between the workers and the managers, as was mentioned earlier, and this is often seen as a reason by workers for not knowing what the upper rank managers do. For example:

Q.24:53 "...I don't know very well what their functions are, because I don't talk to them...."

Others, being aware of the hierarchy of managers, do not often understand how this hierarchy works, as this example below shows:

Q.24:25 "Manager means, it goes up from chief (day-manager), shift-manager, director etc. Those who manage enterprises like this one are called managers. Their duties: for example, the foreman tells you...., he prepares,....he reports,.... he supplies...."

This is an interesting case: First, his list of managers does not match the order of hierarchy. Secondly, he switches from the subject 'they', to 'he' - referring to the foreman alone - it is clear that, for him, functions of the foreman constitute the functions of the management. And the functions of the foreman he mentions are only those he himself has witnessed. Any aspect of management (or his foreman) if detached from his immediate experience does not exist for him. This is true for many other workers:

Q.24:73 "I don't understand what managers' jobs are. What my eyes see, I have said, which is that when a worker has a complaint his (the manager's) job is to take it over to one above."

'Hierarchical communication' is also cited as a condition necessary for management:

Q.26:31 "If there is no management....all the communication will stop...."

Q.26:80 "Yes, it is necessary. The employer cannot take care of 100, 500 persons, cannot address them all at once. For these reasons, the managers must be in-between."

There is a thematic continuity in the descriptions of the management as 'providers of law and order on site', as 'representatives of the employer(s)' and that these functions are undertaken in a 'hierarchical' fashion. The connecting thread of all the three descriptions is workers' perception of managerial function as one of communication. Managers are seen as the agents of communication and mediation between the workers and the employer. But also, between various sections of the labour force. Each manager, according to his own position in the

hierarchy, is regarded as a mediator between lower and upper ranks of management, thereby maintaining the flow of communication in the workplace. It is this aspect of the management - as perceived by the workers - that defines it to be essential for the labour-process. This is perceived to be so because the management, by undertaking communication and mediation functions, integrates the elements of the labour-process which are so fragmented in reality. It is this perceived characteristic of management that also justifies their hierarchical organization, and therefore, compels workers to adapt managerial ideology. This can also go some way towards explicating the predominant role of the management - as opposed to the union - in shaping the workers' views of the labour-process; a point to be elaborated in Chapter X.

F: 'Cause Trouble for Workers'

The formulation of this criterion is inspired by a description one worker gave of the nature of managers:

Q.24:5 "Managers are those sorts of men who 'deal with your eye and eyebrow'."*

Altogether, four workers described managerial function as to 'oppress', or put pressure on the workers. For these workers this is the defining quality of management. One of them stated:

Q.26:24 "...Management's purpose is to increase production by 'flogging' the workers. And also to try to gain favour from his own superiors. Naturally, then, he oppresses the workers. His purpose is this anyway."

This theme was again recurrent especially in my informal talks with the workers, and also in some instances when I observed the workers in action expressing a deep hostility towards the management: a hostility which is rooted in definition of the latter as 'slave-drivers'. Relatively (and surprisingly) that few mention the 'oppressive' nature of the managers in the questionnaire forms can partly be explained by the

* A Turkish expression meaning someone determined to cause trouble, then creates an excuse such that even the shape of your eyes and eyebrows (physical features over which one has no control) can become a reason to be blamed for.

distancing effect of the questionnaire technique. And also, workers fear that some of the information they gave could be passed on to the managers. 226

G: Don't do Anything

A total of five workers said that the managers 'do not do anything'. The formulations are various: 'we can do without them', 'nothing is really accomplished if one does not get dirt on one's clothes', and simply 'they hang around'. The interesting aspect of these replies is that, even though these workers said the 'managers don't do anything', they still mentioned a few functions of the managers either before or after this phrase. This suggests that these workers do not regard - what they observe the managers doing - as 'doing something', as work in other words.

For example:

Q.24;27 "The chief here is the man responsible of this section. Not that he is doing anything. What he does is to give 3 men's job to 1 man. He hangs around. When the machine gets loaded and you slow down, he makes a report against you."

To draw conclusions from the above five workers' responses alone, will yield an incorrect image of the real situation. The findings from the answers to the next question (Q.26) will yield a more conclusive result on this.

It is the analysis of question 26 that we now turn to.

I.

The distribution of the 'Yes' and 'No' answers to the second question on management is presented in the table below.

Table IX,vi,2: Distribution of the answers to the second question on management

Answers to the question (Q.26):

"What do you think the necessity of a management (like this one) depends on? Is it necessary?"

	Number of workers	%
a) Yes (supportive)	66	65.34
b) Yes (dismissive)	14	13.86
c) Yes (by nature of things)	13	12.87
d) No (not necessary)	6	5.94
e) I don't know and no reply	2	1.98
Total	101	99.99

a) Supportive 'Yes.'

The great majority of workers in my sample, as can be seen from the table above, are convinced that it is unquestionably necessary to have a management in a workplace like FAB. These workers gave various reasons for being in favour of management which are presented below.

b) Dismissive 'Yes.'

This constitutes the second largest group as the table indicates. The difference of this group of 'Yes' answers (from a above) is that, workers in this group are not supportive of the management even though they see its necessity in an enterprise like FAB.

c) 'Yes', by the 'Nature of Things'

As the table (IX,vi,2) indicates, answers of the kind suggested by the heading are approximately the same in number as (b) above. The term 'nature' in the heading, as used by the workers refers to one of two things: either to the order in Nature itself; or the order in FAB, both of which are perceived as 'natural' by the workers in this group.

The workers who articulated the first meaning, expressed this in terms of an analogy between the management and the 'head' of the human body, or the head of a flock.

The examples for such analogies are:

Q.26:10 "It is necessary: Here everyone wants to do the job according to his own head - whether correct or wrong. We certainly do need a manager to lead us. It is essential. As the proverb goes; 'You can't have a bottom without a head'."

Q.26:70 "The necessity is: like if there is no shepherd, the sheep scatter around; here, there are a thousand different 'heads', there must be a manager."

However, those workers who think management is necessary 'by the nature of things' are not always totally supportive of the management in FAB. The above worker (70) continued:

"....But if the manager just shows the friends their jobs and goes away, the jobs are accomplished anyway. Here, there is no need for too many managers. One foreman or shift-manager is sufficient."

The examples from among those who used 'the nature of things' in its second sense are as follows:

Q.26:20 "Of course if all were at the same rank, (hierarchical level) there wouldn't be any power to make (the people) work."

Q.26:54 "How can it not be necessary? If there were no manager, could the worker do his job on his own? It is a must to have a superior heading the worker.. If not, it can't be!"

Two other workers (83 and 31) said, in response to this question (Q.26), that the management is necessary, however that they 'did not know why'!

d) No, Not Necessary

Only a few workers (see table IX,ii,2) said that they didn't think it necessary to have a separate body of managers. Some of them said the same function could be undertaken by the workers:

Q.26:24 "It mustn't be necessary, and it is not in fact. This (their presence) impairs the work peace. The friction between the manager and the worker gains intensity. We would want to be the management as well, at least, in participation. They have divided us among ourselves. They force us to oppress each other."

Others, emphasizing that work is carried out most efficiently when there are no superiors about, argued that the management is not necessary for production purposes, but to maintain the hierarchy among the employees:

Q.26:5 "For instance, in times when there were no foremen, the shift-manager and/or the chief about, this workshop is known to have reached a high productivity. This shows that, without the superiors, the skilled hands work. But the superiors are used to direct and administer us. I will give an example. In the army an NCO cannot talk directly to an upper sergeant, therefore there must be a rank in between (like a lower sergeant) so that flow of communication is maintained. Here too, so that we don't address directly to our superior, there are (intermediary) levels. (....) I mean, the function of management is like a bridge between the two (NCO and upper sergeant). Likewise, in order to create an official distance, between the workers and the employer(s), the managers are present."

As the table (IX,vi,2) indicates, the majority of the sample population perceive management as a necessity, this is based on various criteria. These criteria are examined in detail below. Some themes that occurred in the answers to question 26 have already been included in the analysis of the answers to question 24. Similarly, if the answers to question 24 are relevant to any of the categories below, they are also included here. This is in order to obtain a more representative number of instances.

II.

A: The Nature/Size of the Company

A total of seven workers gave either the size of the company/workplace, or the fact that FAB is a company as reasons for having a management. As in this one:

Q.26:42 "Of course, it is necessary. It is a big company. Can't do without managers...."

Q.26:95 "It is necessary. It is a big enterprise, and a national treasure, and therefore it provides profits for both the state and those who have invested. If this is not managed, there'll be a loss of resources, it will collapse."

One worker emphasised the private ownership of the company:

Q.26:9 "It is necessary. This is a firm. It is not a place that belongs to the public. That is why the management is a must."

B:Everyday Job Allocation

In response to question 24 alone thirty-one workers said that part of the managerial function is to allocate jobs to workers, on a day-to-day basis. Seven workers, in response to question 26, said that the necessity of managers was related to the fact that they undertook the division of labour and organization of work.

Most common expressions among the first group (of 31) are that the managers 'make division of labour', 'organise work', and 'show us work to do'. Such as:

Q.24:34 "They show us the jobs. They give us work to do. 'You do this', they say. Then we do it."

Q.24:42 "When you say management, what comes to mind is a management maintaining (....) the division of labour (I mean all of it); gives the necessary directions to the workers...."

This criterion, when used in answering question 26, is more significant in terms of the inferences to be made about the workers' perception of management. It is the common experience of every worker that at the start of each shift, one of the managers gives the workers daily instructions, and allocates them to their jobs. Therefore, it is not surprising that so many workers (31 above) mentioned this as a managerial function. However, to present this as a raison d'etre of management is more significant, since this requires a further thinking process. In other words, workers must transcend the immediate situation in their consciousness, in order to establish that the management is implicit in the division of labour.

One example of this is:

Q.26:33 "The management in the workplace is necessary in my opinion, so that...everyone knows what their job is."

Another worker, who is given a supervisory function as well, explained his role as a 'manager' as:

Q.26: "If I weren't there, the men would not know what job to do. The chiefs tell me the jobs, and I organise the friends."

C: Technical Superiority

Fourteen workers presented the managers' technical superiority, and the extent of their knowledge in comparison with themselves, as reasons which requires their presence. The majority of this group is supportive of the management, which finds expression in their answers, such as:

Q.26:28 "Yes, they are necessary, because....they are more informed than us, educated. They know about work."

Q.26:39 "It is necessary....they are more learned (experienced) on machinery. They know - in order to increase production - under what conditions it must be done...."

Some workers perceive the managers' 'superiority' in terms of culture:

Q.26:79 "Because we are not as cultured as them, I feel the need for their cultural level...."

Another six workers cited 'technical superiority' as an element in their definition of management, in response to question 24. One example is:

Q.24:32 "Functions of management are: (....) to train and teach us."

It must be noted that the two groups (of 6 and 14 above) do not consist of the same workers. (Except, person number 29 who mentioned the same criterion in replying to both question 24 and question 26.) This is significant because even though this aspect of management is not presented as part of managerial functions, and an aspect that defines management (by the group of 14 workers), the 'technical superiority' of the managers is cited as the raison d'etre of management. This seems to indicate that, firstly, these fourteen workers are aware that they are deprived of the knowledge of the labour-process, and secondly that this knowledge is concentrated in the managers. In other words, even if the workers do not often define management in terms of their knowledge, and even if, in everyday encounters, managers are not perceived as doing technically superior jobs, the workers nevertheless frequently give the

cultural and scientific 'superiority' of managers, as a reason why management is necessary. This clearly is an important aspect of workers' perception of the separation of conception and execution in the CLP.

Concomitantly that a total of nineteen* respondents referred to this criterion, in one way or another, is significant in itself: the image of managers as superior to themselves is an important influence on the relationship the workers enter into with the managers. This is one of the reasons why some workers regard the management as a 'source of reference'. The managers as the new 'points of reference', and the implications of this on workers' consciousness is investigated in Chapter X.

D: Division of Labour Between Workers and Managers.

This title covers workers' responses to both questions on management in which the necessity of management is said to lie in the division of labour between workers and managers, and that managers have their 'own specific jobs to do'. Such answers imply that the managerial function is not perceived in terms of control, but that managers are accepted as employees, whose jobs are simply different from the types of tasks workers perform. In this context, this can be regarded as a functional approach to management. Not in a theoretical, but in a taken-for-granted sense.

Nine workers can be said to have this functional attitude as reflected in their answers to question 26:

Q.26:16 "With respect to our conditions of work, it is not necessary. But they've got their own jobs. But we don't understand, we don't really know what they do...."

Q.26:25 "Necessary: (.....) like who comes in and goes out, who's on leave etc. They're useful in these respects."

Q.26:63 "Everywhere you need both the managers, and the workers."

* (14 + 6) less 1 overlapping answer gives the total 19.

Twice as many workers (18) defined management in occupational terms in replying to question 24:

Q.24:12 "...Everyone of them has a different job, so their duties (functions) vary."

Q.24:83 "...their functions are concerned with the technical matters, they are the technical staff."

In a total of twenty-four instances therefore, (leaving out the overlapping ones again) the workers described the managers as individuals who have their own jobs to do in the division of labour, so this constitutes another significant influence on their relationship with the managers.

E: 'To Make Workers Work' or The Transformational Problem²²⁷

This is by far the most frequently cited function and raison d'etre of management. As answers to question 26 alone, it occurs thirty-one times (in other words, over one third of the total sample population referred to this criterion). In twenty-nine other instances, this is given as a function of the management. Leaving out the overlapping respondents, this gives a total of forty-eight (nearly half the sample population) workers, who perceived management as being there in order 'to make themselves work.' The title is chosen because of the high number of times this phrase ('to make workers work') is used by the workers. Such as in the cases below:

Q.26:38 "It is necessary. First of all, there must be a superior above the workers, to make them work, to make things run; so that just and equal work is done (by everyone)."

Q.26:48 "(It is necessary) to make the workers work here, and to achieve a productivity according to their own desires."

Or, as in those below, as answers to question 24:

Q.24:67 "To manage means....to decide how the workers should work; like not everyone can make the workers work in the same way."

Q.24:91 "...to get the workers to do their jobs."

The workers' expression of 'to make workers work' points to the managerial task which I will term as the 'transformational problem'.²²⁸ Management is confronted with the problem of extending the labour-power to the duration of working hours so that it is used productively. Labour power over an agreed period of time is bought by the capitalist. It is the management's task in the CLP then to set this power in motion to make production possible. Therefore, the management has to transform the potential labour of the labourers into productive work and into profits. What the FAB workers see their managers doing is the actual mechanism which the management uses to control this transformation process.

The control function of the management in FAB is the most recurrent theme among those covered under this heading (E). That the management controls the workers is a very frequently cited function attributed to management. Workers in this group often also pointed out that the management perpetuates the continuity of the labour-process, and ensure the regular attendance of workers. As clearly indicated in the examples below, many workers admitted that they would not have worked at the required pace without supervision, nor would they have been regular in their time schedules.

Q.26:13 "The superiors that work here,....ensure that during 8 hours everyone is busy with their own jobs."

Q.26:15 "Necessary in this way: to assign jobs....to control if everyone is doing their duty or not."

Q.26:26 "Of course they are necessary. If they had not been (here) no one would work. You can't tell your mate to get up and work...."

Q.26:28 "....If they were not here, everyone would work as they wished. For example, one can work 10 minutes, and rest for 20 minutes...."

Q.26:39 "It is necessary: had there not been the managerial group, work would not proceed....Also, so that the workers come to work regularly. If there were no superior, I would come (to work) one day, and wouldn't the other."

Similar replies are provided in question 24;

Q.24:29 "To manage is to make those workers who do not work, work.... In short, to rule the workers."

Q.24:34 "...then, they ask, 'why aren't you working?', when we are not busy with something."

The manner in which some of the workers expressed the control function of management is reminiscent of Braverman, who asserts that 'to manage is to control.'²²⁹ Many FAB workers recognise this, and their articulation of it expresses a high 'situational awareness'. Based on this articulation alone however, it is difficult to infer that their situational awareness enables them to transcend the immediacy of their experience. In other words, it is not plausible to assert that these workers experience 'oppression' as a result of managerial control. And neither do (as most of the answers quoted above clearly indicate) these workers' conceptions of managerial control make the connection between control and the wider social order (and the mode of production). That some workers do integrate the two is still a fact, yet this cannot be simply inferred from the above replies. It can however, be recognised when scattered elements of their awareness are integrated into the analysis. This is carried out at the end of this chapter.

F: Factory Discipline

Six respondents for question 26 alone cited the maintaining of factory order and discipline as a reason why they thought management was necessary. This implies that these workers recognise discipline as a requisite, and the management as justified for the fulfilment of this need. The worker quoted below clearly indicates this:

Q.26:14 "Of course it is necessary, for the discipline of the community. If there is no discipline in a workplace, then there will be no work done there."

Seven other respondents in answering to question 24 defined management as equivalent to 'discipline'. Such as:

Q.24:32 "To manage means, to maintain discipline; to establish an order in the workplace."

Q.24:38 "Management means....to make the community obey. He (the superior) wants discipline, and respect (for himself)."

As it is clear in these examples, the workers who see managerial role as disciplinary, do not attach any negative attributes to it. It is implicit in these replies therefore, that they favour a disciplined workplace. At least one of them spelled out his support for managerial discipline:

Q.24:64 "So long as there is discipline in a place, from my point of view, then the management is good there...."

This quote appears to exemplify authoritarian tendencies among some of the FAB workers, and respect for authority, characteristics deeply ingrained in Turkish culture, but also legitimated by managerial policies. The alternative 'chaos' and 'anarchy' in the absence of factory discipline, and the workers' consequent 'powerlessness' in establishing order, act as powerful sanctions for authoritarian tendencies.²³⁰

G: Concern with Production

An often-cited aspect of management is that they are concerned with the production process and especially with its technical aspects. It is asserted that the continuity of production, without major flaws, is the responsibility of the management. For question 26 alone twenty workers referred to this. For instance:

Q.26:32 "This necessity (of management) depends on production. They haven't got any other job except to see that the machines work."

Q.26:47 "It (the necessity of management) depends on the continuity of labour-power and productivity."

Q.26:51 "It is necessary: for a normal flow of work, and to market the goods produced by the workplace."

A few others recognised that the purpose of production is to make profits, and linked this with the need for a management. Such as:

Q.26:85 "The necessity of management is so that the factory makes gains. If it is managed well, the factory earns."

Q.26:89 "To manage the factory in all its aspects - such as work programming, costs, profits...."

Another twenty-four workers mentioned 'concern for production' as one of the functions of management.

Q.24:63 "Management means production. Their functions are to obtain bottles from the factory, to maintain productivity...."

Q.24:129 "A manager is someone who makes workers work in a positive direction, thus safeguarding normal production, trying to raise it."

The answers to both question 24 and question 26 taken together, brings the total rate of occurrence of this theme to thirty-nine. This is to say that approximately 40% of the worker-sample population assume that managerial concern is mainly for the production-process, and particularly to ensure that it proceeds in the direction and under conditions which the employers want. This certainly is a high percentage of occurrence for one single factor, and may indicate the predominance of a 'neutral' attitude towards management, because in these replies, the emphasis is on the managerial control of the technical aspects of the labour-process rather than the control of labour.

On the other hand, it is also the assertion of FAB workers that the management's prime function is to control them, 'to make them work'. Both the 'neutral' attitude, and the view of management as a means of labour control, often occur in the response of the same worker. (For example, see the quote 129 above, and compare the response of 32 in this section, and on p.276) This implies that many FAB workers do not regard various concerns of management - such as factory discipline, production process and the control of labour - as contradictory, but as part and parcel of management, thereby providing an integrated conception of management.

H: Management as 'Consultancy Board'

In answering question 26, five workers said that they regarded the management as useful because when they needed something, or when they had problems, they sought advice and help from the managers. For instance:

Q.26:13 "...Besides, they are there to meet the outside-the-factory needs of the men that work with them normally. Say, when some friend who has a sick person at home can't come to work,

written permission must immediately be given (so that the worker does not lose his wage). The necessity (of management) depends on these."

Q.26:56 "They provide the missing supplies. When the workers have complaints, they go to them."

The separation of mental and manual labour, of conception and execution not only separates the managers and the workers in terms of 'responsibility' and control (as revealed in previous sections); but also effect the increasing dependency of the workers on the managers as suppliers of advice and equipment. It is natural therefore, in this context, that in addition to the above five, twenty other workers (in answering question 24) said that they go to the managers when they are short of supplies, overalls, safety and other equipment, etc., as well as when they need some technical advice. It is in such terms that these workers defined management to be an institution of 'appeal', and its functions in terms of consultancy. As in these cases:

Q.24:37 "...For example, he (the manager) takes someone who is not feeling very well, and sends him to a light job. If he still can't do it, he allows him to rest, or gives him a day off, sends him to the doctor."

Q.24:60 "To manage means,....(beside other things)....to be able to listen to their (workers) needs and to meet them."

Q.24:79 "Their functions are not only on the subject of work. In everything else, like in personal and social things. When we need to get a permission, overalls, equipment, we go to them. Industrial safety is their concern too."

It is explicit in the above cases that, although these workers are dependent on the management for supply of a variety of items, they do not feel dependent on the management. In none of the replies is resentment expressed against this dependence. Remembering that many workers expressed resentment against the way the management controlled the allocation of the time and amount of overalls, shoes, equipment etc. (previously mentioned in the analysis of questions 18 and 20), the sympathy with which these workers refer to managers as 'people to go to when in need' in answering question 24 and question 26 here, is worth noting. This is one of the reasons why the managers come to be perceived of as 'reference' points, as a result of which workers aspire to identify themselves with the managers. This is further inquired into in Chapter X.

The role of management in perpetuating the subordination of labour by capital is not always 'visible'. In addition, the workers and managers who are in a position to interact with each other on a day-to-day basis, do not relate to each other simply as agents (of labour and capital respectively), but as human beings. These two aspects effect workers' perception of the managers as being more 'neutral', and this becomes the reason for their 'sympathetic' attitude towards them. At the same time, they perceive managers as their oppressors (as revealed by some of the themes in this section vi), which conflicts with their 'neutral' attitude.

As a way of concluding this section, it can be asserted that the FAB workers' perception of and attitudes towards management are ridden by contradictions parallel to those ingrained in the work situation itself.

vii) Workers' Definition of and Relation to the Union

The question on the Union (Q.33) is formulated as:

"What do you think the necessity of the Union depends on? What does the Union do (or what are its functions)?"²³¹

The answers of 101 workers to this question are classified in two successive parts. First (I), a general statistical distribution of 'Yes' and 'No' answers is surveyed. Second (II), the reasons qualifying the 'Yes' and 'No' answers, in combination with the functions cited are classified under various categories. The method used in classification, and the calculation of the 'total rate of occurrences' is the same as applied to previous questions.

I.

- a) No need
- b) Yes. (Definite)
- c) Unsure (Both 'yes' and 'no')
- d) Others. (and 'don't know')

The statistical distribution of these replies is presented in the table

below:

Table IX,vii,1: Distribution of the answers to the question on the
Union

Answers to question 33:
"What do you think the
necessity of the Union
depends on? What does
the Union do (or what
are its functions)?"

	Number of workers	%
No need	3	2.9
Yes, (definite)	89	88.1
Unsure (both)	5	4.9
Other (don't know)	4	3.9
Total	101	99.8

As the table indicates, the great majority of FAB workers think it necessary to have a Union (the 'definite Yes' answers in the table). The 'unsure' replies consist of both 'supportive' and 'dismissive' themes. These workers believed that the Union could be deemed to be unnecessary, provided that various functions it undertakes are secured by state institutions. Two workers of the same group said that 'the Union also exploited the workers', and 'could also be harmful', that is, as adverse as the employers/managers. Other conditions cited by the workers in this group, on which the Union would be disqualified are:

- if the workers could directly negotiate with the management,
- if the general interests of the workers were protected by Law,
- if the management were 'fair' in its treatment of the workers.

As can be seen from the table, very few workers gave a definite 'No' answer, that is, 'no need for the Union'. One of them based his judgement on a similar reason as the two above:

93 "I don't believe in the necessity of the Union. It also exploits."

Another worker in this group was convinced that the Union was redundant since 'it can't do much anyway'.

The workers in these last two categories ('unsure' and 'No need') are the only ones who can be regarded as being 'aware' of the contradictory nature of Trade Unions in capitalist societies. They are aware that the Union's role is reduced to pay-settlements and securing of social rights of the workers, both of which could easily be undertaken by a co-operation between the State and the workers. At the same time, these workers had an awareness that the State did not co-operate in this manner, and in some cases, the individual workers were powerless to achieve positive results. In both cases, the Union was then regarded as fulfilling a function.

The in-depth analysis of the remaining majority of the replies - carried out below - yields a more representative picture of the FAB workers conception of the Union.

Finally, the 'other' category in the table above consists of straightforward 'Don't know' answers, and answers which did not seem to have any meaningful connection with the question.

II.

The definition and the functions of the Union as articulated by the sample population of workers are classified under eight categories:

- A: General protection of common interests.
- B: To provide services to the workers and as an advisor
- C: To obtain and defend workers' rights against the employer(s)
- D: To liaise between workers and the employer(s)
- E: 'Individually a worker cannot pursue his rights'
- F: Against oppression
- G: For raising the political consciousness of the workers.
- H: Other (non-classifiable)

Each category is analysed in sequence, and the number of instances in which each category occurs is provided under the relevant heading.

A: General Protection of Common Interests

A total of twenty-six workers (25.7% of the total 101, or 29.2% of all the 'Yes' answers) said that the Union is necessary for reasons of

'solidarity', 'uniting as workers', for protection of common interests of the workers. Other reasons cited centre around themes such as, 'it is 'us' and 'them'', therefore 'us people uniting' against the employers/managers. The Union is regarded, by these workers, as the representative of the workers, and their power.

Some workers expressed one or more of these themes as follows:

3 "Necessary. Unions mean representatives of the workers. To pursue workers' rights, you don't appeal to the employer (but the union)...."

Other examples covered by this title are:

31 "....The union is formed by men selected from among the workers. What the workers want, the union settles with the employer."

52 "....That is, it represents the workers' power, it is a 'union'. The union deals with the employer."

Some workers in this group, having said that the Union is necessary in terms of the criteria used here, then carried on to complain that the Union in FAB does not fulfil its function. As in:

59 "....Their function is to fulfil the job of representing workers. Now, it doesn't do this job well, we don't like it. They are uneducated. They change shop-stewards without our knowledge."

Others emphasised that the Union is for them all:

61 "....to do things, for the benefit of the workers....It is not just for one person but for the whole community."

82 "The union is simply the solidarity of the workers. It means simply the government of the workers."

It is indicated, in all these replies, that the workers recognise the Union as representing the workers and their interests. This is a need that stems from their subordinate position at the point of production. The Union, in its representative role epitomises the workers' power, thereby bringing a relief from a sense of total subordination. One worker summed it up very neatly:

67 "In the workplace, there is a boss - an employer against us. The union is someone who defends the collective rights of the workers against the employer. Our rights must be defended by a few people among us. The union, the Confederation certainly does this...."

B: To Provide Services to the Workers, and as an Advisor

For some workers, what defines the Union best is that 'it takes care of them'. They feel that they can seek help when in need, and take their complaints - from the most trivial to the more fundamental ones - to the Union. Unlike the case of consulting the managers, in this case, the workers expressed a certainty that their queries from the Union will be responded to. This is so because, as some of them stressed, the Union belongs to them.

For over one third of FAB workers (34 of the sample population), the Union means (among other things) a service for the workers. For example:

72 "...We tell our worries to them. Its functions: whatever worry, problem the worker has, he goes to the Union...."

81 "For example, when they (the managers) make us work on jobs other than our own, we appeal to the union. When we quarrel with the superiors, if he makes a report, then the union intervenes."

84 "...when the shoes or overalls wear out we first tell the chief. If we can't get these, we appeal to the union. The union is to prevent things like the discipline committee, and for the right of collective bargaining."

In regarding the Union as a 'service' for themselves, the workers express a claim to have a right over the Union. For some of them, they can make this claim, because by paying fees, they create the funds with which the Union operates. How these funds are used is explained by one worker:

98 "The union is necessary to sign the C.B. contract. Its functions: gets fees from the workers, saves this money in a bank, and does the negotiations. When there is a disagreement it calls for a strike, and gives this money to the workers all the while they are on strike."

It is regarded, by some workers, that it is the Union's responsibility

to materialise the changes in the workplace, in alignment with the workers' demands, as in the case of this worker quoted below:

38 "The union's function is to achieve those changes I mentioned above (as answers to Q.28, Q.29 and Q.30). The union must do this unbiased, must not work for its own interests. It must go in alignment with the demands of the workers and must fulfil these demands...."

By attributing the power to change the conditions (to their advantage) to the Union, the workers seem to be aware of that they also risk the Union's interests as an organisation dominating the Union's actions in the course of fighting for these changes. This awareness is expressed in terms of a confusion between what the Union does, and what it should do. Unlike in the case of describing the management where most workers did not distinguish between 'should' and 'is'; in defining the Union, they often deliberately maintain this distinction. This can be referred to the lack of a distance between the workers and the Union, which the workers perceived to exist between themselves and the management.

C: To Obtain and Defend Workers' Rights Against the Employer(s)

'To gain and/or to expropriate our rights' is by far the most frequent response to the question on the Union. Altogether fifty-three workers (over half of the total sample) used this, or a similar phrase to explain what the Union is to them. In such expressions the term 'rights' is attributed a very broad meaning. These replies reveal that:

- 1) the workers are convinced that there are certain 'rights' to be gained,
- 2) they see the role of the Union as one of obtaining these 'rights' for them, and
- 3) these 'rights' often clash with the interests and/or what the management/employer is prepared to grant. Therefore, they have to be fought for, and once acquired must be defended.

The woman worker quoted below contains all the three elements cited above:

1 "The union is necessary: the important thing is its ability to get and defend the workers' rights. Its function is to get these rights against the employer."

Since this theme (C) is comprised by one of the more straightforward responses, I quote only one more of its type to avoid repetition.

8 "The union is needed to take and defend the rights of the workers."

The question 'what rights do the workers have?' is one which the workers left unexplained. It is implicit therefore, in these responses, that the workers take for granted that their rights are understood and recognised by everyone. What is not taken for granted by these workers however, is their 'donation' by the employer(s). Hence the justification of the presence of a Union.

D: To Liaise Between the Workers and the Employer(s)

This is another frequently cited function of the Union. Approximately 30% (29) of the sample population of 101 mentioned it. The Union in this context is not only referred to as maintaining the communication with the employers, but also as mediators and co-ordinators between the two sides. In this respect, there can be said to be a congruity between some workers' perception of managerial and syndical functions. Yet, they keep the essential difference between the two; that is, on whose behalf this function of liaison is carried out. These workers quoted below are examples of various modes of expression of the same recognition:

7 "Of course (it is necessary), to get the employer and the worker to agree peacefully and to act as a mediator between the employer and the worker on issues where they have disagreement."

15 "...When there is a disagreement with the management, I go to the union. It (the problem) is solved by mediation of the union."

31 "The union is a link between the employer and the worker. To get the employer and the worker closer to each other...."

38 "...Ideally, this (actualisation of the changes desired by himself) must be expected from the employer. But they (the union and the employer) must do it together. The union must seek these demands from the employer."

Most of the workers in this group can be said to consider the Union as part of the establishment. That the Union is there to defend workers' 'rights' is never lost sight of, yet that the Union does this within

the status quo, as part of the establishment is also envisaged. One machine-operator explained this most explicitly:

45 "The necessity of the union comes from the fact that in a workplace like this, where nearly 1500 persons work, it is difficult to manage all the workers by the employer alone. The union's presence here is both for the workers' interests and also the union helps the employer...."

For some others of this group, the Union's mediatory role must do justice to the employer(s) as well. As this worker quoted below suggested:

69 "The union is to protect various rights of the workers, and is geared to a more 'modern' working of both sides (the workers and the employers). It is to get our rights, but the union should say 'we've got your rights from the employer and now you have to work' (in return for that)."

This worker's response reflects his notion of 'fairness', which suggests that from his point of view 'justice' can only be achieved when and if the Union emphasises both the 'rights' and the duties of the workers in relation to the employer(s). This emphasis is required by both this worker, and implicitly by most of the twenty-nine workers in this group. In other words, these workers regard the main Union function to be to work for betterment of industrial relations. This attitude may be termed as 'reformist', since the implicit assumption is that the interests of the workers and the employer(s) are not necessarily antagonistic, but can be reconciled by mutual efforts.

E: 'Individually, a Worker Cannot Pursue His Rights'

The Union is needed, as fifteen workers in my sample said, because an individual worker cannot communicate with the employers and cannot pursue his rights individually. In this criterion, the workers' emphasis has shifted from 'what the Union can do for themselves', to what, as individual workers 'they cannot do'. This resigned attitude, or alternatively, this awareness of the lack of the right and power to negotiate with the employers as individual workers therefore, creates the need for the Union. This is expressed in numerous ways (or 15 different ways!) by the workers:

2 "...When there is a problem, if I go to the chief, with someone from the union, the chief then, solves that problem. Not any worker's, but the union's word is listened to...." (My emphasis)

9 "...Each worker cannot go and talk to the employer directly when there is an issue...., he will be unable to anyhow. Then, the union becomes useful, since they are more informed than us."

Individually, the workers do not have a legal status which would enable them to negotiate with the employer(s). In addition however, as the above worker suggests, workers do not regard themselves well-equipped to confront the employer(s) individually. The mention of their lack of knowledge which only the Union officials seem to have must also be underlined.

There are also risks involved in attempting to pursue one's rights individually:

37 "...the worker himself can't go to the employer and pursue his own rights. If he does, he can be fired for some (made-up) reason...."

Or, without the Union, acquisition of 'rights' are in danger:

28 "The union is necessary because....you can't go and ask for your rights from the employer. If there is no union, you (have to) accept whatever the employer gives."

It can be inferred from these responses that various structural, legal and managerial mechanisms force the workers to abstain from attempting to pursue their rights individually, which then affect the workers' perception of themselves as 'power-less'. Clearly, this makes the workers more dependent on the Union.

F: Against Oppression

Twenty-four workers see the Union's role as acting against the 'oppression' of the workers at the point of production. Not all of them used the term 'oppression', but indicated what constitutes an oppression. In these cases, references were made to 'firing of the workers', 'violation of their rights', and 'repression by the managers' as actions to be retaliated by the Union.

The percentage of workers included in this group is comparable to the percentage under the heading (D) above. The indication is that the proportion of workers who regard the Union as part of the establishment is approximately the same as the proportion who think that the Union functions against oppression.

This is how the latter express themselves:

19 "The union is necessary of course, to defend the workers against all oppression, and to prevent this (oppression) happening. Of course, to fight against the bosses (in terms of capital*). Obviously he (the boss) will not give in willingly. It is not the same as having a union. We work here with the sweat of our brows. We struggle. The union must be able to get (our rights) and it will too!"

40 "The union is much needed. It is job security, the greatest weapon against the conditions of life, security against the bosses. Gives the workers' security to work in peace."

55 "The union's necessity is that....it prevents us from being 'crushed' by the employer. Also, obviously prevents the managers from firing us when they choose to."

G. For Raising the Political Consciousness of the Workers/Collective
Action

In spite of the Union's efforts to present the bulk of their activities as 'political' (as was explained in Chapter VII) this certainly does not find much expression in the workers' perception of the Union's activities. This is reflected in that very few (5) respondents thought 'raising the political consciousness of the workers' to be an important function of the Union. One of them said:

20 "...The functions of the union are: to raise the consciousness of the workers, to maintain solidarity among the workers."

Another worker (105) - who was included in the group who believed the Union could be redundant provided that the rights of the workers were legally recognised, and guaranteed - believes, even so, that in one area

*This sentence makes as little sense, syntactically speaking, in Turkish as well. However, from the original wording, it is conceivable that he means 'bosses who are representing capital', not in terms of capital.

the Union is strongly needed.

105 "....But, for the education of the workers, the union is certainly necessary."

Another worker in this group said that the collective labour movements are led by the Union, since the Union had the authority to do so.

106 "....Other functions are strikes, resistance movements, demonstrations and such. The union has the authority for these."

Except these few workers then, the majority of FAB workers do not regard political actions as the function of the Union, and neither have a need for the Union to carry them out.

H: Other (Non-Classifiable)

There are ten responses which could not be classified under any of the above titles, unless forced to. This group consists mainly of those respondents who, on the one hand, cited various functions of the Union, and on the other hand, mentioned that either these functions are not fulfilled by the present Union, or the mode in which they are undertaken does not please the workers. Eight out of ten reflected on these, such as:

17 "....Also, it is the duty of the union not to be like butter and honey (on good terms) with the employer. For example, the C.W.U. sold us out for 1 T.L. The union should impose conditions (on the employer), should not give in too easily."

66 "I am irritated by the union. If it weren't necessary, it wouldn't be here....But, because of the union, the mates quarrel with each other. I wish an independent union would enter here so that no noises (quarrels) would be heard."

Another worker in this group, after denoting what the Union should do, added that the political involvement of the Union prevents it from fulfilling these functions, and in effect, the Union acts against the interests of the workers:

76 "This (the function) is not done. Most of them (the unionists) indulge in ideological things. Some of them, when they have had enough of the money slipped into their pockets by the

management, sign for a very cheap rate. That is why (I say they don't do their job properly)."

Similarly:

78 "I regard the union as necessary for a factory but in our country it (unionism) is not carried out fully. They do party-politics. In our factory, one waves the sword of TÜRKER, the other A. Kaçmaz's.* For me, this is a mistake. Since we have chosen a social democratic politics, we should support a party of that sort. The union's duty must only be to deal with the workers, to think of workers' interests and of the production. But it doesn't mean that the workers should be oppressed for the purposes of production. I am definitely against politics in the factory."

It was suggested earlier (theme E) that some workers expressed a need to be represented by the Union because individually they could not bargain with the employers. A greaser included in this group is the only respondent in my sample who explicitly opposed this and suggested an alternative:

94 "...However, now in Turkey, there is no real union but still.... When one says 'union', one thinks of a 'defender' of the workers' rights and one who is concerned with the workers' conditions. Yet, only 10 persons go as representatives of the workers, to negotiate with the employer(s) and then, everything takes place behind closed doors. Instead, at least 200 persons should go. Then the workers will see what is real collective-bargaining, and the employer will see the power of the workers!"

Another worker, one of the 'clocking-in' department's, puts forward what may be regarded as a 'conformist' view of the Union inasmuch as he assumes there to be natural limits to the Union's demands of the employer.

95 "Naturally, the union becomes necessary; there is one in every workplace. As much as it is necessary, it must not go beyond its own power....The union must not make use of its power, and say 'we want everything'.

His response presents a 'managerial attitude' towards the Union, an

* A. Türkeş, the then leader of the Nationalist Action Party, and A Kaçmaz, the then leader of a socialist party (Turkish Socialist Workers Party).

attitude which remains isolated in the FAB case as clearly indicated by the themes from A to G.

An overall evaluation of the FAB workers' relation to the Union is integrated with the inferences made on their relation to the labour-process, in the following section.

viii) On FAB Workers' View of the Labour-Process and the Implications of this for their Consciousness

The FAB workers' definitions of various aspects of the labour-process have so far been considered separately. When brought together, they elucidate their view of the labour-process. This view has the quality of being relatively totalistic, and this is shown in the findings of the questionnaire, and especially in those of the eight questions analysed above. The latter can be summarised in a few concluding points:

1. All the definitions, themes, criteria etc., used by the workers to express their understanding and relation to the labour-process are highly differentiated. This finding supports one of the hypotheses of this thesis, namely that there is a correspondence between the degree of differentiation of the types of work done in FAB, and the situational awareness engendered by these conditions. It is highly significant that in none of the answers of the related eight open-ended questions could the workers' responses be classified under only a few major headings. It is also important that in each case the workers' responses were relatively evenly distributed among the definitions, themes, and criteria employed. These two points are important because they indicate that a high percentage of relational aspects of the labour-process was covered by the workers in the sample population. That no single aspect, or a related issue of the labour-process dominates, and therefore distorts, their vision of the labour-process must be stressed. In other words, collectively, FAB workers can be said to have a high situational awareness of a sufficient number of the characteristics of the labour-process, consistent with possessing a totalistic view.

2. Related to the first point (the parallel differentiation between the conditions of jobs and the definitions of workers' relations to those

conditions) is the point that material conditions per se (that is, the mere fact of working under the same roof), and/or class-position (that is, being part of the working-class as opposed to the bourgeoisie for example) do not give rise to a homogeneous awareness and political consciousness. In the FAB case this can be partly explained by, first, the heterogeneity of the concrete conditions at the point of production themselves (as they apply to various groups of workers differentiated, based on the categories given in Part I of this thesis). However, contrary evidence is provided by the workers' relation to their products, namely that regardless of the discrepancy in their jobs, all the interview sample presented the same subjective relation (of non-estrangement) to their products.

Secondly, the working class in Turkey is highly differentiated in terms of status, organisation, power, privileges, income etc. which may also account for the variations in the FAB workers' consciousness. Differentiation works in two ways, first by means of their wide-ranging previous work experiences, whereby they judge their present situation, and second, through comparison of their own situation with the other sections of the Turkish working-class which constitutes another dimension of their consciousness about their own situation.

3. The themes, criteria and titles included in the workers own formulations of their ideas and feelings - which made it possible to classify their answers without introducing any external criteria - are significant in themselves. Furthermore, that these themes were emphasised, and not others, is crucial. As will be remembered, the themes used included conceptions that pointed to the presence of a high situational awareness reflected in the following points:

a) a relatively totalistic (comprehensive) view of the labour-process, a view that includes many contradictions engendered by the labour-process, was provided by many workers.

b) The workers were not totally subordinated and did not lose complete control over their labour. Inasmuch as they are subordinated and lack control, they are aware of this, and they articulated this in the demand for more control over their labour (or the labour-process). Their demands for combining conception and execution of their work are

especially important in this context.

c) Many workers have not ceased to think and act on the premise that 'production is, in part, their responsibility too' (that is, as well as the management's).

d) The need for self-expression and fulfilment, which is important for many workers, constitutes a dynamic element in their situational awareness. This counteracts the tendency of the CLP to de-humanise work by separating creativity and activity.

e) Many workers are aware of the contradictory role of the management: as both oppressors, and as 'having a job to do themselves'; as both controllers and dependents - dependent on the workers' skill and detailed knowledge of the labour-process, and furthermore on workers' 'consent' to their subordinate status.

f) Similarly, many workers are aware of the contradictory position of the union: on the one hand, a notion of 'us' and 'them', together with the observed need for collective action in order to fight for their rights; on the other hand, a view of the union as serving the interests of the system, as an authoritarian body over and above the individual worker's self-determination.

g) Most workers do not envisage machines as hostile entities in themselves, as sources of power undermining their own existence and tying them to unimportant menial tasks; but rather as means to their creative activity, as extensions of their own powers. Most of these workers have therefore demanded more automation, and more efficient tools and equipment to be made available because they want to accomplish their tasks better, they want better production results.

4. In the demands put forward and alternatives suggested, the workers can be said to seek a 'new identity' in the domain of work.

5. Insofar as the labour-process, and/or the immediate conditions of work are concerned, most FAB workers can be said to have a concept of change which is broad in scope. It can be suggested therefore, that this enables them to envisage larger social changes as well.

All these elements of the 'situational awareness' of the workers indicate that, in their subjective relation to the labour-process, many FAB workers can be said to be persevering in becoming what they want to be, rather than accepting subordination to what is demanded of them for the more efficient operation of the CLP. Only in this context, can these workers be said to be 'conscious'.

To a lesser extent, in the same answers, elements of a subservient existence, and a corresponding awareness, can be said to exist. These elements occur less than those that point to a high situational awareness. Nevertheless, their existence is evidence of a historical phenomenon which is taking place, that is, the operation of the various divisive and subordinating tendencies of the CLP. That these two attitudes (that is, high situational awareness, and servility to capital) derive from the same labour process should be emphasised.

CHAPTER X

ON CONSCIOUSNESS

The point of departure for this thesis is the study of work in a capitalist industrial production unit (factory) in order to single out the mechanisms and situations it engenders. These latter are regarded as the material basis for class consciousness, yet not in a determinate mode but in terms of an interrelationship. The nature of work under capitalism has the potential to penetrate the workers' consciousness in parallel with its own essential tendency, that is the tendency to incessantly 'divide', therefore cause a fragmented consciousness. Workers and their organizations, on the other hand, have the potential power to act upon this tendency 'consciously' rather than being ruled by that endemic nature of the capitalist work-process.

What the research has established so far indicates that the nature of interaction between work and consciousness is an interrelationship, both influencing the form each phenomenon takes.

An analysis of FAB workers' conceptions of the labour-process and of themselves in relation to it, as expressed by themselves, has established that:

- 1) Some workers as individual members of a class, are only aware of the fragments of the labour-process,
- 2) Other workers could provide a totalistic view of the labour-process,
- 3) Taken collectively however, i.e., from the aggregate of their situational awareness, it is possible to form a totalistic conception of the labour-process. This aggregate awareness, I want to call the 'collective consciousness' of the FAB workers.

That the first two phenomena (1 and 2) are concurrent has already been explained in terms of:

- i) The nature of CLP,
- ii)

ii) Differentiation of the FAB jobs with respect to the immediate conditions in which work is accomplished,

iii) Differentiation of the FAB labour force, with regard to previous work experiences.

Here, I want to introduce a fourth aspect of the interrelationship between the work one does and the consciousness one forms about it, namely, the mediating factors. This is necessary because the relation between man and his work in the CLP is not a direct, but a mediated one. (The reasons for this have already been explained in Chapter IV.) It is the purpose of this final chapter to dwell on the extra-labour-process-factors, which are still relevant and influential at the shop-floor level.²³²

The question asked here, therefore, is: "What are the factors that support and/or counteract the divisive nature of CLP in the domain of 'consciousness'?" I will attempt to answer this question under two headings:

A) Counteracting Factors

B) Supportive Factors

This division of the 'mediating factors' is based on whether the weight of one factor's influence lies in a supporting or opposing direction with respect to the contingent divisiveness of the CLP. The division serves primarily an analytical purpose. Otherwise, in what follows, it will be clear that most of the factors can act both ways.

A) The Factors that Counteract the Divisive Nature of the CLP

1. Impact of Rural Traditions and Culture

It has already been pointed out that because some FAB workers still live in villages, and a majority of them still have ongoing contacts with rural life in one form or another, they are integrated with and open to influence from rural traditions and culture. Besides these more direct contacts with peasantry, most FAB workers' being first-generation

industrial labourers, inject a 'pre-industrial' quality into the labour-process. This quality can best be summarised in the way a peasant relates to the outside world. As J. Berger brilliantly describes on many occasions;²³³ for a peasant there is no separation between the way he relates to himself and to his land, cow etc., and his fellow villagers. These all form a unity which enables him to satisfy his 'needs' in a non-antagonistic manner. Similarly, as has already been pointed out, following on from E.P. Thompson's contrast of pre-industrial 'task-orientation' and post-industrial capitalist 'time-orientation', it should be remembered that in the context of the former, there is no demarcation between a peasant's life and work but they are intermingled. Often there is no spatial difference between where he lives and works. Furthermore, the peasant's relation to his fellow men, and often even to the land-lord is not a cash-relation.²³⁴ The two anecdotes attached to this chapter (p.322) are striking in the contrast they provide between a peasant's 'values' in Turkey, and the cash-dominated value system of capitalist industrialism.

It is against such a background that the FAB workers' experience of the factory mode of work and accompanying town-life should be contrasted. It is only then that the impact on the consciousness of these workers of divisive and alienating conditions of factory work can be fully grasped.

Some of the workers compared their past peasantry with their present situation during their interviews. Their accounts elaborated on the points made above concerning the rural way of life, and attitudes. One assistant machine operator (68) explained the difference between the rural and urban life as being that in the latter case, dependence on the market for satisfaction of basic needs is the norm:

"In town, one has to buy everything with money. In this respect life in town is more difficult than in the village. But this (having to buy everything) is difficult until you get used to it. One gets used to it gradually, because one is forced to...." (My emphasis)

Yet, he is also aware of the benefits of urban life:

"The rural life is more boring. Here, in town, one can find everything one wants....The village is a small place, everyone

knows each other which causes too much gossip. Hence no privacy. In towns, because people don't know each other, such things don't happen....Besides, had we remained in the village, we would have been curious about what kind of a thing a factory is. Now we have a knowledge of industry...."

Similarly, a 'second-cutter' (9) is aware of what town-life brings for him:

"In the village you are isolated. When you have someone ill, he often dies; there is no cure. There are no doctors, no roads, vehicles....You take the patient either on horse or on the tractor. It takes at least 4-5 hours. This is one type of difference (between town and village). On the other hand, there are differences in terms of speech, manners, entertainment....and of course, city-life is better in this respect."

This worker has an awareness of the 'privatised' life-styles in the cities: after explaining that in the village, fights often take place because there are no clear-cut boundaries between the houses/gardens of neighbours, he says:

"In cities, everyone has a house. He has not much contact with others. Only people who intimately know each other see each other."

And it has taken him about a year to become acclimatised to this life-style. A furnace worker (76), on the other hand, comments on the distance that separates him from his work activity - distance being both spatial and conceptual; a distance that did not exist for him on the land.

"It is very difficult to have to work a definite 8 continuous hours. You just can't do anything else, attend to any other business of yours. You have to be prepared in advance in order to go to work, you have to make sure that you don't miss the service buses....Yet, however hard it is, one gets used to it gradually." (My emphasis)

He is also concerned about how, in town, he is dependent on his wage, and its continuity to survive:

"Here (in town), you need to have a constant job to earn a living. If you can't find a job for two days, you won't have any money and you will starve. In the village, it is not like this, you work for 5 months, and your earnings are enough for you for the rest of the year."

Yet, this is not all; social relations are of a privatised nature:

"Here, you know only a few of your own villagers, and at best get to know a few others in town, unlike in the village where everyone is related, everyone knows each other."

Other than these memories of their own past peasant experiences, against which they judge the quality of life and work in town, there are more indirect influences from rural traditions and culture which operate on the FAB workers. The survey of the leisure activities of the sample population indicated that most FAB workers spent most of their spare time in the traditional 'coffee-houses'.²³⁵ Furthermore, these coffee houses were described as 'the coffee-house where my 'hemşehri's (fellow citizens) go'; 'where people like me go' and 'where people from my old village gather', etc. Regionalism, or 'ethnocentrism' therefore, is the underlying theme in the choice of coffee-houses. The importance the workers attribute to this, implies the need for sustaining ties with their peasant past. In a strange town, meeting people from the same place of origin seems to give a security against the initially unfriendly and alien atmosphere of urban life. Going to the coffee-house as a main leisure activity plays another important social role in the way it replaces the old 'village-room' in its functions. In the only book on the traditional coffee-houses in Turkey, Salah Birsal, a prominent Turkish author, gives an account of these social functions.²³⁶ All the entertainment facilities aside, coffee-houses are places where political, social and cultural ideas are formed and exchanged, and existing opinions are reinforced. Most of them have class-differentiated customers (despite the fact that the upper-middle class and the 'rich' do not attend them), and secondly, some differentiation occurs in terms of the age, occupation and town of origin. These characteristics of the coffee-houses engender the reinforcement of class views, political ideologies and the general social values and moral codes held by their customers. It is in this context that the FAB workers' attendance at specific coffee-houses is a significant indication of their inclination and attachment to a non-industrial proletarian ideology and culture. This is certainly an important influence on their consciousness, the implication being that this consciousness may have a tendency to be 'traditional' and conservative. In this way, the impact of coffee-house attendance may be regarded as a 'counteracting' element to the world-view imposed on

these workers by factory work and urban-life. It is the only alternative ideology that the ex-peasants can cling to in their initial period of resistance to being habituated to the urban-industrial ideology, thereby helping them to preserve their identity:

The conclusions FAB workers draw from their comparison of rural and urban life (and the implicit contrast of work in both areas), counteract the alienating effects of the factory mode of production in another important sense. Notice that the above-cited workers, although presenting a nostalgic picture of the rural life, also emphasised some positive aspects of urban life. This positiveness is often based on the public services and facilities the city provides; as well as the more colourful life and greater individual freedom of action. Among these features, the most important seems to be the type of future they think they can provide for their children. A majority of the interview-sample said that they would get their children educated 'at any cost'. Some expressed this in most dramatic terms such as "even if I have to go naked and hungry, I will do everything to send my children to school." Men and women alike articulated aspirations for their children which far surpass what they could have envisaged for themselves while still living in their villages. Therefore, city life does not only provide them with a better life-standard (electricity, running water, roads, buses, hospitals, cinemas etc.), but also the possibility of a much better life for their children.

The ideological implication of this aspect of urban life, as the workers themselves see it, is the new meaning attached to 'education'. Formal education, which has no meaning for the types of agricultural work they were previously expected to undertake, acquires a significance in their new life-styles, and education becomes something to value for its own sake. Factory jobs do not require any further education than primary schooling; in spite of this they want their children to get educated. This suggests that they do not think of their children as doomed to be workers like themselves, i.e., they envisage the possibility of upward social mobility for their children. A further implication is that the high value attached to education brings with it a high regard for educated people, which explains their peculiar 'respect' for the managers.

That these two ideological motives are already part of some of the FAB workers' consciousness was elucidated when some of them were quoted as saying that the necessity of management was based on the managers' high education, and, as presented above, by the aspirations they articulated for their children.

When asked if they thought their wages would be sufficient for them to provide for their children's education, most workers in the interview sample said they thought it was a possibility, and others said 'even if it weren't', so far as their children wanted to and 'could' (i.e., were bright enough!), they would do 'all in their power to provide for their education'. All of what they have already achieved by migrating to an urban centre, and hope to achieve for their children, inevitably causes them to 'celebrate' their new jobs and life-styles. This 'celebration'* constitutes one important reason for the FAB workers' subjective assessment of their existence as 'non-oppressed'. This may, in turn, be a possible hindrance to the formation of a radical proletarian consciousness. This claim is not based on the assumption that the poorer the working-class, the more revolutionary the consciousness it develops,²³⁷ but on the possibility of an attachment to their present situation due to the privileges it provides for them, which in turn may cause the workers to become more conservative in their attempt to sustain their life-standards. Similarly, the FAB workers' relatively favourable position in comparison with other sections of the Turkish working-class (both agricultural and industrial) has the potential to make FAB workers more conservative in their world-view. This statement should not be taken as final, since the very same conditions can make the FAB workers militant, when and if their acquired life-standards are threatened.

Furthermore, this section of the working-class, by virtue of their organisation into Trade Unions, come into contact with the radical ideologies of the unions and political parties. And again, by virtue of living in urban centres, they are confronted with political actions and demonstrations held mainly by students and other highly politicised

*This term is used by Paul Willis in a similar context. A comprehensive analysis is undertaken below.

groups. Even if the FAB workers do not participate in such political actions, nevertheless they cannot help but witness and be influenced by them.

Both conservative and radical ideologies are potential consequences of the factors considered above. There is a dynamism in this potential which arises from the contradictory influences on the FAB worker's consciousness. This dynamism in the relationship between the worker and his overall environment impregnates both ends of the political spectrum of the worker's being.²³⁸

'Celebration' of the factory jobs (at least during an initial period when such jobs are still novel), is due to both the extra-mural characteristics described above, and the conditions that prevail on the shop-floor. It is these latter that I now want to examine in further detail.

2. Shop-Floor Culture and Celebration of Industrial Jobs

P. Willis, in a paper presented to the Labour-Process Conference in Birmingham,²³⁹ argued, on the basis of his ethnographic studies in British factories, that the shop-floor culture which is a continuation of the counter-school working-class culture, 'ironically' helps the habituation of the young worker to the dehumanised factory work conditions. Some of the elements common to both cultures are 'chauvinism', toughness, solidarity, informal experimentation with authority themes, the centrality of the informal group and masculinity etc. According to Willis, these and various other elements do not only contribute to the habituation process but also lead to the 'strange celebration' of the young worker. This culture, although it maintains group solidarity among the workers, reproduces the dominant ideology and relations, due to the very function it performs (acceptance or habituation), and its ideological connotations (male chauvinism).

My empirical work had not set the task for itself of studying working class culture per se. Therefore no claims as to what constitutes this culture in the Turkish case will be made here. However, during my participant observation in FAB, some elements of shop-floor culture were noted down because they seemed to be distinctive, and their

similarity to the elements Willis describes in terms of their ideological functions makes it worthwhile to present them here.

The relevance of the analysis of some of the elements of working-class culture in their manifestations at the point of production to a study of the relationship between the CLP and 'consciousness' is rooted in the notion of 'culture' itself. The notion of culture employed here can be defined as the network of relations - and its products - between the infrastructural and the superstructural aspects of the society. To say the same thing in a somewhat different way, culture is the aggregate of the answers to the question of 'how' about a society; such as: "How do people produce in this society?", "How do people share?", "How do people create Art?", "How do people show their happiness, sorrow, appreciation, anger etc....?", "How do people bury their dead?", "How do people sing, make jokes etc...?"

An important aspect of this notion is that culture is regarded as producing/reproducing the elements of the social structure itself, and not as a kind of passive object-subject relationship as if the structure is already there.²⁴⁰ Taking into consideration class, ethnic and gender differences, people in their everyday activities are continuously in the process of making and reproducing cultural elements.

The next question to be asked is: how do FAB workers do this? The cultural activities that take place on the shop-floor will be summarised in three groups:

- a) Social interaction
- b) Rituals
- c) Artistic activities

a) Elements of Social Interaction

An important element in the manner in which workers relate to each other is the relative ease with which men and women communicate. During working hours, there is a relative equality between men and women which is reflected in the manner they treat each other, in good friendships formed, in their topics of discussion which include issues whose discussion in public would meet with disapproval outside the

factory gates (such as sexuality, marriage). During some night shifts the women prepare regional delicacies and the furnace workers cook them on the furnace walls! They play music and dance together, often sing together, and feel themselves free to get involved in 'hand-jokes' that would again not be permissible outside the work situation. The hierarchy that exists at work is the hierarchy embedded in the labour-process, and not necessarily the gender-hierarchy where man is assumed to be 'superior' and the woman secondary.²⁴¹

Other elements of what is termed 'social interaction' are jokes, sporting activities and debates. Most jokes are both tough and childish, reminiscent of school culture.

Football is the prime activity during the lunch-break. There are also volleyball nets, and table-tennis facilities on the site. Usually, football and volleyball players find a wide audience. These activities become a good occasion for trying to make each other angry in a friendly and humorous way. In this humour, one can observe the formation of a unique language. Such gatherings around a pitch also make possible the interaction of the workers of various departments, which is otherwise negligible.

Often, as soon as the managers are away, workers involve themselves in heated debates. These discussions cover a great variety of subjects, but certainly politics, party or union, is the predominant issue. What distinguishes such discussions from similar ones taking place elsewhere, among people of other classes and strata, is that most of these workers' ideas are not 'learnt' through formal education, or reading, but are either 'self-made' through their life-experiences or influenced by other well-known social means (such as mass media, folklore, elders, mosque, coffee-house etc.).

Finally, among the elements of social interaction, small trade can be cited. Workers who have relatives who own shops bring certain goods and sell them to their friends on the site, on credit terms. This custom is reminiscent of the rural haberdasher: despite the widespread market mechanism whereby customers go to buy goods from the fixed shops, in this small trade the sellers come to the customers, structuring an underground market of their own.

b) Rituals

Some activities which some of the workers engage in communally on site, are termed 'rituals' here not because they are rituals in the sociological sense, but because they are 'ritualistic' in the manner in which they are undertaken by the workers.

One such ritualistic gesture is the hand-shake. At every shift change, each group of workers very ceremoniously shake hands with each other, one group saying 'iyi mesailer' (have a good work-day), the other 'iyi istirehatler' (have a good rest). This hand-shake expresses the recognition of one another, recognition of the happiness in leaving the site, and conversely the need of those who are about to start a day's work, for good wishes. This ritual is the acknowledgement of a shared experience of work, and more important, is the recognition of each other as human-beings, as fellows rather than instrumentally as people working together. It is because of this recognition and acknowledgement aspect of the hand-shake that the workers complain about managers not shaking their hands. "Not even a hand-shake, not even asking how you are when you come to a shift" as one woman said. In saying this, she is protesting against the denial of herself as a human-being who, whatever the difference in status between herself and the managers, nevertheless wants to be recognised as a person. The importance the workers attach to hand-shaking; and the fidelity with which they follow this ritual, even if each one of them has to do it numerous times at each shift-change, exhibit a determination to preserve 'good' human relations however 'inhuman' the factory conditions may be, i.e., 'good' relations in their own way, as they conceive it themselves.

The other similarly significant ritual is the breakfast. The morning shift which starts at 7 a.m. are 'free' until the managers arrive at 8.30 a.m. The breakfast ceremony takes place in many departments, but it is most elaborate in Q.C. in BIC, hence this will be described briefly.

The breakfast is prepared almost as for a ritual. On the way to work, some have bought olives and cheese. At other times, the night shift has left them some breakfast.²⁴² They put on the kettle and prepare the foreman's table for the breakfast; i.e., it is covered with long sheets of report papers. Tea is served and everyone gathers around

the table. Usually other workers join in from outside: friends, husbands, fiancés from other departments. Whatever there is, is shared communally, and until everyone has enjoyed fully what is for him the best time of the day, no-one gets up to start the day's work.

Certainly, not all departments can enjoy this freedom of leisure, but where it is possible, workers make the most of it, and the breakfast ritual becomes another form of preserving their identity, their way of doing things, adding also some colour to their otherwise monotonous and difficult working-hours. The cultural element to be underlined here is solidarity.

c) Artistic Activities

Night-shifts are again times when workers have more freedom due to the absence of the top managers. It is the time when some of them (mainly the production workers in BIC) make fancy goods from the 'gobs' (the paste from the furnace that later turns into bottles). The 'gob' in its paste form is easy to shape. Many workers create artefacts from these 'gobs', some functional, such as ash-trays, vases, pencil holders etc., and others purely artistic, such as ornaments, and figures which reflect each worker's artistic style. The most common ornaments are a duck, a tortoise or a globe which can also be used as a lamp-shade. Many workers' houses are decorated with these creations of their own or of their mates.

The Q.C. and process-control workers also find different uses for bottles and containers of various sizes and colours. By cutting them into certain proportions, they can get small containers of different shapes which are used to hold pens, pins etc., or again as ornaments. Some of the art-works thus created are extraordinary and in them one can observe the imaginative power of those workers who have had no artistic education. Through this activity the desire of the workers to combine work and art, life and art, can be achieved. These elements were integrated in their peasantry, but are separated under industrial capitalism, like many similar phenomena whereby form and content are split. In the sock a peasant woman has knitted, the artistic quality is intertwined with its use. The pair of socks she buys from the

market when she comes to the city has lost its art-quality. Instead, she witnesses art as something separate, as some form that can only be seen in the galleries, and performed by professional artists.

Judged against this experiencing of the separation of art from other activities, the artistic endeavours of FAB workers become an important element of the shop-floor culture, important also as an expression of the need to contain art in their productive activity.

B) Supportive Factors

In this analysis of the factors that counteract the divisive nature of CLP, the rural backgrounds of the workers on the one hand - as means of preserving an old identity - and elements of counter shop-floor culture on the other - as means of searching for a new identity - appear as two significant aspects of FAB workers' consciousness. These aspects point to a conflict which arises, as explained above, because the FAB workers are experiencing the transition from being peasants to being industrial workers. The aspects in conflict relate to the fulfilment of the self - because of the relative security of the industrial job, its novelty and the facilities that urban life provides - and the emerging alienation due to these very same conditions of industrial capitalist work. Hence the alienation/celebration duality.

There are other contradictions within the state of the emerging industrial proletariat. These are presented under two headings: 'Ideology of Utility', and 'Search for new Identity', which lead on to 'Points of Reference'.

Ideology of Utility

A. Gouldner draws attention to an important duality in the conditions of existence of the industrial worker.²⁴³ He explains that capitalist industrialization and the labour process not only divide workers and create a gap between their desire for solidarity and the lack of it in reality, but also create individuals with divided selves. Gouldner outlines how the system rewards and fosters those skills deemed useful

and suppresses the expression of talents and faculties deemed useless, and thereby imposes a structure and shape upon the individual personality and self. He argues that, especially in the industrial sector, it is not the man that is wanted, but the function he performs. If this function can be performed more economically by a machine, the man is replaced. The implications of this are two-fold: one is that the possibility for social participation in the industrial sector depends on a man's imputed usefulness, so that in order to be admitted and hence rewarded, 'people must submit to an education and to a socialization that early validates and cultivates only selected parts of themselves, i.e., those parts that are expected to have subsequent utility.'²⁴⁴ This is a selective mechanism at both social and individual levels. Thus, "just as there are unemployed men, there is also the unemployed self."²⁴⁵ This is very important, as Gouldner stresses, because from the forms of exclusion of self fostered by an industrial system comes an emerging awareness that 'work is nothing less than the wasting of life.'²⁴⁶

Gouldner's notion of the 'unemployed self' helps us to understand the processes which the industrial worker experiences, and provides an insight into understanding the worker's reactions in response to his conditions of work. In spite of this, it must be pointed out that this conceptual framework can only be applied with some reservation to the case of FAB workers. Indications of the formation of 'unemployed selves', as Gouldner describes it, can be traced in some of the FAB workers' desire for better training in their jobs, for learning a trade that is valid in the market, and in the resistance they show to industrial capitalist values and morality. In other words, an 'ideology of utility' permeates FAB workers' consciousness and structures their expectations of themselves in alignment with the expectations of the system.

On the other hand, labour-power is still cheaper than machinery in Turkey, and replacement of labourers by machinery is not an immediate threat to the FAB workers. Furthermore, the conditions of underdevelopment make the skills and talents of the workers indispensable. In both cases the determining power is exercised by the system, with its tendency to structure individual selves in accordance with its needs. This leaves the FAB workers in a dilemma that their western counterparts have experienced long ago and are still experiencing: in order not to be

replaced by machinery they have to make their labour-power cheap; which is obviously against their interests. Also, the underdeveloped nature of the labour-process in FAB allows them to use many facets of their skills and faculties; yet the tendency of the system to deprive them of this fulfilment as soon as it is able to solve its financial problems is there as a threat. These constitute the duality of their objective situation.

On the subjective side, however, whatever 'use' of themselves they may have lost, the FAB workers seek to find new 'selves' in the work-domain of their lives. Insofar as FAB workers seek for a new identity in the 'public sphere' it can be said that they do not, from their subjective stance, seem to be influenced by the self-divisive tendency of the capitalist system. These points will be clarified by further elaboration in relation to the analysis of the remaining two phenomena: 'Search for new Identity', and 'Reference Points'.

Search for new Identity

In the 1844 manuscripts, Marx presents his theory of alienation, which constitutes, according to Ollman, his only organized treatment of the subject.²⁴⁷ To the question of what constitutes the alienation of labour, Marx offers the following reply:

"First, the fact that labour is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need: it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it." (My emphasis) 248

With Ollman's interpretation of Marx's theory of alienation, it is possible to grasp to what extent alienated labour is an intrinsic quality of human labour, and the extent to which it is the result of the capitalist mode of production: Ollman states:

"In claiming that labour does not belong to man's essential being, that in it he denies rather than affirms himself and that it is not a satisfaction of a need but merely satisfies needs external to it, Marx's point of reference is species man. In asserting that labour in capitalism mortifies man's body and ruins his mind and that in it he is uncomfortable and unhappy, Marx is alluding to the actual appearance of the proletariat. Alienated labour marks the convergence of these two strands of thought." (My emphasis) 249

Inasmuch as FAB workers indicated that they 'worked because they had to' (that their labour is 'coerced'), and that they produce to satisfy not their needs, but needs external to themselves, they are evidently alienated in Marx's sense. As for the visible effects of alienation or the features of 'the actual appearance of the proletariat', inasmuch as the glassworks industry cripples many workers, gives them skin and lung diseases and reduces their life-expectancy, it can be seen that FAB workers, with their alienated-labour do 'mortify' their bodies. Whether, and if so, how they 'ruin' their minds is less easy to observe and demonstrate. There are only a few cases I have come across within FAB which may point to the existence of such an effect. Two cases have already been presented elsewhere in the thesis (the worker who ran away because 'this factory's work never comes to an end', and the worker who had a delirium because 'bottles were coming continuously'); here I want to present the case of a photographer in BIC.

This worker prepares the designs of the labels for the bottles. He works in a small windowless room adjacent to the Q.C. laboratory. He explained the work he does and how this ruined him:

"I had psychiatric treatment for the same reason (that gave that man a delirium). For days after days, hours after hours I moved between four points within the same room doing exactly the same four movements each time. I prepare the design (this under bright light), take its photograph (bright light again), then develop it in dark and put on the lights again, put the films in the fridge and back to the table, step one again. Hence, bright and dark, and bright, and dark again, and again....I was going crazy. We don't have much air here either. We're poisoned with the chemicals of the dyes and the film developing. So they installed this aspirator. But it makes so much noise that you cannot put it on all the time. Anyway, the psychiatrist was a young lady. She helped me a lot. You see, the problem was I could neither be happy in that room, nor outside of it. After a few weeks of treatment and rest I came back to myself. I wish everything I had been doing (for them) was appreciated. You can do all this (work) at what cost; and even then, you are not appreciated and furthermore your 'boss' (referring to the shift-

manager) owns what comes out of your efforts."

It is in such human suffering that Marx sees the evidence of alienated labour. This photographer's case raises an issue, though, in relation to one aspect of Marx's view of alienation. Note that despite everything the photographer still likes his job, and more important he cannot feel happy either inside or outside his little room. In his divided attitude towards his work one can see the human dilemma: he is not at home in his work, but neither is he at home outside his work. He continues to search for a solution, for contentment, and this still within the work-domain. (If he were appreciated, and if the pride of accomplishing something creative was granted to him, he would be happier). From Marx's treatment of the effects of alienated labour on the labourer himself, it appears that workers might be expected to seek meaning and identity in the non-work domain. A. Brittan, in his 'Privatised World' certainly takes up this point. In the context of domestic work and the situation of the housewives, he asserts that they 'frequently internalise metaphors and mechanisms of their own subjection', and that they do this 'in a nexus of institutional forces which function as arbiters of reality.'²⁵⁰ This process of internalisation and arbitration of reality can be recognised as the source of identity and meaning for the modern man. A. Brittan states:

"There is no 'home' to be found in the political and social structures of modern society, because these structures have become 'things' outside the subjective understanding and control of individual persons. The implications of this being that with the breakdown of the medieval synthesis and the growth of industrialism, there is no longer an institutional source from which individuals can draw their value and locate their identity. It is in the private sphere that an individual finds meaning and identity, not in the bureaucratised world of work." (My emphasis) 251.

It is this latter statement that I want to query in the case of FAB workers. From the evidence provided throughout this thesis, it may be concluded that it is within the work-situation (or 'public sphere') that the FAB workers search for, and gain, a new identity. This may be so, because possibly, the 'medieval synthesis' has not totally broken down to give way to industrialism in Turkish society.

Insofar as the FAB workers are integrated with the rural culture and

ideology - which remain distinct from their industrial capitalist counterparts - they can refer to such institutional sources for their values and their identity. For them, pre-industrial institutions are not the only sources however. The industrial world of work, with its new institutions such as the management and the union, encapsulates the FAB workers and functions as a source of reference. The source in which they seek meaning and identity can be seen in the demands put forward by the FAB workers - especially those pertaining to making the factory more home-like, and transforming their workplace to a self-sufficient unit. It is implicit in these demands that at least some workers believe that the re-union of work and life is possible. The sports activities they indulge in, their artistic accomplishments on site, their ritualism, cooking and dancing during work, etc., all indicate that at least some FAB workers' search for a new identity takes place in the work-domain of their lives, and certainly some of them find meaning in this sphere.

FAB workers* do not necessarily make a distinction between public and private spheres. The relationship of the worker to his work is total, and he finds identity in his work. This identity is 'dualistic' since, for the reasons explained above, it both favours and repels work (as in the case of the like/dislike dilemma of the photographer). The like/dislike dichotomy is engendered by capitalism (and management) thereby forcing 'the like for work' to act against the labourer, which in turn accounts for the 'dislike for work'. The dilemma of the worker is then wanting to escape work on the one hand, and still being drawn to it on the other.

The role of the management in fostering the workers acquisition of an industrial identity is of crucial importance, because in the world of work, management remains the most powerful 'point of reference'. And as sources of reference, the management in FAB constitutes the 'supportive' element to the tendency of the CLP.

* Here I move on from the specific 'some' workers (which referred to those who did involve themselves in ritualistic, artistic etc. activities) to the general, 'all' FAB workers, because as their demands indicated, search for a new identity in the workplace holds true for them all.

Points of Reference

The managers, in their ideology and practice, represent the formation of the new, industrial synthesis. The essential and contingent characteristics of managerial ideology and practice in FAB were presented earlier. Apart from the ideological bias of the managerial world-view, the managers help the reproduction and mediation of an industrial outlook of which 'instrumental rationality' and 'utilitarian ideology' are central. These two ideological themes constitute the foundation of the industrial synthesis.

Instrumental rationality, as related to the FAB case, consists of the following dimensions:

- a) A technological determinism, i.e., that technology is beyond the control of individual human power and therefore must simply be accepted as constant and determinate.
- b) The purpose of production is to increase profits, therefore the problem for production is maximization of efficiency and productivity, (all other considerations must be subordinated to this main concern.)
- c) Given technology and the purpose of production, the organization of production as it exists is the only possible one. Any alterations can only be quantitative in nature, i.e., can come from attempts to make the system function better - better defined in terms of efficiency and productivity and not effort.²⁵² All strands of thought and policy which contradict this technological determination therefore are meaningless from a 'rational' point of view.
- d) Again, given technology, time-attendance as opposed to task-orientation is a necessity. To contradict this is irrational; therefore unacceptable.
- e) It is only natural that the management should exist as it is, since they, in terms of knowledge and mental skills, are better equipped. The workers, simply because they come from a 'lower' class, are incapable of the 'brain-work' that managerial function presumably involves.

f) Consideration of human well-being is relevant only insofar as its absence may cause problems for the achievement of production targets. By itself, human well-being does not constitute a problem that the management should concern itself with.

g) All these dimensions (of instrumental rationality) from a) to f), are valid and 'rational' because by operating in terms of them, production is realised, and gains are made, which are ultimately for the benefit of all members of society. By equating company interests with the general social interests, the management can claim to be socially useful, while simultaneously realising the company's goals.

'Utilitarian ideology', on the other hand, refers to the theoretical tool with which the management implements the dimensions of 'instrumental rationality', such that the latter becomes part and parcel of the industrial synthesis. 'Ideology of utility' is, as A. Gouldner explains, the defining feature of the modern capitalist world-view, and therefore, operates on a much wider scale than simply at the point of production. However, its manifestation in industry is what concerns us here. In defining man and his skills with reference to their utility for industrial society, or more precisely, for the production system, the members of society are divided into 'useful' and 'useless', in the same way as aspects of man's self are divided (as was mentioned earlier). This presents itself as a social policy problem as well as a managerial problem, because those sections of the population and the traits of self that are deemed to be 'useless' have to be disposed of and controlled in such a manner that the 'useless' can be made 'useful' again, that is, re-employed. The strategic solution to this managerial problem is found in 'the programmes for human relations in industry'. Gouldner writes:

"These (strategies) constitute an effort to cope with the problems of the unemployed self, to teach management how to utilize the useless parts of self, by redefining these as not being useless. That is, the excluded self is now seen as impinging on the effective employment of skills, and non-pecuniary motives are seen as affecting productivity. Thus larger and larger reaches of self and social structure are fitted into utilitarian appraisal. Here, the system has not changed its values, but simply extended the range of things it seeks to manage from the same utilitarian standpoint. Modern sophisticated management thus seeks to subject the 'informal' group structures of factory life, which had hitherto provided opportunities for the compensatory expression of

human qualities excluded or neglected by utilitarian culture, and to bring these under deliberate and rational management. It sees a new usefulness in these once neglected social structures, and it extends the sway of utilitarian standards over them, thereby cutting off the sociological hinterland into which the personality could formerly retreat and from which it could once wage a kind of guerilla resistance." 253

This new usefulness, the recent managerial practices have found, is a means whereby management can form the industrial synthesis. Human relations ideology becomes a tool for incorporation of the 'informal group', for absorbing and assimilating the resistance exerted by the workers into the broadened managerial refinement. This development is particularly important in the FAB case for a number of reasons. FAB management; first of all have come into contact with the ideology of utility through their direct and indirect contacts with their western counterparts. In other words, for them, 'utilitarian appraisal' is not simply a phenomenon of the Turkish social structure, but is rather an imported ideology integrated into the managerial practices. Therefore, the FAB managers, who are in the process of incorporating human-relations programmes in their above-defined policies, do not undertake this policy in order to redefine the 'useless' and make it possible to re-employ them, but in order to achieve the assimilation of such a 'utilitarian appraisal' into the new 'industrial synthesis'. That is, the unemployed selves, and the unemployed people (because they are defined as 'useless') are not social problems for Turkey,²⁵⁴ as they are for the welfare-states of the west, but are managerial problems for big industries. This is so because efficient management in big industries which employ advanced technology and a large labour-force has, at least partially, to include human-relations theory. This is simply because part of the manning problems which the management of such industries, like FAB, are confronted with, are problems which the human-relations school purports to solve. In other words, where the impact on productivity and efficiency is concerned, FAB management utilises human-relations strategies - at the root of which lies the 'utilitarian appraisal' - concurrently, though, with the attempts to transcend the problems created by the ideology of utility itself.²⁵⁵

FAB management has to do this further because the 'human' problem they face is partly related to the identity crisis of the ex-peasant. They are aware that the efficiency of their management depends largely on

how successfully they can transform the ex-peasants into a disciplined industrial labour-force. In doing this, FAB management must, and do, act as the new reference point for the workers. In performing this function they have to simultaneously transform themselves into 'modern' managers, and the workers into a 'modern' proletariat, for both of which tasks the ideology of utility and the human relations school are useful theoretical tools. As a new 'reference point' for the workers, the FAB management, by propagating and implementing the ideologies of instrumentalism and utility, mark the course of the industrial synthesis, and hence, to a great extent, the workers' ideology and consciousness.

The efforts by the management geared towards transforming the site into a self-sufficient unit could be considered in this light. These efforts have an implicit purpose of minimizing the difference between the work and non-work domains of the workers' lives. In attempting to meet most of the needs of the workers on site, one foreseeable aim of management can be said to be to make the workers increasingly more dependent on their workplace for the satisfaction of their needs. A possible outcome, which might easily have been aimed at by the management, could be that by thus minimizing the FAB workers' ties with the rest of the society, they may be compelled to have a secluded existence, and therefore interests different from those of the rest of the working-class. The management seems to be thus completing its influence as a reference point on the formation of the workers' new identity. How the FAB managers achieve or attempt to achieve this can be found in the Personnel Manager's words. My various conversations with him are the most important source of information on managerial policy implications, shedding light especially on the above issues. Therefore, at the risk of being too detailed, I want to present his ideas and accomplishments as he articulated them.

The personnel manager, a 'self-made' man, explained that from his own experiences, he has come to the conclusion that for human-beings i) habits, ii) fear of losing, iii) the desire to be valued, are most important. Therefore, he believes that to integrate these insights into his managerial policy is indispensable. "Man is naturally inclined to form habits, and once attached to his habits 'a fear of losing' grows" and this knowledge of the 'natural' human traits has served an important function for the management. The establishment of

a 'mutual-aid fund', projects to develop the existing Building Co-operative, and a general betterment of the environment, which includes 'arbours' everywhere on the site, pools with fountains, a sports centre, a club, music in the dining hall and a holiday camp, are all efforts to intensify the workers' feeling of belonging - one of the fundamental teachings of the Human Relations school.

For the personnel manager, and many others, there is an analogy between the parent-child and the manager-worker relationship: parent/managers who understand the importance of the three characteristics of man can solve the problems of these relationships. The parent/manager is endowed with the power to manipulate the situation, and the child/worker makes no impact other than a passive acceptance of the parent/manager's actions even, though he is subjected to all the manipulative actions of the parent/manager. His principles of management, thus explained, are based on his notion of management which he states to be "nothing but the art of making people content". And these principles have worked for them in FAB: "we, as management, certainly benefited from these." he said.

The similarity between what the Personnel Manager wants to achieve in terms of environmental changes, and the demands forwarded by the workers along these lines is striking. The implications of this is that the management, in fulfilling certain needs, also creates others which can again only be satisfied by the company. In this process, the management also imposes a world-view, and a lifestyle. The questions: 'what constitutes a 'good' environment to work in, a 'good' life?'; 'which needs have the prime importance, and what are the best ways of fulfilling them?' etc., are all answered by the management, and policies are enacted accordingly. Furthermore, the managers serve as the 'model' for the modern, industrial outlook. All this is directed at the workers and to the extent that this world-view is internalised by the workers, it creates in them the aspiration to live up to the image imposed by this world-view.

Another manager, in SG, is convinced that as FAB managers, they do not know what 'efficient management' is. For him, efficient management concerns itself more with human-relations in the workplace. His ideal is to 'deal with each man and his personal problems individually', but

also 'investigate his family life'. This is because,

"if the worker has personal or family problems, if he comes to work with psychological problems, then he cannot possibly concentrate on his work, and cannot be efficient."

His ideal model is inspired by the practices of some U.S. companies. These companies have employed psychologists who visited the workers' families and helped them to solve their problems. He stressed that these problems could effect the workers' attitudes at work, and therefore, he admired the idea of employing psychologists who could 'at least listen to the problems of the worker's wife and kids, and make them feel better'. Finally, he added that he wanted to do the same in FAB because he was convinced that 'both the workers and the managers would benefit considerably from such a practice'.

In his managerial viewpoint is revealed most of what was said in this section about FAB managers' ideological stance. If a worker creates problems by reacting to the managers in the workplace, it is because he has psychological problems, mostly embedded in his home-life. His disturbed state of mind causes problems for efficiency, productivity and 'good' human relations - hence the need to penetrate his private life. Furthermore, it is the managers who know what is best for their workers, and so they can enforce a solution to the workers' problems. (The implicit assumption is that the workers cannot help themselves in handling their lives best, and/or it is not desirable that the workers should seek solutions within themselves or from sources other than the management.) From this point of view the problem is not seen as the inhuman conditions of the labour-process, but only appears - to borrow Braverman's words - 'with overt signs of dissatisfaction and resistance' on the part of the worker. This is, at the same time, the viewpoint the workers are encouraged to internalise.

The analysis of the factors that support/counteract the divisive nature of the CLP in FAB suggests several conclusions:

1. No one factor is intrinsically negative or positive in terms of its impact on the workers' consciousness.
2. The managerial ideology is the most supportive of the divisive

nature of CLP. This stems from the 'transformational problem', which comprises the managerial problem, and only by the solution of it can the management find a justification for its existence. The management must transform the labour-power (or workers' power to labour over a period of time), in such a way that it fulfils the needs of capital in its drive for profits and accumulation. In the policy and programmes they implement, they seek to accomplish this task most efficiently. The success of the management, and of the system as a whole, can be measured by the extent to which the ideological premises - on which they operate in solving the transformational problem - are internalised by the workers.

3. In this context, the management in FAB is only partially successful. Some of the FAB workers have internalised some of the ideological elements as defining their own social reality, as was elucidated earlier. This internalisation can also be partly explained in terms of the 'invisibility' of control in a larger social context. As was revealed by FAB workers' responses, their awareness of their oppression as caused by the immediate job conditions, is paramount. Yet, the relation between this and the capitalist system is not often part of this awareness. In other words, in the FAB workers' case, 'job-awareness' and 'class-consciousness' are two separate phenomena.²⁵⁶ Inasmuch as the FAB workers are habituated to the ideology of the capitalist mode of production, they are unable to see through the 'invisibility' of capitalist domination. The connection between the system as a whole and the conditions of wage-labour is obscured, and the latter come to be seen as natural. This was seen to be the experience of many FAB workers, and it often found expression in "you gradually get used to it".

On the other hand, the FAB workers have not internalised all the managerial values, nor have they accepted all the conditions of wage-labour as 'natural'. Their recent experiences of alternative work-processes (predominantly agricultural, but also 'non-factory' modes of industrial production) make it possible for them to make comparisons with their present situation. Insofar as this comparison yields unfavourable results for their present situation, they are able to resist habituation. As they explained in their complaints and suggested alternatives, they do not regard the conditions of factory work as absolute, and unavoidable. Besides being able to make this

comparison, their ongoing contacts with the 'pre-capitalist' sections of the society²⁵⁷ help them to preserve a 'pre-capitalist identity'. That both of these two attitudes are contained by the FAB workers should be emphasised.

One possible conclusion to draw from the study of the labour process in FAB is that the impact of the world-view generated in the non-work domain is more significant than the world-view imposed at the point of production, in shaping the FAB workers' conception of society and the labour-process. This can be explained in terms of the relationship between the factory and the larger society in the context of under-development.

The relations of production are created and reproduced by the mode of production with which the society operates. The factory both 'absorbs' and 'reproduces' these relations. In reproduction, something new, some quality which is generated at the shop-floor level, is added constantly. In general, whether either one of these two interrelated phenomena (i.e., 'absorption' or 'generation') is more determinant than the other is related to the particular history (time), and the specifics of the society in its mode of production. For an advanced capitalist social structure, it can be said that 'factory' dominates society - with the network of relations it generates - whereas for an underdeveloped-capitalist social formation, this is not the case (or not yet, some might want to argue). Hence, in the latter case, the CLP is modified to the extent to which the outside-factory relations and institutions (the history, culture etc.) permeate everyday relations at the point of production. In the specific case of FAB, being located in Turkey where the capitalist institutions have not totally replaced the 'medieval synthesis', where the urban/rural division of labour is not complete, and where each individual worker is an 'instance' in the historical transition from pre-industrial to post-industrial social formations; the forces that are at work in the work-domain and larger social domain respectively, are antagonistic. In the former domain, managerial ideology fosters the formation of the 'industrial synthesis'. In the latter, a combination of pre-capitalist and underdeveloped-capitalist ideologies co-exist, ideologies which workers bring in and add to the structures formed at the point of production.

In the specific case of FAB, then, it is concluded that the 'relations' generated and reproduced by the non-factory domain of the society seem to prove equally significant in comparison to those relations which are basically created at the point of production, in determining the class consciousness of the workers.

Two anecdotes will illustrate the absence of cash-relations for the Turkish peasantry, as recounted by Aziz Nesin, a prominent Turkish author. (These anecdotes were published as a series of articles in the daily Turkish newspaper, Milliyet. These two are taken from Milliyet, 30th December, 1980, p.5)

A German who has lived many years in Turkey told me of this incident: "I was going to Kayseri with my friends. They were the war years. Summer's heat....On a very dusty road, a very old peasant was driving his donkey loaded with wood. We in the car passed by the old man and drove off. Further on we stopped by a water fountain to have a rest. The old peasant we'd left behind came up, urging on his donkey. Because the ropes had loosened, the logs slipped off the donkey's back and scattered on the ground. We helped the old man and he stacked them and loaded them onto his donkey again.

- What are you going to do with this wood? I asked.

- I'm going to take it to Kayseri and sell it. He said.

It was at least four more hours' journey to Kayseri. He couldn't possibly arrive there before nightfall. He was very old and tired.

He was coming from a far away village. I pitied him a lot.

- Leave the wood here and let me pay you for it. I said.

- Why should I leave it? He asked.

- Aren't you going to take it to Kayseri and sell it anyway? Whatever money they would pay you there, let me give you it here. Leave the wood here and go back to your village.

He thought for a while and then said:

- It can't be.

- Why can't it be? Isn't this wood for sale? I'm buying it. Let me give you more money than they would in Kayseri.

He stared straight into my eyes:

- It can't be. He said again. This wood wouldn't be any use to you....

I will take it to Kayseri and sell it to someone who can use it.

Wouldn't it be a pity for the wood to remain here for nothing?

This observation that my German friend has made makes me very sentimental because it reflects a character quality of the Turkish man. That old peasant has spent his labour to cut the wood and bring it here. The return for his labour is not just money. At the same time he wants his labour to be useful for something.

The incident my German friend related does not end here. The rest goes like this:

The German insisted so much that in the end the old man couldn't resist any more and said yes. Let us hear my German friend again:

- In return for his wood he asked for very little money. I knew that he would have got more money if he had taken it to Kayseri and sold it there. But in order not to offend me, a German, he seemed to have agreed to sell me the wood. Reluctantly he put the wood stack on the ground.

We got into the car and left the place. We hadn't gone very far when I asked the driver to stop. I looked behind. What do you think I saw? The old peasant was loading his wood back onto his donkey. We drove back and I asked him:

- I bought that wood. It's mine. Why are you loading it on your donkey again?

The peasant handed me back the money I gave him:

- Yes, you did buy it. He said. But, as long as the wood is no use to anyone, what will happen to all that labour of mine? Take your money, and thank you. Let me still take the wood to Kayseri and sell it there so that it is useful for someone.

Another German who speaks Turkish and has been in Turkey a long time, told me about this incident:

It was winter. With an American we had to stop at a peasant's house for the night. The peasant was very poor. He brought us some food to eat. At night we saw that there were two separate beds in the same room made up for us. Each bed was made of two mattresses on top of each other.* When we woke up in the morning, we saw that the peasants who had given us their mattresses had slept on the ground with their children. The American was very sad about this. He tried to give money to the peasant. Because I have lived a long time here, I said: - Don't try to give money, it will shame him. He won't take it. He won't take it....

The American did not listen to me.

While we were drinking the milk the peasant brought us, he tried to give him \$50. It was obvious from the peasant's face that he was very angry. He didn't take the money. The American asked me why he didn't take the money, and then I translated his words to the peasant. The

* A tradition in Turkey of respect shown to guests is the number of pillows offered to the guest to lean on, or the number of mattresses on the bed.

peasant said:

- He's my guest. I can't say anything against him....But ask him - why does he think so little of me?

The peasant was convinced that the American who tried to pay for staying the night in his house was humiliating him.

Some Theoretical Conclusions

1. Collectivizing and Divisive Aspects of the CLP

In the 1970's, in Britain and the U.S. especially, the study of the CLP both theoretically and empirically gained impetus. Especially with the publication of H. Braverman's book on 'Labour and Monopoly Capital' in 1974, a vigorous debate took place on the nature and significance of the CLP on the advanced capitalist societies of the west, and especially on the class consciousness of the workers of those societies. The Brighton Labour Process group, the Birmingham Conference on Labour Process, and various books by Nichols, Beynon and Armstrong based on research in British factories, are some of the prominent contributors to this debate. In many sociological, cultural and political periodicals, articles appeared, mainly either as critiques of Braverman and as elaborations on various points he made, or as contributions to numerous dimensions of CLP and its related issues, such as Ideology, Consciousness, Feminism, Sexism, Culture etc.

The theoretical premises of the different strands of these writers on these issues are located in Marx's own writings.²⁵⁸ What the contemporary debate did was mainly to bring up to date some of the issues for which Marx has laid the foundation. The inquiry into the labour-process was thus broadened to include the monopoly capitalist age. Secondly, issues such as House-work, Feminism, Sexism, counter-cultures (of school and shop-floor), etc., which are aspects of contemporary consciousness, were integrated into the influence domain of the CLP. The leitmotif in the writings of all those authors and academics (the cited and the numerous uncited ones) finds its expression best in Braverman and Aronowitz.²⁵⁹ Aronowitz states:

"the barriers to the ability of the working class to grasp the fact that its own exploitation at the point of production results from systemic causes are not chiefly ideological: they are rooted in the labour-process." 260

Braverman, who makes the same point as Aronowitz, furthermore presents an elaborate analysis of the CLP and its degrading impact on the nature of the U.S. and the British working classes especially. He stresses the need to start from an enquiry into the LP in order to conceive the

class-consciousness of these working-classes. The essential tendency of the CLP, according to Braverman, is the continuous separation of the elements of the labour-process, which degrades work further (i.e., deprives it of its human quality) at each level of separation. The central theme in the analysis of the course of this process is the antagonism in the separation of conception and execution, controllers and workers, mental and manual labour - all of which constitute the immanent laws of the CLP - which engender the degradation of work under capitalism. According to Braverman the present organization of industry is accounted for by the incessant transformation of all work forms into capitalist form and the methods employed in the realisation of this, such as 'scientific management'. Therefore, the contemporary studies regard all the work-forms as capitalist, i.e., governed by the same separatist tendency.²⁶¹

In brief, the debate on the labour-process is mainly a re-emphasis, or a re-examination, of the issue first raised and analysed by Marx himself. As any re-emphasis is bound to be, this one also has its bias in over-emphasising the role of the CLP in determining the class-consciousness of the proletariat. There had to be an over-emphasis, partly because the revitalization of the study of the labour-process came as a reaction to two main streams of contemporary thought. One is the 'conventional' social scientist's approach to the study of aspects of the working-classes - the labour-process studies can be seen as a reaction to orthodox academics, because the latter failed to see the existence of a class outside its subjective manifestations. For, as Braverman claims,

"'class', 'status'; 'stratification' and even (....) 'alienation' are artefacts of consciousness and can be studied only as they manifest themselves in the minds of the subject population." 262

Class-consciousness is a process that finds its existence in the mode in which it is expressed, rather than as a static condition that can be discovered by the questionnaire-interview techniques of the social scientist. The latter, Braverman believes, are 'superficial', 'remote' and 'mechanic'. My purpose here is not to present a critique of Braverman, but simply to point out the way in which orthodox academic work is conceived by him and other labour-process researchers, and show that his over-emphasis of the significance of the CLP came about as a

reaction to conventional social scientific research on these issues.

The second stream of thought that the labour-process study groups argue against is a strand of Marxist thought, namely Althusserian Structuralism. Althusserian structuralism developed as a reaction to the 'economism' of the main-stream Marxist school, (i.e., in order to establish, once and for all, the relative autonomy of the superstructure - that it is not a mere reflection of the infrastructure - and stress the importance of 'ideology' for contemporary industrial social formations). In turn, it created a reaction to itself which found expression in labour-process studies. It was Althusser and Poulantzas' concept of 'ideological state apparatuses', grounded on a notion of an omnipotent state which controls every aspect of life from production to language,²⁶³ which called for a counter emphasis, i.e., a re-emphasis on the centrality of the labour-process as opposed to the centrality of ideology in determining the consciousness of the contemporary working-classes. Consequently, my present research has benefited considerably from the ongoing debate on the labour-process and its significance in determining the consciousness of the workers. Certainly, the need to study the LP in order to demonstrate mechanisms at work which give rise to a certain form of class consciousness, is based on my reading of this debate.

By studying the work itself, in the particular case of FAB and the workers' reactions to it, this thesis has attempted to establish that the labour-process in FAB is divisive and degrading in its essential characteristic. The latter is true especially when work is viewed from an ontological viewpoint, i.e., defined as central/productive and creative activity of mankind. Now, I want to show that based on the available concrete data, the divisive aspects of the CLP and the organization of work can be, at the same time, collectivizing aspects at the point of production or within the larger society. I want to present this point schematically, all the factors being considered with regard to their impact on the workers' consciousness.

DIVISIVE FACTORS

1. Management: in its ideological practices.
2. The union: divisive in its politics, hierarchical functioning, preventing spontaneous working-class actions.
3. Disappointment in the limited achievements of the Collective Actions: strikes, slow-downs and co-operatives.
4. Awareness that the workers are the necessary active subjects in the production process. When combined with a national consciousness, the implication is that society's well-being is dependent on their hard work. This makes workers willing to participate in and submit to the labour-process, and ultimately acts against their interests. The proponents of a national consciousness contradict the union and radical political consciousness, and therefore the workers are divided.
5. Relatively high living-standards (in comparison with both the FAB workers' own past and with other sections of the Turkish working-class). Therefore, divisive in causing passive acceptance due to 'fear-of-loss'.
6. Values created at the point of production in order to justify the system - when internalised by the workers.

COLLECTIVIZING FACTORS

1. Management as an institution to unite against.
2. The union as representative of workers' rights against the capitalist and managerial institutions, and for the workers.
3. Experience in collective power (strikes, slow-downs and co-operatives etc.)
4. Awareness of the workers that the production could not proceed without themselves. This becomes collectivizing because it is a strength that all workers share against the contrary pressures from the system.
5. Relatively high living-standards - readiness to undertake collective action to maintain this.
6. Opposition to those values. Therefore, a base on which a counter-collective identity can be formed.

The list of factors given in the table above could be extended. However, comparison of those six factors is sufficient to make clear the point that the same aspects pertaining to the organization of work in FAB can be regarded as both divisive and collectivizing factors for workers' consciousness. Which quality will be dominant in the workers' consciousness will mainly depend on the particular historical choice of

the FAB workers and the Turkish working-class in general. The nature of this choice, will, to a large extent, be influenced by the success/failure of the management/union - political parties in obscuring/revealing respectively, the relationship between the capitalist mode of production and the conditions of workers' subjection. It is one thing to establish the degrading, fragmenting potential of the CLP, it is another thing to establish that the workers subjected to the CLP are influenced by it in their consciousness, in a degraded, fragmented manner. In the FAB workers' case, it is clear that many of them do not seem to be penetrated by the alienating conditions of the CLP. The possible reasons for this have been elaborated throughout this thesis. Based on this exposition, it is argued that in the multitude of social influences surrounding workers, which of these influences the workers will internalise can not be pre-determined. Which influence becomes effective is not a function of any one source of influence but is grounded in a combination of various sources and effects from both work and non-work situations. The study of work therefore, entails the unveiling of one major 'institutional force which functions as an arbiter of reality' (to borrow A. Brittan's words) for the workers.

2. What is the Nature of the FAB Workers' Consciousness?

It is suggested here that the FAB workers' consciousness is an 'in-between', 'marginal' consciousness, and that at its present stage contains tendencies of both preserving the status quo and transforming it. Their extra-factory relations help them to resist the capitalist habituation, yet this does not necessarily provide them with an alternative; neither do they have a vision of an alternative society as the goal to fight for.²⁶⁴ However, the collectivizing factors in the work situation help develop the contrary tendency. In the factory, they are going through a process of politicisation which bears elements of alternative ideologies (alternative to the dominant capitalist and managerial one). To understand fully this seemingly contradictory consciousness, it is necessary to look at 'consciousness' more closely, from a radically different point of view.

In a more general sense, consciousness can be defined as the awareness that one has the power to change one's life for oneself, that this

power is located within each individual and not outside, or over and above one's own self. It is the ideology of capitalism that locates the power to change, the power to transform, in structures and institutions, because of the implications this engenders. If this viewpoint is accepted, then members of the capitalist societies must accept their subordination since they themselves cannot radically alter their conditions of life and work. The consciousness, which can also transcend this 'consciousness of capitalism' is the consciousness of 'being', that is knowing exactly what one is doing (one's own and others' activities), drawing out life-forces instead of being manipulated by them; in other words, being fully responsible for one's own life. We are back to the same theme as that with which we started this thesis: control (of one's own labour and life), responsibility (for the consequences of one's own actions, i.e., the impact of exertion of labour, on both one's own and others' lives) and consciousness (of conscious being) must be united at the same level, i.e., at the personal level of the producing man, for a true solution to individual and social problems.

These three phenomena are kept apart both objectively and subjectively, and this prevents the FAB workers (and others in similar situations) from transcending their situation. There is a close connection between the subservient state of the workers at the point of production and the various divisions in the larger society (such as class, ethnic, racial gender, to which, in the particular case of Turkey, age and status must also be added as crucial factors). Both of these derive from the incessantly dividing force of capitalism. The solution to the problems of human suffering, sense of futility and loss-of-meaning can only come about concurrently with the parallel changes in the larger society and the point of production towards re-uniting what is kept apart under capitalism.

FAB workers can be said to influence the labour-process at some elementary level. However, this does not necessarily imply that they have control over their lives. The latter requires, not only a consciousness and responsibility as defined above, but also power, or rather the consciousness that one has the power. In this latter respect, FAB workers cannot be said to be conscious, and certainly the balance of effects from both the labour-process, and the mechanisms of

the larger society are powerful in hindering the development of such a consciousness.

NOTES

1. K. Marx, *Capital*, v.1 (1979) p.544.
2. Turkey is geographically divided into seven regions.
3. There are no sufficient statistical data and documents on this point. However, all the available data are collected by B. Varlik (1977), which point out the early impact of imperialism on Çukurova. On the same point, see also O. Kurmuş (1974) and L. Rathman (details provided in the bibliography).
4. B. Varlik, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-40.
5. For the figures on 19th century, see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asia*, p.29, quoted in B. Varlik, *ibid*, p.55. For the figures concerning 1968, see: Çukurova Region (1970) p.93.
6. It is common to think of Turkish capitalist growth in four phases: 1923-1932: Liberal economic policy initiated and supported by the State; 1932-1946: Statism; 1946-1960: integration with the world capitalist system and 1960 to present day when the Turkish economy has gained a new impetus along capitalist growth. See , Y. Kılıçk (1971) especially pp. 212-299. On the capitalist growth in Turkey, see also: O. Üzgür (1975); T. Tayanç (1973), K. Boratav (1974); D. Avcioglu (1973) and S. Yerasimos (1976).
7. With 1975 figures of tonnage of imports and exports: Figures taken from *Statistical Yearbook (1977)*, p.281
8. O. Üzgür (1976), for example asserts that the Turkish economy has gained impetus in the sixties, see pp. 192-195. See also the references quoted in note (5) above. All those authors agree on this point.
9. Çukurova Region, *op. cit.*, p.87.
10. Y. Kılıçk (1971) for example, writes that the first two Five Year Development Plans of 1960 and 1965, aimed at pulling investments to relatively backward areas, but they failed. pp. 265-66.
11. That is in contradistinction with the model CLP.
12. On the war of independence Turkey waged between 1919-1923 and its immediate aftermath, the standard texts in English are: Lord Kinross (1966); B. Lewis (1966); R.D. Robinson (1963); A.E. Yalman (1930).
13. The relevant passage is found in his speech given for the occasion of the first assembly of the first Cabinet. The purpose of this meeting was first to determine the boundaries of 'authority and 'duty' of the Cabinet: Atatürk said:

"Sirs, we, as the general assembly, think it our mission to regard the protection of our national rights, to protect our national hegemony (with all our national integrity) the same as struggling against imperialism - which attempts to destroy us - and against capitalism which attempts to 'swallow' us. Therefore, it is clear that the basis of our Government's views is the science of sociology. However (they say) it (our regime) doesn't look like 'democracy' neither resembles 'socialism', or does not look like anything already known! Sirs, we must

be proud for not resembling anyone else, also for not forcing anyone else to look like us; because we look like ourselves, sirs!" Source; Söylev ve Demeçler I (Speeches and Statements of Atatürk; v.I) (1961), pp. 196-197.

14. See for example R. Bendix (1964), and Almond (G.A.) and Coleman (J.S.) (eds., 1960, 1970) for the use of the concept 'nation-building'.
15. On the model being Capitalist, see A.G. Ökçün (1968). He provides evidence on that most of the decisions taken in the izmir Economic Congress, which established the economy-politics of the new Government, were geared towards creating a national bourgeoisie. While all the demands from the business circles were met and often guaranteed by Law; the demands of the labouring sections (in order to secure their own rights against the dominant stratas) were refused to be secured by force of Law.
16. This information was provided by a top executive of the Holding Co.
17. It may also have meant the increasing of the work pace by speeding-up the machines in those work-processes whereby the pace of workers is directly determined by the pace of the machines.
18. K. Marx, Capital V.I, chapter 1, pp. 163-177.
- 18a D. Cauter (1967), p.62.
19. Redfearn National Glass Handbook, p.6.
20. 'Office orderly' is the term used to describe these people, as this seems to be the closest in English to the Turkish terms 'odaci' or 'Hademe'. Office orderlies can be men or women of any age, and they are usually selected among workers who have been disabled by an industrial accident. Presence of such orderlies, to do 'personal' services reveals that in Turkish social scene, there are 'feudal' residues, and this effects the way individuals relate to each other. (I was surprised, when I first came to England that there were no office orderlies, for example, in the Universities, and that even the Professors had to serve their own coffee. An equivalent in Turkey would ring the bell for an orderly, and order a coffee for himself.)
21. For Marx and Marxists, this is more than an assumption: it is a postulate. That other (non-Marxist) social scientists also make the same assumption can be seen in that, even the proponents of 'affluency' and 'deferential working-class' theses, in order to prove their cases, carry out their researches in factories. For an example, see J. Goldthorpe et al (1975 and 1976).
22. The results of a second questionnaire replicated this finding: Out of the total sample population (217), 71% were between 26-35 years of age, and 77% of the total have been working in FAB for 3 or more years. For the details of the second questionnaire see the Appendix on research techniques.
23. In 1975, only 12% of the population were between 50 and 65+ years of age. See, Statistical Pocket Book of Turkey (1978) p.22, table 18.
24. There are contradictory figures on the rate of unemployment in Turkey: International Labour Organisation Yearbook of Labour Statistics (1978) gives it as 1,410,300 for 1977, and 1,880,900 for 1978; p.271.

24. (continued)

Years	Surplus Labour force in Agriculture (Thousand)	%	Surplus Labour force in Non-Agricultural Sectors (Thousand)	%
1977	740	8.1	143.5	20.3
1978	720	7.9	150.4	20.5
1979	700	7.7	164.0	21.6

As the table indicates, total surplus-labour force (both agricultural and non-agricultural), as a percentage of all those who are in actual employment, were, 28.4%, 28.4% and 29.3% in 1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively.

25. See Statistical Pocket Book of Turkey, 1978, p.22

26. In 1973, the distribution of alive births with respect to the size of population of the settlement areas were as follows:

Turkey total	Metropol	Population 100.000+	Population 50.000+ 99.999	Population 25.000+ 49.999	Population 10.000+ 24.999
3.96	2.77	3.78	3.31	3.52	4.07
Population 20.000+ 9.999	Population less than 2.000				
3.90	4.34				

Source: Dr. A. Toros: 1973 research on Fertility, the demographic structure of Turkey and demographic problems, Hacıhepe University Publ. 1978, Ankara, p.78.

27. Industrial workers with immediate agricultural backgrounds constitutes an aspect by which the working classes are differentiated in some of the more advanced countries as well. For the case of France see S. Mallet (1975) where he refers to these workers as 'peasants' dispossessed by the concentration of farm ownership' (p.3), and says that these workers, together with the ethnic minorities are to be found in the factories in a 'transitional phase', the phase before modern automation. This transitional state makes these workers' jobs less secure, and a difference can be observed between their political stances in May 1968 events and the 'New technocratic' sections of the working class. Based on this and similar differentiations among the French working class, Mallet asserts that during May 1968, "the antagonisms were in the heart of the labour movement" p.6.
28. On this topic see: R. Keleş (1978), I. Tekeli (1977), I. Tekeli et al (1976), and M. Kiray (1971).
29. Source of the figures: G.M. Menteş, "A Comparative Study of the Causes of Urbanisation in the Third World with Specific Emphasis on Turkey", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Waterloo, Faculty of environmental studies, School of Urban and Regional Planning, September 1975.
30. See Çukurova Region, op. cit., p.14. The 6.04% is the figure for net migration, that is immigration - emigration.
31. ibid, p.57.
32. Most workers mentioned their work on land only after I asked them if they had worked in agriculture before. The variations on the concept of work and the definitions of 'what constitutes work', were discussed during the Conference of Social Anthropologists in 1979, at University of York. Many papers presented provided evidence on that differentiation of definition of 'work' occurs with respect to cultural, sectoral and occupational differences.
33. 'Depeasantisation' is a term used by Prof. Dr. M. Kiray, a prominent Turkish sociologist. Explanation of this phenomenon (as given in the text) is based on a series of her lectures.
34. See R. Bademli (1977), passim.

35. *ibid*, p.10
36. *ibid*, p.10
37. *ibid*, p.10
38. *ibid*, pp. 13-14
39. In four selected provinces of Turkey, the age at which children start to work in "workshops" i.e., for artizan and craftsmen, are as follows:

Provinces	Age		
	-12 (%)	13-15 (%)	16+ (%)
Gaziantep	50	36	14
Karabük	28	67	5
Konya	19	58	23
Van	39	42	19

Source: State Planning Organisation (DPT), "Survey on the Socio-Economic Problems of the Artizans and the Craftsmen", 1971, Ankara, V.1 p.14.

The so-called 'apprentices', based on the claim that they are not working as such, but learning a trade, are not covered by the Work-Law. (According to Work-Law children under 18 cannot be employed in industry). However, these young children do actively participate in production in the workshops and artizan shops, and in the absence of any legal protection are totally left to the mercy of the employer. On this issue, see "History of the Turkish Working Class and its Struggles" (1976), pp. 268-269. Based on these facts on the conditions of work in the unorganised sectors of the industry, it is possible to say that those FAB workers, who have had a previous job in such workshops, will feel themselves much better-off in FAB compared to that experience.

40. In 1975, the total illiterate population was 12,831,000, of which 8,583,000 were women (Total population being 33,672,000) See, Statistical Pocket Book of Turkey (1978) p.22, table 19.
41. In 1977, the distribution of average daily wages in various sectors were as follows (All figures in T.L.):

<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>All non-agri cultural sectors</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Construction</u>	<u>Mining and Quarrying</u>	<u>Transport, Storage, and Communications</u>
120.80	132.25	127.52	126.60	114.57	165.30

Source: International Labour Organization, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1978, pp.424-434, and p.558.

42. This can be seen in that, in the work-contracts the wage increases are said to apply to all the workers in the workplace, equally. (This is so in both CB Contracts that were in operation in FAB during 1976/77, and 1978/79 periods).

43. The method of taxing the wages in Turkey is as follows: First, 12% of the gross daily wage is deducted as social security premium. The remaining gross daily wage is then subjected to income tax. Income tax is scaled according to the marital status and the number of children each worker has. (However, this has an effect of introducing a 1000 Th./month alteration at the most). The income tax as applied to the workers varies between 25-35% of the gross-wages. In addition there are two other taxes (a 3% balance tax, and a 4 per thousand official stamp tax). When the union fee is also deducted, the worker takes home between 55 and 60% of his gross earnings. The overtime payments are taxed separately from the basic wages and in exactly the same way as the basic wage is. Similarly, the bonus payments are taxed as separate from the basic wages. However, all the bonus payments per year are added, and then taxed. This means that the income tax on the bonus payments is much higher since the sum total then falls into a different scale which has a higher tax coefficient. (Source: SSK (Social Security Institution) Yearly Statistics, 1979, Ankara).

As a result, although the FAB workers know that they will be paid four bonus payments per year, each of which will be approximately equal to his one month's earnings, he cannot know in advance what each bonus payment will be. Because of taxing from the total (of 4 bonuses per year), each part of it, as a proportion of the total, is taxed separately, subject to a different tax-coefficient. Hence, in the end, the first bonus being the highest, the actual money paid to the worker gradually decreases towards the end of the year when the last bonus is paid.

44. Although 'Social Security Payment' is the official term used in Turkey, this is misleading with regard to what it actually refers to. It refers to the payment the employer contributes to the Social Security Fund. From this Fund, retirement benefits are allocated; and some of it is reserved for free treatment of the workers in the 'Social Security' hospitals. Each worker pays 12.5% of the total amount payable to the Fund for himself, and the remaining 77.5% is paid in by his employer. Therefore, this amount the employer pays is included in the Management's Income Tariffs even though it is not part of the income the worker takes home, which is one reason why there is such discrepancy between the management's and worker's figures.

45. Consumer price indexes in Turkey, for 1977 and 1978 were as follows:

<u>Years</u>	<u>1970 = 100</u>		
	<u>General</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Clothing</u>
1977	323.3	362.0	358.4
1978	474.4	493.7	Not available

Source: International Labour Organisation Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1978.

DISK report provides consumer price indexes, with rents included. Taking 1968 = 100, in Ankara, consumer price indexes were 402.2 and 594.2 respectively for 1977 and 1978. In Istanbul, the figures were 395.0 and 612.1 respectively; and in Izmir (the third largest province in Turkey), 419.1 and 634.5. See DISK Economic Report 1979, p.125, table 1.

46. As only 5 out of the total sample of 101 had a spouse in employment (4 wives and 1 husband) this source is negligible.
47. The real figure may in fact be higher than the respondents' own declaration. I think that many others who had other sources of income were reluctant to say it because they weren't absolutely certain that this information would not be carried over to the management by me.
48. Source: State Institute of Statistics. Quoted in Milliyet (a Turkish daily newspaper), Sunday Supplement, 18.8.1980. pp. 3-5.
49. Squatter houses encircling metropolitan centers are a direct result of migration from rural to urban areas in underdeveloped countries. Their settlement at the outer skirts reflect the marginal status of their residents, who are not absorbed by industry but involved in peddling and mainly unproductive small trade and services. This is explained in terms of the uneven development between agriculture and industry, and also between regions. For the Turkish case, see for example, Prof. Fehmi Yavuz, *Kentsel Topraklar, Ülkemizde ve Başka Ülkelerde* (Urban Land: in our country and in other countries), Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences Publications, Ankara 1980. See also the references made in note 28 above.
50. H. Braverman (1974); see part IV, pp. 293-359.
51. Their relative young age cannot be explained on the assumption that, at an older age, they would have been promoted, therefore older ones would not be included in this category. It is explained in Chapter VI that FAB managers prefer to recruit men from outside for higher posts, rather than promoting its own employees.
52. This seems not to be the case in advanced capitalist countries. The findings of T. Nichols (1969) pertaining to a Northern city in Britain for example, show that over half of the business men come from managerial families. See p.115, table 10.1.
53. Migration of managerial personnel is simply moving from one town to another, and they were not forced to emigrate as a result of structural changes in agriculture.
54. The corresponding figure for 1978 was 360.162 T.L. (approximately £7200.00) per year.
55. Only 4 reported spouse's earnings. Therefore, the source of additional income of the remaining 8 is real-estate property. The only two who reported a second job was a foreman (who worked in a chair manufacturing workshop), and a day-manager (who played saxophone in an orchestra).
56. T.A.C. Brown, *The Social Psychology of Industry - Human Relations in the Factory*, Penguin Books, first published in 1954, 1973 edition.
57. *ibid.* p.186.
58. *ibid.*, p.187. To see how Brown justifies his position and the supportive findings in the area of Social Psychology, see especially Chapter 7, pp.186-218.
59. Although Brown claims that 'status' and 'meaning' work gives to an individual constitute the reason why men like to work, this explanation poses more questions than it answers, one of which is why 'status' and 'meaning' are so essential to man.

60. Marx especially in Capital V.1, pp.283-306, and 1844 Manuscripts (1959) pp. 106-119. B. Ollman (1971, 1977), especially in Chapter 13, pp. 97-108.
61. B. Ollman, op. cit., p.99
62. *ibid.*, p.97
63. Marx, Capital V.1, p.283.
64. *ibid.*, p.290. According to Ollman, Engels says, that the labour which creates use-value, and counts qualitatively is work, as distinguished from labour; that which creates value and counts quantitatively, is labour distinguished from work. This is instructed by Engels in "Introduction to the Capital" and is found only in the recent English translation (1979). Following on from this, I have used the term 'work' in the above definition. See Ollman, *ibid.*, p.98 and Marx, *ibid.*, pp.137-138.
65. That the tendency of the labour-process in FAB is to reduce the worker to a 'cog in the machine' is demonstrated in this thesis; yet whether this actually happens, i.e. workers become total automatons, is to be discussed in the FAB context. See Chapter IX on this issue.
66. Ollman, op. cit., p.101.
67. All phrases in ' ' are taken from Marx, Capital v.1, pp. 544-45.
68. *ibid.*, pp. 546.
69. Steve Marglin (1976), makes a similar point. He doesn't deny the importance of technological changes since the 18th Century, but he asserts that these were not the independent causes of the factory. He says: "On the contrary, the particular forms that technological change took were shaped and determined by factory organization." p.33. In this article, S. Marglin debates with the ghost of Marx about whether the technology shaped the social and economic organization or whether social and economic organization shaped the technology used in the factories. He suggests that "The steam mill did not give us the capitalist; the capitalist gave us the steam mill" p.41. His conclusion therefore is that organisation of work is not technologically determined but, class concerns determined the nature of the organisation of work in the factories which influenced the shape the technology took.
70. H. Braverman, op. cit., p.56.
71. Foremen are usually brought in from outside. See chapter VI for the reasons.
72. He says "...but, it must be recognised that men work both in order to live and in order to feel useful, wanted, and to attain a social status." J.A.C. Brown, op. cit., p.192.
73. The number of men/machine is a source of continuous struggle between men and the management. The sequence and nature of this struggle in FAB will be given in Chapters VI and VII.
74. Marx, Capital v.1, p.545-46.
75. As the production manager of SG explained, the SG production machinery is imported from Belgium, where they have already been used and discarded as inefficient.

76. The Brighton Labour Process Group (1977), for example, argue that the site of the CLP is large-scale industries, and although they consider the possibility of non-capitalist labour-processes co-existing with the CLP in a particular social formation, they do not consider whether all the jobs carried out in such industries are factory jobs or not. In other words, it is assumed that they are all characterised by the CLP. See especially, p.24 and passim.
77. I am aware that this conclusive remark, however tentative, is beset with many problems. The implicit implication here is that Capitalism, as a world system, still has 'revolutionising' power, as opposed to the common belief (as argued by Lenin, P. Sweezy, P. Baran and many others) that the capitalist mode of production in the age of Monopoly Capital has lost its capacity to further develop the forces of production, which then leads to a crisis that cannot be solved by capitalism itself but by only centrally planned economy of a Socialist system. Lenin thought that underdeveloped countries (Russia particularly in the early 20th century) constituted the weak link in the world capitalist system, where breakthroughs were possible. It can be speculated that, Turkey, as an underdeveloped country today is still akin to development of its productive forces with capitalism; therefore, in FAB, a microcosm of the Turkish society at large, some 'creative' (as opposed to destructive) effects of the capitalist mode of production is still possible (as in the case of the non-factory workers.) The debate that took place in NLR between B. Warren (1973) and A. Emmanuel (1974) was on the position of the Third World with respect to the World Capitalist System, whereby B. Warren argues for a similar point as above. For the details of these articles, see the bibliography.
78. For three days of the week each shift-time, 3-4 women in Q.C. work on their own, and for the other 3 days, 2 shifts meet and they work together, i.e. could be 7-8 women altogether. The term 'shift' refers (as it is used in FAB) both to the 'time' and the group of workers who work during that time.
79. For a critique of the bourgeois economists see, M. Hollis and E.J. Nell (1975), especially pp. 244-45 and p.255 for the categorical use of 'labour'.
80. It is true that in the old days, the changing of colour required such a long time, however, I was told by the managers that at present, with the help of computers, this is reduced to a few hours.
81. More on this issue is to come in Chapter X. I have said earlier whether the shift system is required by fusion technology or not is not to be discussed here. However, it is worth noting that all our assumptions about this technology derive from technology as we know it. In other words, when engineers design new machinery, when technological innovations are made, human well-being is not taken to be the major concern and constraint on the possible designs of new technology. As G. Carchedi (1976) rightly puts: in designing cars, it is assumed that the person who will drive it will want it to be comfortable, hence huge sums are spent on the internal design and comfort of the cars. Similarly, it is assumed that the driver will be disturbed by the noise, hence the car engines are made to work with minimum noise, and the body of the car is built such that it insulates the noise from the engine. All these assumptions are made not because car manufacturers are more human than other manufacturers, but simply because otherwise, they will not be able to sell their cars and hence will not make profits. On the other hand, no such concern is shown in designing machinery and building factories. Human comfort,

well-being do not constitute constraints on the design of these. This is because the capitalists can still find a labour-force prepared (willingly or unwillingly) to work under the conditions imposed on them. It is also because factories are secluded places, workers work here away from the eyes of the general public, hence there is no public opinion, or a general awareness to act as pressure groups to initiate any favourable changes on the situation. In short, technological determination is there only because men allow it to be so. Once human well-being is made to be a technological concern, it is not utopian to think that alternative techniques of production will be discovered.

82. This I learnt, in an informal talk with some of the workers and also from some managers. Apparently one personnel official who accepted bribes for job allocation was revealed and expelled. But according to some workers one such person is still in charge.
83. Only 1 respondent said he got the job through the job centre.
84. I was given this information by the management, however the figures were not provided.
85. A. Gouldner (1969).
86. That is, approximately 85 sq. yds./sec.
87. 42 sq. yds/sec.
88. C.R. Walker and R.H. Guest (1952) in analysing the immediate job conditions of men on the assembly line suggest that variety in the jobs "is gained by (1) a large number of operations; (2) the nature of work, such as that of repairmen; (3) frequent transfer from one job to another, such as that of utilitymen; and (4) variety of makes and models." p.41. They also stress that degree of differences in jobs in terms of 'variety' is well understood by and are important to the workers themselves. p.38. This is an assertion supportive of what is argued in this chapter.
89. The heat generated by the newly-made glass is around 100°C, and every time the 'boards' are crashed into the bunkers, millions of glass particles rise in the air.
90. This became an important issue for both management and the union, and is presented in Chapter VII.
91. Two shifts of men work together for three days of the week, and on the other three days each shift works on its own. When they work together, there is a crowd of managers as well as workers.
92. This may be due to the fact that they were explaining it to someone (me) who supposedly did not know about technical matters, or would not understand if told with technical details. Alternatively, it could be because of what a recurrent reply denotes: "You have been here long enough, you see what we do yourself". In either case, the fact that many workers could not specify what their jobs meant, seems to point to that their jobs could not be characterised by a definite productive activity, but were an agglomerate of various detail tasks.

93. Because the quality of batch is fundamentally important for the quality of the glass, when anything goes wrong, the heating technicians are among the first to be held responsible. Knowing this forces the worker to have a better (total) grasp of the production process.
94. Or in comparison with ZAP X plant packers as described by T. Nichols and H. Beynon (1977).
95. Unlike in S.G., where there are foremen and a furnace engineer, no shift-manager in between.
96. Here, as elsewhere, I did not attempt to make these sentences into better English than the original Turkish - this gives some information about how the workers themselves define their jobs, and which terms they use.
97. According to the FAB introductory brochure, the flint glass furnace (B on the diagram on p.54 above) has a capacity to melt 180.000 kgs. of batch per day. Four I.S. machines attached to it can produce 260 million bottles in one year, weighing an average of 200 gr. each at an efficiency rate of 80%. Therefore each shift produces 237.443 bottles (i.e. per 8 hrs.). During each shift, one I.S. machine produces 59.360 bottles. This is the number of bottles an inspector views during her 8 hr. shift. Thus I have arrived at the hourly and per minute figures above. The speed of manufacture and flow of bottles varies with their weight and size. Also, the machines do not work at an 80% efficiency rate constantly. Hence, it can be assumed that these figures are the maximum an inspector has to view. The normal figures can be lower.
98. Also, for moral reasons, she wouldn't smoke in front of men. So occasionally she has to go to the toilet to smoke a cigarette. One of them said to me, "I have to ask one of the sorters to sit in my place for 5 minutes, so that I can go and have a cigarette."
99. Braverman (1974), describes the principles of CLP as: First principle: "dissociation of the labour process from the skills of the workers"; second principle "separation of conception from execution", and third principle "use of this (management's) monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labour process and its mode of execution", see pp. 112-121.
100. See the Appendix on Managers Definition of Themselves and their Functions. In everyday language used on site, managers refer to the daily production as their own achievement. Similarly, when the general director sets his target for one month's production during managers' meetings, he refers to the production manager and tells him "I want you to get X number of plates by this date." In other words, the managers regard production as their own achievement.
101. They are only there for three hours during the afternoon shifts (3 p.m. - 11 p.m.), since they leave at 6 p.m.
102. Whether this is any different in the European and American experience may be a question posed here. One difference may be that in the European and American cases, the foremen can be said to be better habituated and incorporated into the hierarchical control system than their counterparts in Turkey, and this may be the rationale for assuming that, in the former case, the foremen during the night shifts will replace the control function of the top managers efficiently. The difficulty of assuming the same for the FAB case comes from both the similarity of class origins of the workers and the foremen thereby causing the foremen to identify more with

the workers than managers) as well as the in-between position of the foremen in FAB. See below, p.99, and footnote 105.

103. This ceases to be a contradiction if the assumptions on which the CLP is based are accepted as objective and rational. That is to say, the simple fact of separation of conception and execution makes the activities of conception physically independent of the labour-process.
104. One foreman said "In terms of our salaries, social benefits etc., and by the fact that we don't belong to a union, we are obviously regarded as managers. However, when it comes to having authority, or access to decision making we are often reminded (by the higher managers) that we are not worth more than the workers. We don't know where we stand!"
105. It can be said that this would be an irrational demand since conception has separated itself from execution - only the latter is tied to the working machinery in time and space. Although this is true, it is precisely the legality of criteria of rationality I want to question here. What makes this an irrational demand is the fact that conception and execution are separated, and this is rational from the system's point of view. However it is irrational from a more radical angle, since such a separation creates tremendous problems for both mankind as a whole, and more specifically tremendous problems at the point of production.
106. It has already been noted in Chapter I that higher salaries and a flat (or the equivalent in rent-money) and at times even a higher status was offered to personnel of the Holding Co., on various sites in Istanbul, to encourage them to go to the South and establish the new Glassworks factory.
107. Pekcan showed me a U.S. model which was composed of 5 levels without the additional horizontal ones. For this, and also for a comparison of the administrative chart of FAB with Redfearn National Glass (of England), see the Appendix. These comparisons prove to be useful in showing that with the same technology FAB employs far too many managers when compared with their western counterparts, which can in turn be related to the incomplete state of habituation of workers in the Turkish case.
108. I cannot say 'and working women' because, interestingly enough, there are no gangers where only women work.
109. To select such men for foremen/shift-managers is not completely a product of this society. In spite of the great excitement of the same manager in describing this as an important discovery (and insinuate how clever they have been), the same practice has been used by their western colleagues for a long time. The findings in the research of Nichols and Beynon (1977) in Chem Co. give at least one example of this. See p.30-31.
110. See for example E.P. Thompson (1963, 1968), and (1967) pp. 55-97 for England, and H. Braverman (1974) and S. Aronowitz (1973) for the U.S. experiences.
111. T. Dereli (1975), p.60.
112. "To adapt the distinguishing aspects of social institutions to other structures and to predict the outcomes of this in advance is so difficult that the main factors - structural patterns, technologies, hierarchical systems, functions and aims - generally are both exported and imported with their original form. In addition, the original form, as a rule, is regarded as the most adequate and preferable form. As George Fisher has

stated, this absolute universality phenomenon is widely accepted". This is what John F. Windmuller states in "External influences on Labour organisations in underdeveloped countries", Industrial and Labour Relations Review, vol. 16, no. 4 (July 1963), pp. 570-71. Quoted in T. Dereli, op. cit; p.61.

113. See the Class Origins of FAB managers on p.37.
114. The transformation they have gone through has had an impact on their beliefs and attitudes towards each other. This could open up a whole new area of analysis of my data in terms of what these beliefs, attitudes, ideas are which would necessitate an analysis of the language used by the two 'sides' for each other, as well as going into some form of ethnomethodological study of both managers' and workers' statements on these issues. This obviously cannot be done here, but is nevertheless important to note.
115. All the managers who were interviewed said they regarded themselves as employers rather than employees, or actually said they were the employers' representatives.
116. For a theoretical discussion on the difference between the merchant and industrial capitals in the context of underdevelopment, see G. Kay (1975).
117. *ibid.*, pp. 119-127.
118. This was the last straw and the Company went bankrupt. However, the role of the Holding Co., in bringing this about must be remembered.
119. On the nature of finance capital see P. Baran and P.M. Sweezy (1966), and Lenin in Imperialism: Highest Stage of Capitalism, both of which base their analysis on R. Hilferding Das Finanzcapital (1910).
120. The nature of these seminars are analysed in an Appendix.
121. One way of determining the labour turnover is to compare the highest number of enrolment with the actual number of employees at a given time. Every employee is entered in a register and given a roll-number upon recruitment. The highest roll-number at the time I was there stood just over 4500 when there were only about 1600 employees. This means that since the set-up period, i.e. from 1971-1978, the whole labour force was renewed three times.
122. According to the Questionnaire results, 25% of all those who have migrated to Province have come from Eastern and South Eastern Turkey.
123. He is also one of the Generals who signed the 12th of March (1971) 'ultimatum' to the civilian government which started an overtly totalitarian (to say the least) period in Turkey. He was often referred to (because of his initials) as the S.S. pasha.
124. The correct answers were marked by the personnel department on the forms I have.
125. This is just one case that came up during the interview. I was given the names of many others, who still worked in FAB, who have got jobs through paying bribes to the personnel officers in question. I have mentioned this point in few other places, this is because, it does not only reflect the moral decadence of some managers, but that the workers have to compete with each other from the outset, and those who have the money win. When it is for the purpose of earning a living that workers apply for a job in a factory, they have to first raise enough money to get a job, is the

irony to be marked as well.

126. This shop-steward was later fired; according to the worker informant this was because "the managers no longer needed him and he knew too much." On the issue of rivalry between the two unions, see Chapter VII.
127. This is not to say that all Turkish peasants are passive and that this is inevitable. It is simply making an observation on their traditional behaviour which, unquestionably, acted as a cause in the case of Reset.
128. These occurrences become more meaningful when considered together with the total number of workers in each department and unit: Reset, 121; Timbermill, 12; Crate-making 50; Furnace, 16; S.G. Production 72; Second-cutting, 9; Packing, 45; 'shavings', 3. The number of days lost per worker then, in Reset was: 13 days and 1.6 hours (as the highest), and in the 'Shavings' unit 1.4 days/worker (the lowest). The figure for crate-making is the second highest: 11.2 days/worker. Similarly number of absences per worker in Reset was: 0.38; and in S.G. production 0.20 as the second highest. The others are of negligible importance.
129. There is a good example of a welder who, after 'welding in many corners of the factory construction', as he said, was told that they could not employ him as a welder any more - 'there were no more welding jobs', and if he still wanted a job he could work in the BIC maintenance unit. Obviously, today there are many welders employed by the firm, but he is not one of them. He is still repairing the broken belts and 'stakers' with an everlasting yearning for welding.
130. The reasons for 'choice and coincide' are taken together because in the compilation of data, the stress was on the 'choice' aspect of 'coincide' and not the 'allocation' aspect. From the point of analysing the workers' attitudes, the existence of a possibility or a notion of choice seemed to be more significant.
131. The control function of Q.C. and how this manifests itself is explained in greater detail in the next chapter under the title 'Control'.
132. That workers would think he was fired because of his union activities - the firing of a well-liked unionist may cause unnecessary unrest among the workers, which the management is very careful to avoid.
133. For the theory of Managerial revolution, see J. Burnham (1960, 1962).
134. This is again based on a series of her lectures.
135. A strike in the soda plant of the same Holding Co., took place in 1979. The union there was determined to get even a symbolically higher percentage of pay-rise than was agreed on between the unions and the Holding Co. on other sites. Things went so far as blood being shed. Most of the technical personnel was fired together with the workers. It lasted for 10 months, and became a national issue. And yet, in the end, the workers got exactly the same pay rise as those in FAB did.
136. Details of this period are explained in Chapter VII.
137. See the Addendum to Chapter VII on the details of this strike.
138. H. Braverman, op. cit. See chapters 2, 4 and 5 especially.

139. The system works like this: The production department keeps a record of the quantity of products dispatched; the decorating unit (to cite the example from BIC) does the same. Q.C. dept. keeps a record of the number of packed bottles that Q.C. department passed per shift. As the boxes of bottles are carried to the storehouse, the 'neutral' controller 'receiver', checks the number of boxes brought in. Finally, a store-house controller counts the boxes and makes a report of it too. The Prod. Plan. Dept. has all the figures compiled, this time cross-checking the figures by computers. All this information can be said to be necessary for the Company to undertake production planning and yearly budgets etc. However, it is the way in which this information is compiled, i.e. the hierarchical structure of control that is in question, and which implies that control is in the blood of the system.
140. J. Lomox, "Quality Control within the Glassworks" in Seminar on Quality Control, published by the Glass Manufacturer's Federation, p.9.
141. That is, if a man is transferred for example from one department with a wage Grade C, to a department with a wage grade B, he would still get his old wage, not the B-grade wage.
142. A pair of shoes are given to the workers to be worn at work once a year. Some workers don't like to wear them, and others who do wear them claim that a pair of shoes should be given out every 6 months, because they do not last any longer than this. It will be seen in Chapter IX that the shoe and overalls allocation is an issue brought up by the workers in citing their demands and complaints.
143. See the Appendix on Managers' Definition of Management, which exhibits the differences in their attitudes towards management.
144. See the Appendix on Managerial and Administrative Seminars.
145. For more detail on the subject see History of the Turkish Working Class and Its Struggles (1980), and the documentary by S. Ustün and S. Yaman, "History of the Turkish Working Class"
146. A. Işikli (1974)
147. Ibid., p.441
148. As yet, there is no detailed study of May 27th coup. However, many authors agree on the radical nature of the coup as can also be seen in the reform movements that followed it. S. Yerasimos (1976), for example, states that with the existing Government in the late fifties, "it was clear that neither the land reforms, nor the economic plans could be realised". For the economy to make a leap, these reforms were urgently needed, and this is regarded as one of the reasons that led to the coup. Volume 3, p.1409 (Turkish edition).
149. Ö. Özgür (1976) is one of the economists who point to that the Turkish economy gained new impetus after 1960. See pp. 192-195.
150. A. Işikli, op. cit. pp. 445-446
151. ibid, p.469
152. N. Yağcı (ed.) (1975), p.254, table 36.
153. Financial Times, "Turkey Supplement", 22nd January, 1981. This 25% (in 1980) does not compare well with the Disk figure of 29.6% in 1973. This

- could be because Disk inflated its figures to mark its contribution to the unionisation of Turkish workers, and/or the labour migration to Western Europe (between 1973-80) may provide the explanation. In any case, one point is clear: rate of unionisation is not more than the rate of growth of the labour-force.
154. This, and also that "Turkey had entered a difficult period which would have its implications on the working conditions in the factories" were the reasons they gave for joining forces, in a press conference. (Printed in the daily Cumhuriyet on 23rd November, 1979). On the other hand, the glassworks employers are organised into a union themselves, called the Turkish Glassworks Industry Employers Syndicate.
 155. One piece of interesting information is that the most senior manager of the Holding Co. and one of the directors are now members of the post-coup cabinet.
 156. From now on, unless specified, the term 'union' or FAB union' refers to FGW (of DISK) alone, since it had the right to FAB workers' representation during the period concerned. Even though the unions have now amalgamated and therefore the issues that are being discussed in this section may appear to be irrelevant, it is still worth going into some detail, since it was an important issue, at the time, in terms of reflecting the union politics and effects of a two-union system on union activities.
 157. According to FGW, they had 1290 members and CWU had 90 (which meant that FGW was now eligible for branch representation). CWU, on the other hand, claimed 125 members in FAB, which would be sufficient to uphold the status quo. CWU is also known to have claimed up to 450 members.
 158. In one of the FGW leaflets, it was said that their fight for Referendum cost them two deaths. Similar cases of death have resulted, in various other occasions, the worst being the DISK May-day rally in 1977 which cost 36 lives.
 159. DISK exhibits in one of its publications, "Wages in Turkey and Wages of the Maden-Iş members", 1975, that at least in the metal/mining industries DISK workers earned considerably more than others. (pp.18-26). Also that the military, after the 12th Sept' 1980 coup, should ban DISK only (and not Türk-iş as well) is believed to be partly because of the high wages that the crisis-ridden Turkish economy could not afford. The Guardian, for example, says that "since the coup all DISK's senior figures have been in gaol except those who have fled Turkey. It seems that the military regards the Confederation, which militantly campaigns for high wage settlements, as a luxury Turkey cannot afford", 16th February, 1981.
 160. The FAB workers have in the past carried out a boycott action against the local Labour Authority's irresponsible conduct on such disputes. See Addendum I below
 161. The term 'party-members' refers to those who are at the same time members of a socialist political party. The Turkish Constitution forbids communist parties, but socialist parties are allowed so long as they don't indulge in 'communist propaganda'. It is often the case that the term 'socialist', or 'independent socialist' therefore covers anything ranging from social-democratic to communist.
 162. There are also other forces, besides the anti-communist laws, that make 'communism' a taboo in Turkey. One is the historical hostility between Tsarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which deems communism all the more threatening because it is the Russians'; or 'the horrid Russian bear's'

social order. Another one, currently more influential, is the systematic anti-communist propaganda, which gained impetus during the 1950's when Turkey came under the Truman doctrine. Turkish minds are full of memories of prominent figures, including the poet Nazim Hikmet among others, who were gaoled because their poems, books, and art in general, contained communist propaganda. Thus, the fear inherent in the worker's remark above, has connotations deeper than it appears.

163. Rumour had it that the union's funds for striking-workers were spent on decorating the local party-branch office. Whatever the reason, the workers were angry when they could not take any money home for twenty-five days, and this certainly contributed to distrust for the union. It was due to such distrust, perhaps, that the union was subsequently reluctant, during 1978 C.B. negotiations, to ask the workers to go "all out".
- 164 'M.C.' is the short for Nationalistic Front, which is the name of the two successive coalition Governments in Turkey between 1974-1978. The coalition parties were Demirel's right-wing Justice Party, Erbakan's Islam-fundamentalist National Salvation Party and Türkiye's neo-fascist National Action Party. During these years, DISK launched a campaign against the M-C. governments, in cooperation with Ecevit's social-democratic Republican People's Party, and also some left-wing organisations.
- 165 Besides Braverman, as quoted earlier, the Brighton Labour Process Group C (1977) also gives this as one of the immanent laws of CLP, see pp. 16-20.
166. In certain cases, these assumptions about the workers come up as bluntly as the following example illustrates: Fatma, a party-member and a union-activist, was trying to sell a women's magazine published by the 'party'. The women in Q.C. refused to buy, one saying that she had seen it, the others out of disinterest. This made Fatma angry, upon which she said: "I don't really see any women here with a capacity to read and understand this magazine anyway." This resulted in not only her being called a 'big-head', but it also caused disrespect, among the women, for her political views and activities.
167. Some of the concessions given to the Unionists are that they are allotted to lighter jobs, that they can take more days off, they can move freely on site, and above all their jobs are secure: "in mass-sackings, the management recognises that the last to go are the shop-stewards and other unionists". Most of these privileges can be said to be necessary for the fulfilment of the union goals, but they at the same time bring about a discrimination between shop-stewards and ordinary workers, and as a result the two groups do not share the same experience of the labour process.

One example of discrimination is about the Hardship Fund from which individual workers can borrow 2000 TL. when in need. It was revealed by an ex-unionist that the union executive members with the help of the managers, have shared most of the 150.500 TL among themselves, each borrowing 10,500 TL.

Again, when the union leader's wife resigned she was able to claim redundancy compensation.

168. The central Union and Confederation offices in Istanbul are as luxurious as any company office, and complete with a 'good-looking' secretary. The impression one gets of these offices when compared with the work and living conditions of the workers in general is simply appalling. It is

clear that the unions relate and compare themselves with the management and their organisations, rather than other working-class organisations.

169. Marx and Engels from 'Communist Manifesto', to 'Value, Price and Profits', and Engels, in 'The Conditions of the English Working Class', (1969), and Lenin in 'What is to be done' (1975) especially
170. P. Cressey and J. MacLanes (Summer, 1980), p.8.
171. K. Marx, (1899), 1969, 'Value, Price and Profit', p.243.
172. Addendum II includes a survey of the contract.
173. Foreign whisky in Turkey symbolises decadence because it is not legally imported but smuggled in, and only very rich people can afford to consume it.
174. At 1978 exchange rates 10 TL. was equal to 20p. The FAB workers worked (and are still working) for 48 hours per week, hence the pay rise is 480 TL./week (gross)
175. E.P. Thompson (1967), pp. 56-57.
176. *ibid.*, p.60
177. *ibid.*, p.61
178. *ibid.*, p.61
179. *ibid.*, p.61
180. *ibid.*, p.61
181. Thompson himself rightly points out that "it (the shift in the time-sense, and this as a means of exploitation) is a problem which the peoples of the developing world must live through and grow through...", *ibid.*, p.95.
182. As explained in sections (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi) of Chapter II.
183. Braverman, *op. cit.*, p.54.
184. This half hour of idleness also highlights the differences between the various groups of workers in terms of privileges which derive from the nature of their work activities. P.C. and Q.C. workers and some machine operators and maintenance workers, can enjoy a rest, while packers, sorters, furnace workers and glass carriers still have to continue at the same pace.
185. Thompson, *op. cit.* p.70.
186. *ibid.*, p.84
187. Both this, and the following articles are taken from the C.B. contract, 1977-78, pp. 17-23.
188. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, London 1964, Chapter xvii, "Custom, Wages and Work-load". Quoted in Thompson, *ibid.*, p.86.
189. Thompson, *op. cit.* p.93.
190. *ibid.*, p.91

191. Questionnaire form in full is presented in an appendix.
192. See the appendix on research techniques.
193. I want to underline the 'immediate sense' here. This is to be distinguished from the global separation of conception and execution in the CLP, since the fact that some workers have the knowledge of the intricacies of the labour-process does not mean that the general separation of conception from execution; and its assignment to management is thus contravened.
194. On inalienable nature of labour power, see Braverman op. cit, pp. 45-58, and especially p.54, and Marx, Capital v.1, p.301.
195. On the question of subordination of labour, there is a debate in the literature. A valuable critical summary of this debate can be found in the article by Cressey and Ianes (op cit). I am indebted to informal talks and inspiring correspondence with P. Cressey in writing this section.
196. Not one factor that I have been able to see during my participant observation, has been left unmentioned by the workers. Obviously, not each worker has exhausted all the possible 'complaints', but in their collective consciousness, all is included.
197. The scooper was installed to remove the paste (batch at 1500°C) that comes down from the furnace to the cellars automatically. Since it was removed, two workers have to push a hand-cart under the flow, and push it out when it is filled with the paste. This is the same job as that which made some workers think they were brought to Hell.
198. Taken from my diary.
199. The case of one worker (38), is illustrative of the interrelationship between the objective and the subjective. This worker's answers to Q.18 and Q.20 respectively are as follows:
- Q.18:38 "It is normal because it is shift-work, it allows for freedom. No one takes care of how much you did, why you did it, etc."
- Q.20:38 (Listing few other complaints, he goes on to say):
"when on shifts, my family (wife) is left on her own...the sleeping problems because of working hours. The body can't get used to it."
- Because no one worker is responsible for completion of a task, but produce collectively, therefore, the amount of work each worker contributed is often unnoticed, and it is a fact that, in this sense, shift-work gives some freedom to the workers. And also, in the CLP, the goal is to complete 8 hours' work and not to complete a task as such. (As was discussed in Chapter VIII). On the other hand, the price the worker has to pay for this freedom of 'responsibility' is sleeplessness and inability to have a family life. In his relation to his work therefore, which contains both of the above aspects, he feels torn between the two.
200. Notice the similarities between his way of relating to his job and the way in which one of the managers explained how they succeeded in habituating the workers, in making them attached to their jobs, that is, by emphasising that this factory provides a future for them, social security, etc. See Chapter VI, section iii.

201. Groups (3) and (4) account for the note 'not-applicable' in Table XI.ii.1, column 4, row 7. Only the two workers in group (3) could justifiably be included in that column, which would give a misleadingly low figure.
202. For the creative nature of human work, see Ollman (op. cit), chapter 13, pp. 97-104 especially
203. I. Meszaros (1970), and Ollman (op cit) have produced valuable accounts of Marx's Theory of alienation. The discussions that take place both in Ollman (in postscript to second edition of his book), and in L. Seve (1974, 1978) are reflective of the vigorous debate on this issue.
204. The question of 'intrinsic satisfaction' is problematic, unless an ontological point of view is employed. In other words, we must assume that first of all, we know what 'intrinsic satisfaction' is, and secondly, judging work in capitalism on whether it allows for 'intrinsic job satisfaction' or not can only be meaningful if it is a priorily accepted that initially work was satisfying for man. In the case of FAB workers, the evidence pointed out that, regardless of these problems, it was meaningful to explain their relation to work in terms of 'intrinsic satisfaction'. This issue is raised in Chapter X also.
205. The classification here and in the following page are a further division of this group to the division shown in the table. Therefore, the figures presented in the text don't match with those in the table. In regrouping, the overlapping responses are again taken as one.
206. There is, of course, the effect of the questionnaire situation, and the researcher. At times, I felt that some workers made a point of referring to their good relations with their superiors, just in case I was closer to the management, or that I could let the workers' replies be seen by the management. This can partly explain why superiors are referred to more often than mates.
207. Ollman discusses these problems in greater detail, through an analysis of Marx's writings. See (op. cit), chapters 21 and 29 especially.
208. See for example, Marx, 1844 Manuscripts: pp. 106-119.
209. *ibid.*, p.114.
210. It must be noted that at the beginning of this chapter, the statistical distribution of the answers to Q's 28, 29 and 30 were given. The following detailed regrouping of the answers to these questions mainly pertain to those whereby alternatives are provided/desired changes are specified. However, since in some of the 'no' and 'other' answers a certain 'change' factor is specified, unless they were a definite 'no' (i.e. 'no need for any change'), these answers are still included in the related themes, in order not to lose marginal but valuable information on them. Another point to be clarified is that the total number of workers who have mentioned a specific factor is not calculated as a proportion of those who have provided an alternative, but as a proportion of the total sample population of 101. This is in order to give the real statistical weight of rate of occurrence of a certain theme. However, the statistical significance of certain themes would certainly be magnified, if regarded as a proportion of only those who have actually specified the desired changes. This should be borne in mind.

211. This issue was raised earlier with the implications on the workers' loss of control over their labour and time.
212. Reduction in the work week from 48 hrs. to 45 was a demand put forward for the 1978-79 collective bargaining by the Union. On this, one of the executives of the Holding Co., said that there was no way in which this demand could be met, since it meant alteration of the whole shift system, or else introducing a new shift of men to work the three hour difference (between 48 and 45 hrs/week). He also quickly calculated what extra cost this would mean thereby strengthening his argument that this demand could not be met.
213. Perhaps this is true of most factory situations. Certainly industrial sociologists often assume that workers are not aware of totality, but this is because they themselves assume that they alone know what totality is!
214. Obviously many workers mentioned 'noise' among their complaints (see the survey of answers to Q.20 above), but that is different from putting forward a demand to change it.
215. Ollman, op. cit., p.131.
216. 21 out of the total of 101 workers were interviewed in depth, together with 12 top managers and 3 lower managers. The interviews took place after the questionnaires. The former's sample was selected totally at random - basically interviewing the available persons.
217. These jobs are as follows: glass-carrier, BIC (10); assistant machine-operator, SG (62); quality controller, BIC (2); heating-technician, BIC (29); mould maintenance and production worker, BIC, (38); assistant machine operator, S.G. (68); loading and dispatching worker (73); a sweeper SG (22); fuel-oil maintenance worker (80); assistant machine operator, BIC (52); a re-sorting worker in BIC (55); a helping hand in maintenance (75); an inspector in BIC (60); and a machine operator in BIC (16).
218. See Ollman, op. cit, chapters on 'Activity, Work, Creativity'; 'Man's Social Nature' and 'The Character of the Species' especially.
219. The distinguishing aspect between a truly human need and a market-imposed need is that in the latter case the need is for consumption of commodities in the market, and not the fulfilment of an immediate human need.
- 220 Ollman, op. cit. pp. 73-77.
221. Many workers in Turkey, especially new immigrants from rural areas use these bags for covering their windows in their 'gecekondu' houses.
222. These workers quoted here are persons (38), (73), (25) and (75) respectively. All the twenty-one answers to the questions in concern are available if required.

The managers interviewed gave similar answers to that of workers, except the General Director. When I asked him the question of 'how important glass is for human life', he said that glass is essential, and had there not been glass, today's civilisation would not be possible; that it was essential in every aspect of modern life, and he gave the example of 'space-ships' which could not have been possible without the glass.

223. G. Lukàcs (1971), pp. 46-82. In p.74 for example, he contrasts the 'imputed' consciousness with the 'psychological consciousness' of the proletariat, and asserts that the real gains for the proletariat depends on the closing of the gap between the two. See, A. Schaff (Feb, 1972) for a critical evaluation of Lukàcs' position.
224. Such a stance can be undertaken politically, since in the political sphere, the need to unite the theory and practice is essential in order to initiate social change. Only then, can one drop the finer yardstick of philosophical inquiry.
225. This partiality refers to the phenomenon whereby the workers have 'partitioned' the management into its functional elements, and when asked about 'what the management is,' their replies consisted of characteristics of one or more of those functional elements (which may or may not, then, apply to the whole institution of management). On the other hand, from the point of a totalistic conception of management, some of those who have defined management may also be said to have a partial understanding of it.
226. At one point during my stay in FAB, there was an uneasiness among the workers because they suspected that I could be an informer, and that I was carrying out this research on behalf of the management. While I was interviewing a worker, he directly asked me if it were true that I was a 'spy' because that's what he heard other workers saying about me.
227. Again, a phrase which was suggested by P. Cressey.
228. This is not referring to the problem of 'transformation' in Marx which is concerned with the transformation of labour into capital; and value into wages and profits. See for example Grundrisse, pp.306-307.
229. Braverman, op. cit., pp. 67-68. He also quotes from the managerial theoreticians who recognise the control function of management, and who indeed affirm that without 'control', management is 'inconceivable'.
230. See N.J. O'Neill (1973) on similar tendencies in a section of the British working-class, pp. 85-113.
231. Originally, the questions on the union were two: (1) Are you a member of a Union? Which one? Why?, and (2) Do you think having a Union in this workplace is necessary?, Why? These were the only two questions the management did not permit me to ask, and crossed them out on the forms. Consequently, the question on the Union was reformulated and the workers were verbally asked 'What does the necessity of the Union depend on?'
232. Empirically, it is not possible to separate conditions pertaining to the CLP alone, and the extra-CLP conditions since there is a continuous flux between the two. Similarly, it is not possible to designate a separate account of work without the consciousness of it. As Marx, Ollman and Braverman often stressed, the human quality of work is such that 'doing the action' is simultaneous with having a consciousness of doing it. Similarly, in the process of researching into work, it is often not possible to distinguish between the phenomenon observed and the consciousness the researcher has of it.
233. For example, see J. Berger (1972) with J. Mohr.

234. See for example, E.R. Wolf (1966), especially chapter 2, on the economic aspects of the peasantry.
235. According to the findings of the questionnaire 27 workers rest, 50 of them do another job, 15 are involved in sportive and creative activities, 17 socialise with the family, and 87 are involved in 'non-familial social activities'. (These figures do not add up to 101 - the total sample population, because each worker mentioned one or more of these activities). Among the latter, the most frequently cited activity is going to the 'coffee-house'.
236. Salah Birsal (1975). This is a memorial book, and not a sociological analysis of the functions of the coffee-houses, but nevertheless is useful in providing some insight as to what they are.
237. R.I. Rhodes (1970) and M. Mayo, in two separate works argue for the possibility of an opposite tendency, that only after solving the problem of mere survival can workers take the opportunity to concern themselves with less immediate, more political issues.
238. The FAB management would not allow me to ask the workers which political party they supported. However, my participant observation enables me to say that all the parties of the political spectrum, from the extreme right-wing 'Nationalist Action' and 'National Salvation' parties, to the established socialist parties or left-wing factions, are represented among the FAB workers. The majority however, supports the Social Democratic PRP.
239. It took place in 1977. His ideas on similar lines can also be seen in "Human Experience and Material Production: Shop Floor Culture", stencilled occasional papers, CCCS.
240. P. Willis and the Cultural Studies Group in Birmingham subscribe to a definition of culture wherein this aspect is emphasised. For P. Willis, this aspect of culture is in alignment with his thesis that the counter shop-floor culture reproduces the dominant ideology, because, according to him, the system allows for some degree and form of protest. Thus, the anti-authoritarian aspect of this culture is absorbed by the system, causing the reproduction of the system.
241. All this is not to deny the sexual discrimination at work on site - some manifestations of which are for example, the Q.C. foreman 'guarding' the girls to lunch, and most women not being able to smoke publicly and some sexual harrassment of female workers by male workers - but simply to show that a more egalitarian interaction - in comparison to the Society at large - is practised at the same time.
242. During night shifts, instead of a meal, a large breakfast is served to the workers, who then leave some of it for their mates who come too early in the morning to have had time for their breakfasts.
243. A. Gouldner, op. cit, pp. 346-65.
244. *ibid.*, p.348.
245. *ibid.*, p.349.
246. *ibid.*, p.346.
247. Ollman, op. cit., p.136.

248. Marx, 1844 Manuscripts, p.110, quoted also in Ollman, op. cit. p.136.
249. Ollman, op. cit. p.136. Ollman, in saying that labour is external to man's essential being and that satisfies needs external to man's essential being as characteristics of species man, alludes to the need of man to labour in order to satisfy his needs because he is a social being (which constitutes his species quality). Although labour, in this context, is external to his essential being, as long as the need and the mode of labour through which it is satisfied are voluntary, the man is not estranged from himself and his labour. In this respect what Ollman states here and his earlier definition of work as essential/creative/productive activity of man - a definition which has also been used in this thesis - are not inconsistent. On the other hand, in capitalism man is forced to satisfy his needs, either his species needs or needs created by the market but nevertheless have become his own needs since unless he satisfies them he is not content - in a coerced way, i.e., through wage-labour and the market mechanism. Therefore his labour is coerced, and he is alienated. And therefore he doesn't feel at home in it. For further discussion, see Ollman, op. cit., chapter on 'Species Man'.
250. A. Brittan (1978), p.35.
251. *ibid.*, p.46.
252. G. Baldamus (1961) shows that the emphasis on efficiency (in an instrumentally rational way) rather than effort is a common global aspect of industrial capitalist production.
253. Gouldner, op. cit. pp. 347-351.
254. Gouldner says that 'a transition to a welfare state implies a greater involvement of the State in the planning for and in the management of disposal strategies.' Hence, in such states, the sick, the deviant, and the unskilled are transformed into 'useful' citizens after periods of 'hospitalization, treatment, counselling, training and re-training'. According to Gouldner, this is so because the disposal problem is becoming so complex that it can no longer be left to the informal control of market or traditional institutions'. *ibid.*, p.350. The main difference between the type of state and the solutions it is forced to bring to the disposal problems it is confronted with in the west and in Turkey is that, in the former, the disposal problem arises out of those people, and traits of people, who are made 'useless' by the nature of the development of industry (i.e. are disposed of by industry), whereas in the latter case, the problem presents itself as finding new uses for millions of ex-peasants (i.e. those disposed of by agriculture). Thus, in the Turkish case, the answer is sought in rapid industrialisation. Yet, on the other hand, big industries, operating with Western technology and organisation of work, such as FAB, are also confronted with the problems concerning more advanced capitalist states, such as those explained by Gouldner. While the problems of employing ex-peasants are partly handled by the State (and inefficiently at that), they are mostly left to traditional means of solution. Being an underdeveloped state, it cannot provide the finance for re-housing, etc., that there is no 'unemployment payment' of any kind is a striking example. What it means is that around 2.5 million unemployed persons in Turkey survive by a network of traditional institutions such as kinship ties, friendship, borrowing money from usurers etc. On the other hand, there is an attempt to solve the problems confronting the managers of big industries by more modern means, such as the incorporation of human-relations programmes within the workplaces.

These two sources of 'solutions' to social problems create a fundamental dichotomy: a duality reflected in the lifestyles of the employees of big industries and the unorganised sections of the working class.

255. 'Human Relations in Industry' approach grew out of Mayo Studies. See Elton Mayo, *Human Problems of an industrial civilisation* (The MacMillan Co., N.Y. 1933); and *Social Problems of an Industrial Civilisation* (Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston 1946); *Political Problems of an Industrial Civilisation* (Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston 1947). For a critical evaluation of Mayo studies, see Paul Blumberg (1976). For a critique of Human Relations School, see C.W. Mills (1948) pp. 221-3. Mills criticises the school mainly for the total omittance of the question of power.
256. J. Palloix (1976) poses this question and suggests that 'job consciousness' and 'class-consciousness' are two separate phenomena.
257. The assumption here is that the Turkish social structure is 'dualistic' in nature, that is, pre-capitalist forms co-exist with the capitalist ones. This arises from the uneven development of capitalism, and in underdeveloped societies - which can be defined as societies which are forcefully integrated into the world capitalist system - the capitalist mode of production intensifies the pre-capitalist structures and values where it is in its own interests. For a debate on this issue in the Latin American context, see A.G. Frank (1969) and E. Laclau (1972). This duality is well explained by R. Bademli, op. cit.
258. K. Marx, *Capital V.1*, in especially part IV ('The Production of Relative Surplus Value') he provides the essential tools and concepts for a scientific analysis of the labour process.
259. H. Braverman, op. cit., and Aronowitz, op. cit. It is interesting to note that both of these authors base their writings on their experiences as industrial workers.
260. Aronowitz, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
261. For example, Ann Oakley (1974) stresses that house-work is essentially a capitalist labour process too.
262. Braverman, op. cit., p.29. Maybe, the best examples to this category are the J.H. Goldthorpe et al studies (1968), and R. Blauner (1964).
263. For a critique of Althuserian Structuralism see E.P. Thompson (1978).
264. M. Mann (1973) suggests that there are four elements in class-consciousness: 1) Class identity. 2) Class opposition (These two reinforce each other), 3) class totality and 4) conception of an alternative society. Therefore, according to him, true revolutionary consciousness is the combination of all four elements. See, pp. 11-13.

APPENDIX I

DEFINITION OF 'MANAGEMENT' BY THE MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL

Answers to Q.24 of the Questionnaire by the sample population (28) of managers are given below. The post of the respondent is added after each quote.

- QE 6: "For me, it means to undertake the organisation of the work of the 'mates' who work in my unit, to take care of their private problems, to liaise between the superiors and the inferiors, and to maintain cooperation between various departments. Management on the whole is to make gains, and be useful for the country by helping (to reduce) unemployment." (shift-manager)
- QE 11: This is a shift-manager; he refused to answer saying that in FAB, there are no clearly defined boundaries of a manager's authority and duty, therefore he wouldn't want to give his own definition.
- QE 36: "Management is fulfilment of a certain aim - the aim being the aim of the company. The man who fulfills this in a desired (by the company) manner, is a manager. Everything indicated in their job definitions constitutes their duties: to coordinate the sequence of work in his department, the allocation of labour-power in the most efficient way - taking account of their (the workers') rights, to ensure that the governed ranks work under convenient conditions, and to take an interest in their problems related to the work place, and if necessary, to deal with their personal problems and try to help." (Day-manager).
- QE 44: "To manage means to direct and manage those who work 'under your order'; to direct the 'working labourers'. The workers won't know what to do, they only act according to the orders. So the manager makes them work in a programmed way. To show the correct way (at doing things) to motivate the workers and thus to ensure that they work in harmony (are the manager's jobs). The (ultimate) aim is to produce more for the factory." (Foreman)
- QE 74: "Management is all types of organisational activities that come under direction and administration. To meet all the needs of those who work, and similarly to educate them. On the other hand, to plan the production process, which is the most important factor, in the best organised fashion." (Day-manager).
- QE.87 "To me, management means to encourage workers who work under you without making them fed-up and to help them when necessary. The function of the management is to make decisions, and make the workers who work under its order implement these decisions." (Foreman).
- QE 99: Both to direct work, and also to check what the working man does; to explain work in a way he (the worker) can understand, to get the worker under you to warm up to the job. We (the foremen) cannot interfere with the management above us. Humans are always selfish. Someone has come to a certain level of status, he cannot fear himself apart from that - this is the most ambiguous aspect of this factory's management. The managers have climbed up too quickly, most of them are very inexperienced. (Foreman).

- QE 101: "A management has a lot of functions, but most of these are not applicable in here. Management means to carry the responsibility of those below you, to manage the workers in shifts, to contribute to the ruling and production of the factory; (what they say in the seminars and what takes place here are very different). There is a hierarchical administration from top to bottom, we do as we were told in the seminar, but those at the top spoil it. Then we become the bad ones (in the eyes of the workers)" (Foreman).
- QE 104: "It (the function) is to govern the factory, to organise work, to provide for the necessary inputs, also, management and administration. Besides these, to solve the various social problems of those whom we supervise." (Shift-engineer).
- QE 107: "What lies in the essence of management is (the ability) 'to make labour' and direct those who work under your orders with the elder brother's affection, with humane sentiments. (Its function is also) to increase production and to improve the quality of products." (Shift-manager).
- QE 109: "To maintain a flow of work from the general directorial level to the plants and day-managers: the flow of orders goes from the top to the lowest level and (the results are sent) backwards in the same manner. This maintains a continuous flow of work - without any interruptions - and healthy work and social relations." (personnel registrar clerk)
- QE 110: "To organise and plan (production) according to the established purposes of the Company: to organise job definitions, and production. To establish an order to achieve best quality goods without upsetting the productivity." (Industrial security secretary).
- QE 111: "In our department, there is a director, a few chiefs, and sectional chiefs. Our relation is with the latter. The prime function is to programme." (accountancy clerk).
- QE 112: "(To manage) is to be able to manage those who work with him: to accomplish the organisation of the enterprise, to maintain discipline, to make all the efforts so that things go O.K., and to direct" (Managing Director's secretary).
- QE 113: "The person who manages must treat those who work under him with consideration (understandingly) - both in terms of work and personally. The chief is an intermediary between the memurs (white-collars) and the director; he rules in a manner in which he can 'manage' both sides. And the director organises the departments that are tied to him. It (the function) is basically organisational." (Production planning staff).
- QE 114: "In order to accomplish the purposes of the company, certain responsibilities must be given to certain people in certain positions - and this is required by the size of the enterprise. The main aim is to produce the most, in the most economical way. This is anyway the purpose of establishing such an enterprise in the first place - to make money. It is established with a totally commercial mind anyway." (Sectional chief in Admin Block).

- QE 115: "It (management) is self-explanatory anyway; its function is to provide the coordination between the departments, and organisation of work. (Day-manager in Social and Administrative Works).
- QE 116: "A manager is someone who knows what those 'whom he makes labour' know and don't know. The function of management is the continuation of the dynamics of the enterprise: the top managers do this, that is, they administer and direct." (Time and Motion studies clerk).
- QE 117: Management is to employ and to make those in his department work - as well as managing and administering them - to maintain relations between the 'superiors' and 'inferiors' in accordance with the established aims of the enterprise. (These functions I am outlining here derive from the fact that I also work here. Hence, by virtue of this fact, it means one has already agreed to work within the defined aims of the enterprise). Besides these, to solve many technical problems." (Managing Director).
- QE 120: "To manage is to organise and realise the chain of functions that constitutes the system of production. The functions of managers are precisely to realise these. In short, to obtain glass and to sell it; and for this they have to fulfil a number of human technical, and material functions." (Managing Director).
- QE 121: "Management is constituted by all the cadres of administration and management. Its job is to rule and raise the enterprise. They are responsible for administration, according to the aims of the company, with minimum labour trouble and cost." (Managing Director).
- QE 122: "Here, we do not function as an independent company. We are dependent on two points: firstly, the establishment of the essential aims is carried out by The Holding. Secondly, our products are sold by a separate company. Because we (as the management of FAB) are between the two, our function is to accomplish the aim of the firm that we know about, and to produce goods - in quality and quantity - as demanded by the market. We are independent in our internal affairs, and we establish and regulate our relations with each level (in the hierarchy), and we construct our own internal organisation." (Managing Director).
- QE 123: "As a group of individuals equipped with the necessary technical, commercial, and social knowledge, our (the managers') aim is to realise production according to the set targets, in the desired quality; and to provide the profit for the company as planned. In order to achieve this, the management must be open, honest, non-discriminatory (towards both the customers and the employees); and with the best 'human-relations' possible, the (our) aim is to realise the purposes of the company." (Managing Director).
- QE.124: "Every chief in my opinion has five basic duties: this is the same in the military from the NCO to the Commander-in-chief, as well as here from the foreman to the general Director. These functions can be put under five headings: 1. To manage and direct the staff under his order, 2. Production, 3. Quality Control, 4. Training of the staff who work under him, 5. Workers' health and industrial safety." (Managing director).

- QE 125: "There is an established aim, a purpose. Management's function is to reach that aim with the most convenient route (financially, and in terms of manpower)." (Managing Director).
- QE 126: "I understand (from management), the management of the people - everything else left aside. First of all there are over six hundred types of occupation here (in BIC). The 600 men have 600 different problems. Besides, there are numerous technical problems to solve. My aim is to put these people in an order, to make them aim to work, and, without hurting anyone and by recognising everyone's rights, to make the business run." His emphasis. (Managing Director).
- QE 127: "Management is the accomplishment of a certain purpose, by people at various levels, with human intelligence, and power. To succeed in reaching this target - by the use of individual's will-power and skills - is within the capacity of the managers." (Administrative Chief).
- QE 128: "Management comprises that group which coordinates the available resources (money, inputs, and most importantly human power) for an enterprise which has established its purpose. At the same time, the management must, in the course of the work-process, aim for the good functioning (of the coordinated system) by exerting control over the process; meanwhile, considering the possibilities of growth, hence making the necessary investments for these. The purposes are (not in order of importance): to make a profit, to create employment, to aid the state by paying taxes and gaining foreign currency, and most importantly, the managers must aim to make efforts to meet the social and economic needs of the employees. (I must say that, this last item, I have learned from the General Director of the Holding Co.)." Managing Director.

The answers of the same sample group to the second question on management (Q.26) do not add any further information to that which is already contained in the definitions above. Therefore, they are not reproduced here, and it will suffice to note that all but two of the managerial sample thought it necessary to have a separate body of managers in workplaces such as FAB, basing this on criteria very similar to those of the workers. One of the two did not answer, saying that: "The question undermines the establishment, as well as the fact that anything I might say might also be interpreted against the establishment which I am myself a part of." The other, a managing director, said that this type of management is necessary, only because "the system is one of liberal economy, and based on collective bargaining. It (the management as it is) is only justified given the social and economic order."

APPENDIX II

The Managerial and Administrative Seminars.

The managerial and administrative seminars (MAS) in FAB and in other sites of the Holding Co., are organised, prepared and given by one professor, but the departments of Research and Development, and Training assist him in every respect. Each seminar lasts for a week, and consists of a number of papers. These papers are either written by the professor himself, or compiled mainly by him from the publications of American Business Schools and Faculties. The titles of the papers are as follows:

Leadership

The Motivation of the Employees

Management in the Future

Various Attitudes towards Management

The Functions of Managers

Management with respect to Specific Purposes

Cooperation

The periods of Change in the Concept of Management

The Process of Decision-making (Assessment).

Concepts of Management and Direction in Enterprises, their Inception and Development.

In addition to these papers, which are presented and analysed by the professor, two papers, each entitled: "An application of managerial techniques" are distributed. These two are related to genuine managerial problems. ('genuine' as understood by the Members of Harvard Business School, from whom the professor has taken these case materials.) The nature of these case materials will be given shortly.

I do not intend to reproduce a detailed account of the contents of these papers here. What I propose to do is first to give an impression of the one week MAS held while I was there, and second, to summarise a few points both from the papers and from the applied work, which will be sufficient to give the gist of the MAS.

The MAS in FAB, 1978, was held specifically for the foremen and the shift-managers (the two lowest levels of management). All the foremen and shift-managers were divided into two groups and taken to attend the seminar separately. I think the most significant aspect of these seminars perhaps more than the content itself, was the way in which they were conducted. They were held on the roof of the most luxurious hotel in Province. All the participants were provided with two meals and two coffee breaks. Throughout the week, the participants were excused from work (but were paid their salaries), and each seminar cost the management around 150.000 T.L. (approximately £3000). As the Personnel Manager himself put it "the foremen and the shift-managers were thus totally isolated from the work situation and were secluded in the 'peaceful' atmosphere of the hotel, so that they could concentrate on what they were doing".

What the MAS aimed for, besides creating a homogeneous managerial staff, was instilling a 'managerial identity', as distinct from the workers', and giving the lower ranks of management a taste of the privileges of being managers. As could be easily observed in the active participation and excitement of the foremen and shift-managers, they did come to realise, as a result of the MAS and the atmosphere created there that they were a 'special' group. This was the first 'course' they had

ever attended since they left school, and they felt they learned something valuable, that they themselves were more developed as a result and that they could now go to the shop-floor and be even more assertive, since they had learnt that after all, the managing job they were undertaking was not a simple task, but a scientifically-based important task. Some of the participants were disillusioned however, not because they questioned the validity of what they were taught during the MAS, but because they thought the working conditions in FAB were not susceptible to such managerial techniques. They said these techniques presumed the existence of ideal conditions in the workplace, which they were very much aware was not the case in FAB. The most human face of the 'Human Relations School' presented to them caused these worries; that they would never be able to apply such techniques and attitudes in their relations with the workers, and that the weight of creating an 'order of peace and harmony' still rested on their shoulders since they knew very well that the Company or the higher managers would not be prepared to alter the conditions of work to make them more favourable for the workers, if this was likely to increase the costs. One final note: the effect of the seminar on the attitudes of the participants is reflected in the definitions of management provided by those who were interviewed after the seminar. (As can be seen in the Appendix on definitions). Both the disillusioned reaction, and the favourable attitude towards the MAS will become clearer once the content of MAS is examined more closely.

The final words with which the professor ended the seminar indicate both the nature and the purpose of the MAS far better than any interpretation of it. He said:

"You can buy someone's time. You can ensure that he is present at a certain place and time; in fact, you can even buy his bodily functions which contain various skills and capabilities, paying him per hour or per day. But you cannot buy someone's initiative; you cannot buy his loyalty and attachment (with all of his heart and mind). These cannot be bought, but they can be gained." (My emphasis)

Hence, the purpose of management is defined: to set in motion the labourer's capacity to work, to ensure the continuity of the labour-process and - because the initiative to work to the best of his ability and with 'honesty' is still controlled by the labourer himself - the first two purposes of management require 'gaining' the worker's heart and mind for their fulfilment. Finding the best techniques and methods of achieving this constitutes the managerial problem as well as the subject matter of MAS.

The seminar-leader first presented a history of the development of Scientific Management, emphasising that this was a very novel issue even in the West, and had only come about in 1908 through the work of F.W. Taylor. Ever since, however, there have been tremendous achievements in the area of Scientific Management. In order to prove how important a function 'management' is, the professor gave this example - "They asked Nixon what the most important need of the U.S. was, and he replied 'managers equipped with the necessary scientific knowledge!' He went on to describe what 'a great man Taylor was' and how his greatness was reflected in his upward mobility from ordinary worker, to General director of the factory, and then even obtaining a post in Harvard University (the importance of this was stressed and elaborated on). Taylor's problem was described as 'how to obtain the most productivity from the workers'. The professor summarised the traditional managerial methods as attempts to prove Taylor's points, and outlined the common belief that increases in wages, betterment of environmental conditions, provision of tools and

equipment etc. would lead to a rise in efficiency. He explained that experiments had proved these beliefs false, as a result of which E. Mayo carried out his experiments. He said that it took them three years to move away from Taylor's techniques and to arrive at the conclusion that 'workplaces are social systems', which he defined to be the basis of the Human Relations school. "The elements that constitute a workplace are essentially the human elements, and the relationships between them. Money, and the conditions of work are not the most important issues, but the psychology of the human element is." He then elaborated on this point and explained that 'if you consult the worker's ideas, if you allow him to participate in decision making, his morale will be high which will then increase efficiency". Participation in decision-making in no sense meant a democratic government of the factory, or the possibility for the worker to challenge the authority of the management, but on the contrary, by involving the worker in the most mundane decision-making and problem solving on a day-to-day basis, to incorporate him, and to gain his support for the continuation of managerial power and authority. In other words, instead of concretely alienating him from decision-making (power and control), they aimed to obscure the objective-alienation of the worker, by allowing him to participate in decision-making which does not confront, in any way, the status quo. The professor explained the essential premises of the human-relations programmes, and emphasised that we (in Turkey/in FAB) must also subscribe to these methods. I will briefly summarise these assumptions and premises, because they reveal the concept of 'human-element' with which they operate and therefore the ideological stance of this School (as interpreted by the Turkish managers). We have first to go back to Taylor's principles, and then to McGregor's X and Y theories because the problems these methods have created (or were unable to solve) necessitated the Human-Relations Ideas.

The X theory is McGregor's*interpretation of Taylor, which is based on three assumptions about human nature:

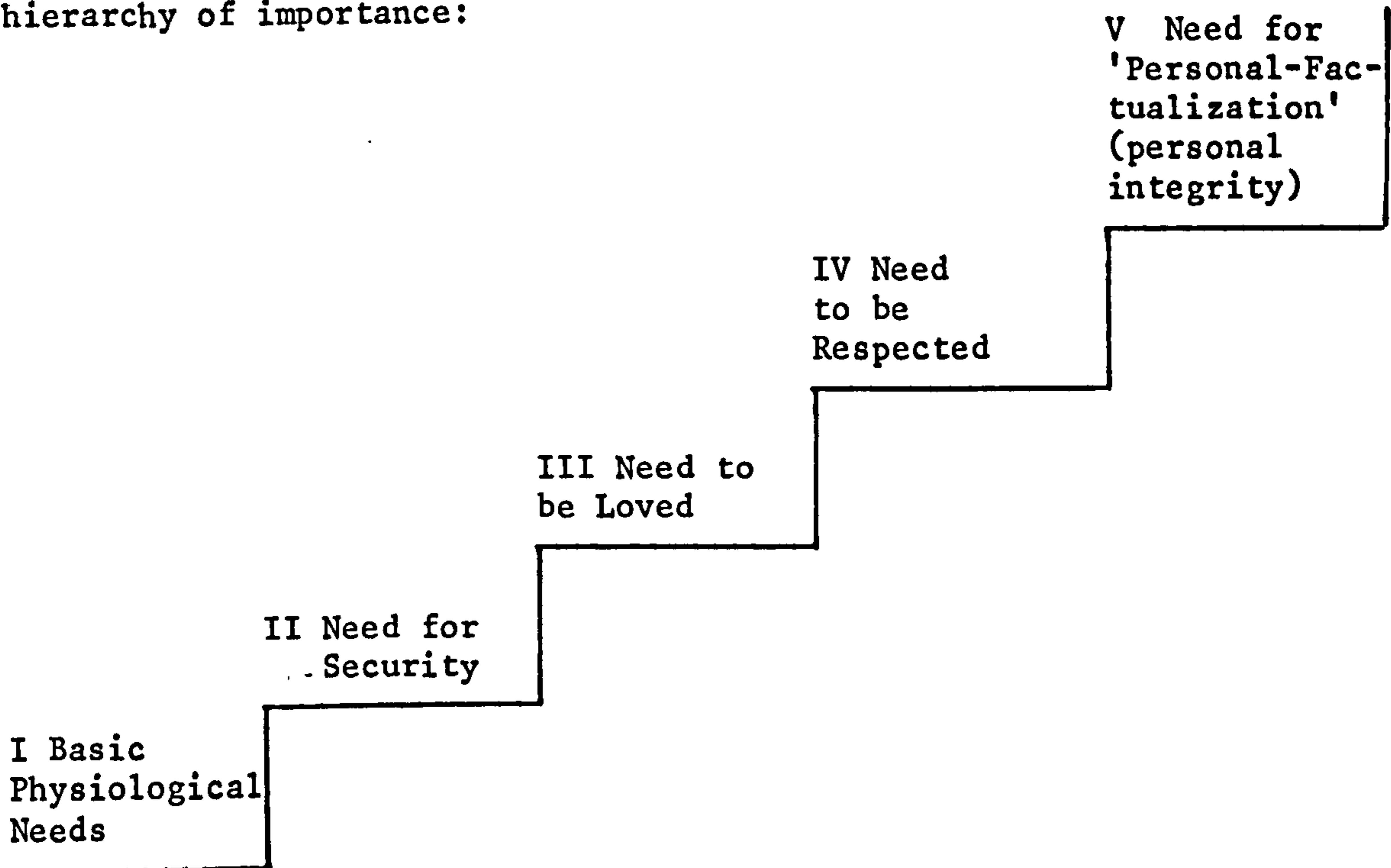
1. An ordinary man does not like to work and he avoids work whenever he has the opportunity to do so.
2. Because of (1), it is difficult to make most men work in a manner which will serve the interests of the enterprises.
3. An ordinary man wants to be directed and ruled (managed); he avoids responsibility, has no ambitions, and his main concern is feeling secure for tomorrow. (At this point most of the participants on MAS objected.)

Therefore, the aim of the management must be to provide a purpose for the worker who has all the qualities of an 'ordinary man'. Managers, in the light of above, have resorted to both 'tough' and 'soft' attitudes in their treatment of the workers, and both have failed resulting in:

"Reactions from the workers which then led to deliberate slowing-down of the production process, hostile and extreme unionism, and sabotage activities which prevented the enterprises from fulfilling their targets." (The seminar paper entitled "The Motivation of the Employees" p.3).

* The first name of McGregor was not mentioned during MAS, and neither does it appear on the papers. However, the professor said that his theories are well known as the X and Y theories in the management literature.

McGregor stood against traditional methods of management (which derived from Taylor's and A. Smith's definitions of men as 'rational' beings), and incorporated Maslow's views on the importance of motivation. Maslow claimed that every man has some basic needs which have a hierarchy of importance:



(Source: Same paper as above, p.5)

The important aspect of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is that "when needs in I are satisfied, this creates needs in category II and so on and so forth." (ibid, p.5)

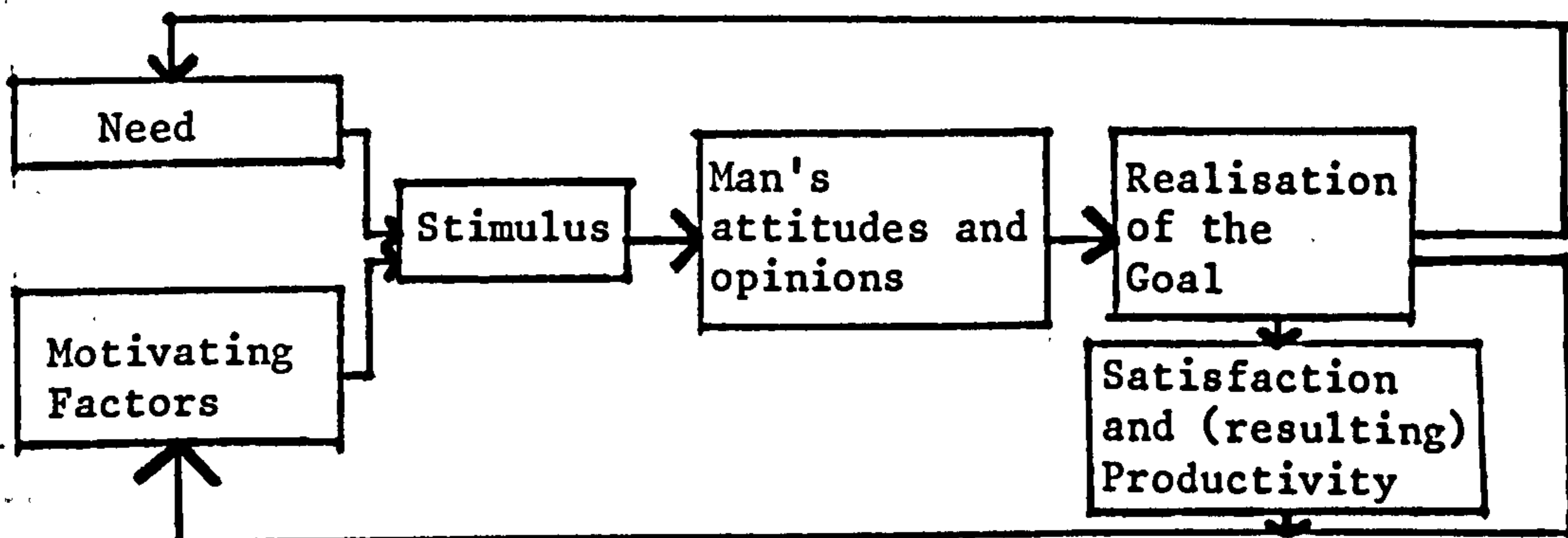
In the same paper, and in the professor's talk, it is emphasised that in most workplaces the need V above cannot be satisfied, since the conditions for satisfying those preceding it have not yet been provided. Furthermore, the higher needs are the most egotistical needs of man, and they can be more dominant than other needs, and this constitutes the biggest problem for the managers. However these needs only arise after the others have been satisfied, and since "an ordinary man is often faced with the 'lower level' needs, the 'upper level' needs are seldom reached; and a need as high as the desire to create something hardly appears; nor do the motives to do so." (ibid, p.6) (My emphasis)

The Y theory of McGregor suggests that the 'human-nature' should be considered more in managing the workers. The basic premises are:

- "1. Having to exert physical or mental effort during work is as natural as play or rest.
2. In order to achieve the purposes of an enterprise, control or punishment is not the only means. If a man is persuaded to believe in those purposes, and to make them his own, then in order to realise those purposes, he controls and manages himself.
3. Achievement of (2) above depends on the rewards one will get as a result of realising the targets.

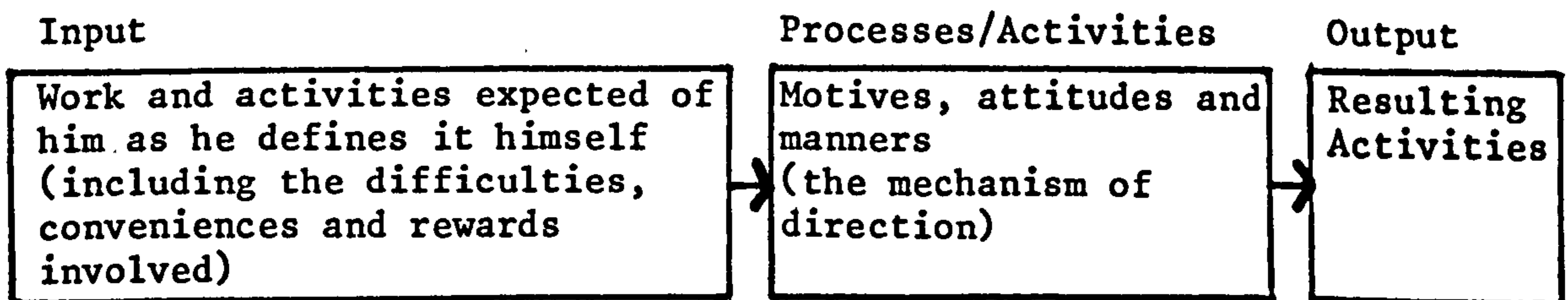
4. An ordinary man, given adequate conditions, not only accepts responsibility but also seeks to undertake responsibilities.
5. The imagination, intelligence and creativity that are required to solve the problems that confront the organisations are not found in limited amounts (in man) but are rather widespread (qualities).
6. In modern industrial enterprises, only a small portion of the mental capacity of an ordinary man is being utilised.
7. The fundamental function of the manager is to organise work and management methods in a way which will help the employees to fulfil their own purposes (which were given above as 'success', and being 'useful', in *ibid*, pp. 6-7). If this is achieved, the efforts of the employees will be geared towards the achievement of the company's goals." (*ibid* pp. 8-9, my emphasis).

The X and Y theories, which are based on opposing premises have both proven to create problems when implemented. However, elements of both these theories, as well as McClelland's Success Theory, have helped the formulation of the Motivation Theory, which is regarded as the most sophisticated method of management. The professor explained that the first step is to establish which stage the worker has reached in the need-hierarchy. Once that is established, the motivation procedure works as illustrated in the diagram below.



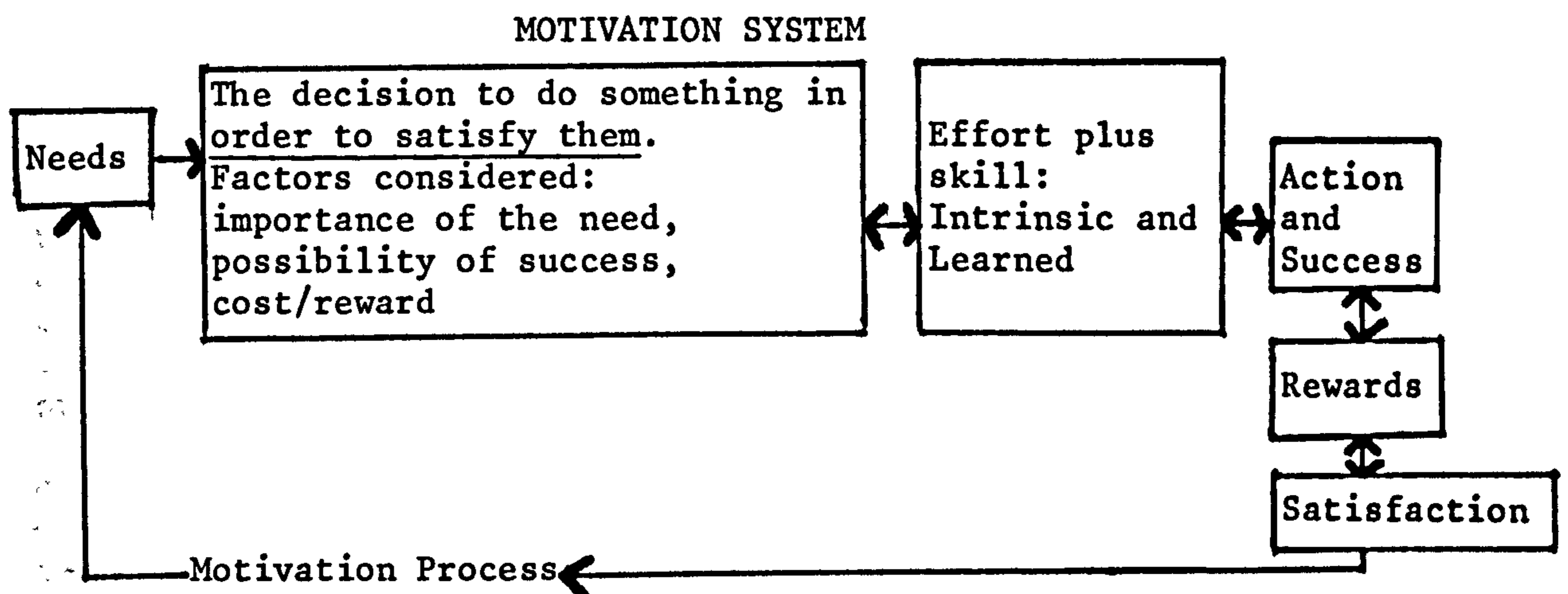
Motivation in management and administration is systematised on the basis of the assumptions above, and the way this system operates can be illustrated schematically.

MOTIVATION SYSTEM



How should the managers go about it, As the professor explained, the question is to make the worker aware of the goal and make him ask the question "Am I working towards the achievement of that goal,". The starting point for the manager is the need-level of the worker, and the knowledge that in accordance with his needs, the worker will take certain decisions to fulfil them. Therefore, "the decision is the worker's but I (as the manager) provide the motivation for this decision" - the system

of motivation then operates as follows.



The Seminar then went on with workshops on managerial problems. The two cases presented related to 1) the Varo Machine Company, and 2) The Crown Belt Manufacturing Company. Without going into detail, the first problem can be presented as who should be appointed to a managerial post created by the resignation of a Managing Director, and what possible reactions and tensions this could create among the managers. This problem was presented as a real case whereby 'Hardy' was to be appointed to the post, thus creating problems with his superior Miller. This new problem was presented as being caused by one or more of seven criteria (including inadequate appointment, rivalry, incapable manager, lack of communication, etc.). The foremen and staff-managers were then asked to suggest their own definitions of the problem, and possible solutions. This they all did, presenting a variety of solutions. In conclusion, the professor said that in such problems (which he defined as human-relations problems between the upper and lower ranks of management) there were no set solutions, but that the solution could only come about if the superior and the inferior (the ruler and the ruled) worked in harmony together, almost as 'cogs in a machine', and the solution should be sought in human-relations. He stressed this last point because some foremen suggested that alterations could be made in the hierarchical organisation, to which the professor said: "It is the most dangerous thing you can do in a workplace. You should never play with the organisational structure. When a machine breaks down, you can repair it by replacing some spare-parts, but when it is a human problem, this solution does not work." The aim therefore is to achieve and maintain stability with the existing managerial personnel.

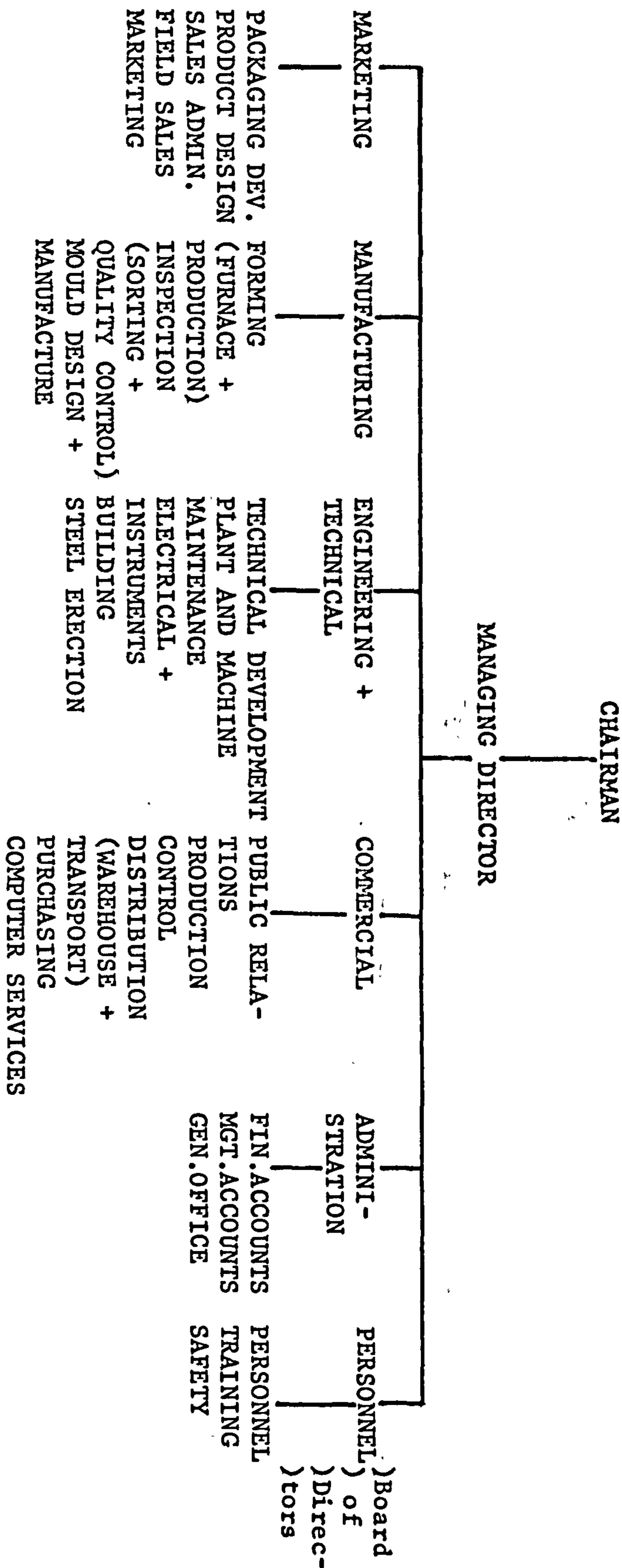
Besides the two workshops, the participants were given an 'initiative' test which assessed their capacity to make decisions in a short time, both individually and as a group. The problem presented was this: If you were to be left in a boat, in the midst of an ocean, which of these fifteen items you would want to have, in order of priority. The items ranged from chocolates to a transistor radio. When the test was taken, both individually and in small groups, the results showed that most of the items the participants thought important, were not indeed, and vice versa. In some cases groups came closer to the correct choice. In others it was shown that individually one was in a better position to think correctly, and to take the initiative. Hence the lessons learned from this practice were (as described by the professor):

1) The nature of the decision-making process, is nothing but the ability to choose among the available alternatives, 2) There are good and bad sides to both individual and group decision-making. Individual decision-making is quicker, but group decision making is 'healthier'. Hence, according to the particularities of a situation, both methods can be applied efficiently.

The seminar ended with an emphasis on the need for incorporating the Human Relations theory in managerial policies in Turkey, and more especially the importance of the problem of motivation. If everyone treated each other as 'humans' (nicely, understandingly, considerately, and etc.) a peaceful work atmosphere could be created. The picture thus presented was so desirable, yet so remote from the real experience of FAB managers (especially the lower-rank ones), that many expressed disillusionment after the seminar, pointing out that "even if we conducted our relations with the workers in such a manner, the ones above us wouldn't, and we have no power to make things any better." Others however, totally taken in by the wonderland promised, went back to the shop-floor with fresh energy, to motivate their workers.

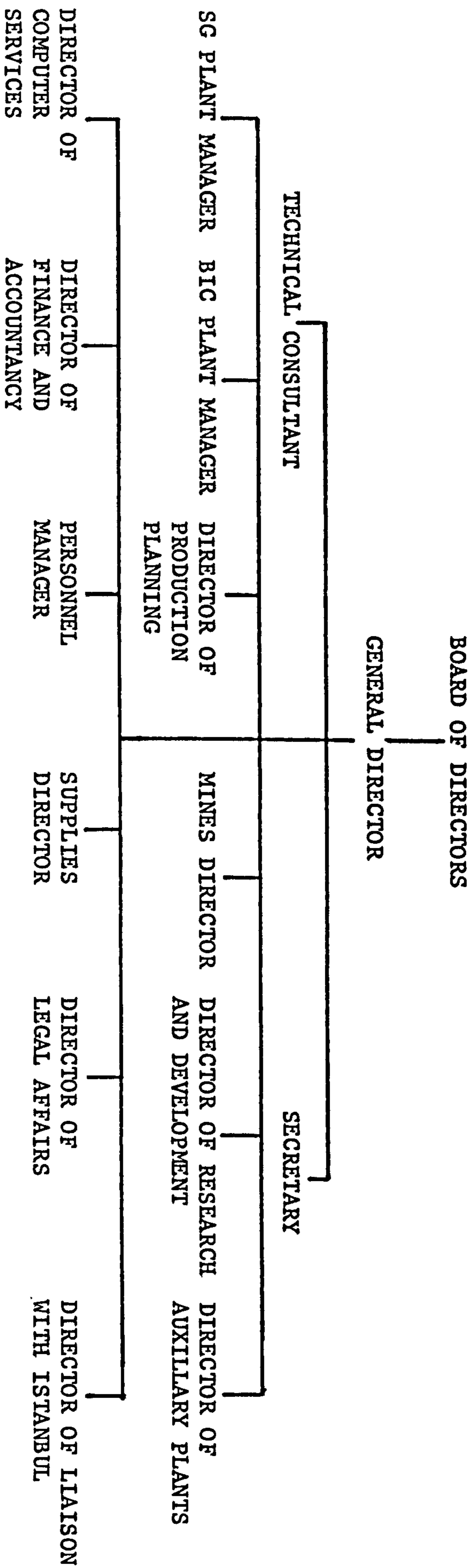
APPENDIX III

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF
REDFEARN NATIONAL GLASS (BRITAIN)

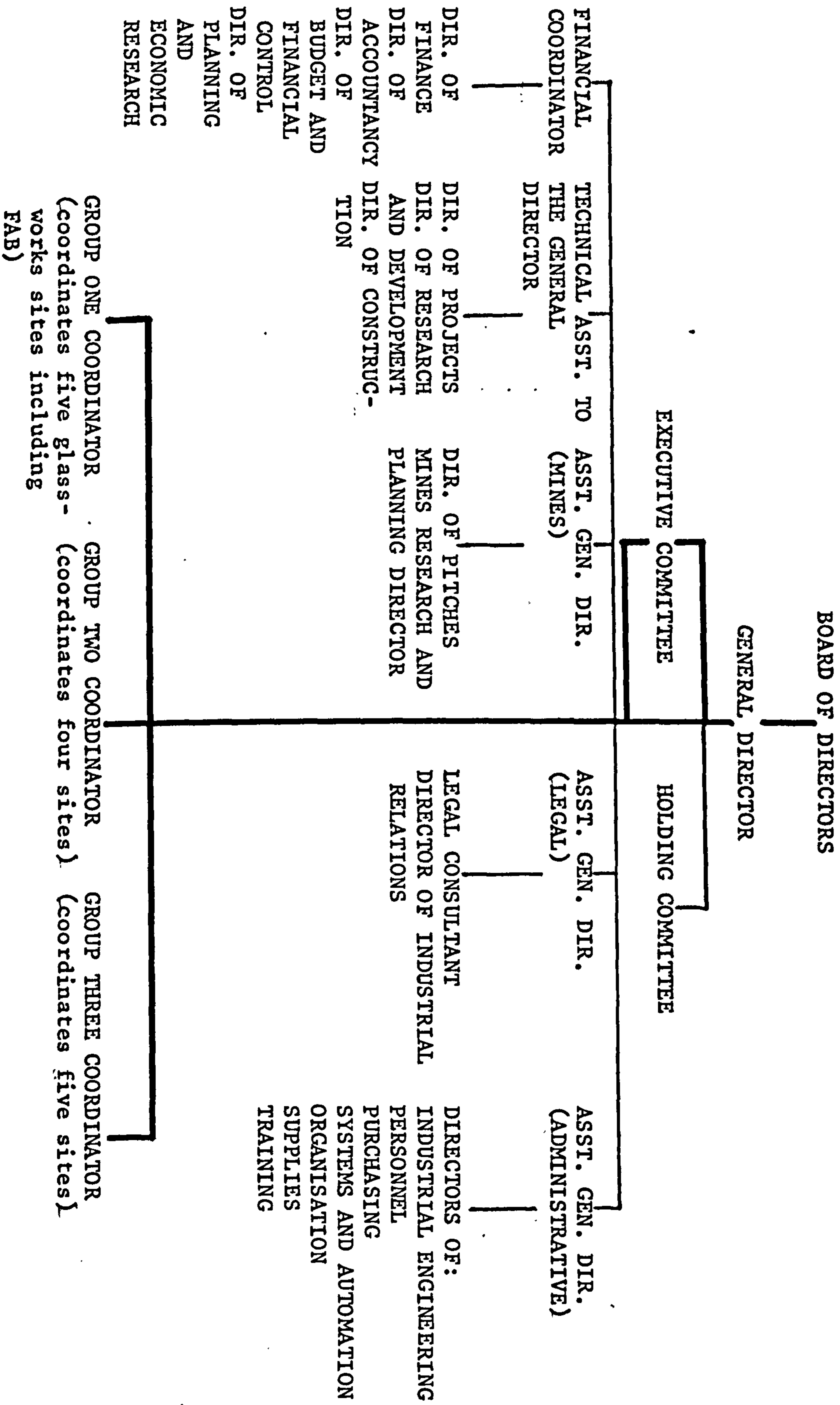


With this managerial administrative staff, the Company administers both its sites, namely Barnsley and York.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF FAB



ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE HOLDING COMPANY



APPENDIX IV

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

As was explained in the Introduction, a variety of research techniques were employed. First, a diary was kept to note down my observations during my stay in the factory. This proved to be useful in recording phenomena before they lost their immediacy, and it also prevented my later observations from intervening. Furthermore, it gave the possibility of assessing the reliability of the questionnaire results, since, as often mentioned throughout the text, some of the findings of the questionnaire did not commensurate well with my observations. Hence the diary provided a means of cross-checking.

The factory employees are officially divided into salary-earners and wage-earners; the former referring to all the managers and office staff; the latter to the workers alone. This was the basis on which I divided my sample population into two groups. The sample population of workers adds to 7.3% (101) of the total population of workers (1379). Initially, it was based on a 7% sample, however, because the lists provided by the management often did not match with reality, the sample population, when I completed the questionnaires, came out to be 7.3%. One problem, for example, was that the workers who seemed to be working in a particular department were not in fact to be found there, but elsewhere. Another problem was that some of those who seemed to be wage-earners came out to be salary-earners, and vice versa. To account for such alterations, the sample group was enlarged from 97 to 101. The sample population of salary-earners (managers), is also selected on a 7% basis. This gave (from a total of 291), 20 persons, which included some of the factory directors. However, in order to be able to incorporate all the managing (and factory) directors, I added the remaining 8 directors to this sample which gave the total of 28.

The worker sample is a random stratified sample. The sub-population groups in this sample reflect the exact proportion they exist in the whole worker population. The stratification was carried out, in terms of the distribution of the workers among the plants, and among the departments within each plant - then, on the list provided by the management, all job titles were assigned one of Production, Packing and Sorting, Maintenance and Repair, and Other categories. There, if all the production workers in the site comprised 36% of the whole worker

population, they were represented in the same proportion in my sample. The stratification was then carried out in a similar manner for departmental distribution, and for various sub-divisions under one larger division. To give the example from the production workers again, if among the production workers, the machine operators constituted 10% of all the production workers, they were represented by 10% in the sample. In this stratification, the distribution among the plants was also controlled to commensurate with the real distribution. Therefore, the worker sample population is totally representative of the FAB workers, (by 7%), the weight of any one category (except gender as was explained earlier) being the same in both the total and the sample populations.

The managerial personnel is stratified in a similar manner, based on categories of Admin versus Site (or Office versus Plants), and all the other categories mentioned on the first part of the thesis (this is true for the worker-sample population as well). Except the factory (managing) directors, each rank of management is again represented in the sample population by their actual weight in the total managerial personnel of FAB. The factory directors are over-represented, but this was deliberate in order to obtain as much information as possible on the issues and nature of the management. Furthermore, the generalisations made in the thesis do not rely on the statistical significance, therefore this over-representation of the top managers does not present a problem.

Once each group of sample population was stratified on all the relevant categories, then the names were selected at random, and these individuals formed the sample populations.

One point may be worth noting here; I had already visited the factory in the Summer of 1977, hence had made some preliminary observations on the possible important divisions among the employees, such as between the plants, departments, and occupations; since it was clear even then that different production processes were in operation in various plants and workshops of the factory. Hence, all the categories for stratification were based on that preliminary observation, and the questionnaire form was then prepared accordingly. The questionnaire form, given below, was not pre-coded. It was not given out to the sample population itself, but I orally asked each question to each respondent, and filled in the forms myself as they replied it. This proved to be very useful, because, it gave me the possibility to intervene when I guessed that the respondent either misunderstood the question, or was

not prepared to say all he/she could, which I could tell based on my own participant observation. On many occasions, the workers would not mention that, for example, they worked on land before coming to FAB, in citing their previous jobs, and only after I asked them specifically if they had done so, that they replied 'but, of course, but we don't regard that as work'. Both the managerial and the worker respondents often did not mention that they watched T.V., and only said so when I asked them if they did. The common answer then was 'but, of course'; therefore implying that it was such an obvious leisure activity, that they did not think of mentioning it, but took it for granted that I should know.

One of the shortcomings of the questionnaire technique may be termed as the guinea-pig effect. At various occasions, it was clear that the respondent was simply forcing him/herself to make up a reply because he/she was asked that particular question- otherwise he/she had not thought about the issue in concern at all. At other occasions, many respondents said that they would have a lot more to say, had it not been for the formal nature, and the distancing effect of the questionnaire. These explain why some of the findings of the questionnaire were surprising in comparison to my participant observation. Even so, it must be pointed out that the 'health' of the results very much lies on the good rapport established between the researcher and the respondents. During the communication, it was very important to establish a trust relation with the respondents, and except on a few occasions, this could be realised.

The questionnaires, once filled in, were coded in retrospect, and the results were obtained by employing the computer programme of SPSS. This obviously does not apply to the open-ended questions, i.e., in those questions whereby the respondents were asked to explain their ideas, feelings, etc.

As was mentioned earlier, a second shorter questionnaire was given out. This was in collaboration with a colleague, and mainly for his research purposes, and except for the age distribution of the FAB workers (mentioned in note 22 above), the findings of this questionnaire were omitted. A sub-group (36) of the total questionnaire sample (129) was selected at random to be interviewed in depth. Where relevant, I have already presented the questions asked during the interview, but some of the questions asked are not cited here. The richness of data, and the already large volume of this thesis prevented me from using all the

results of the interview. However, it must be pointed out that no finding of the in-depth interview proved any point contrary to those made in the thesis. They were rather supportive findings, and are already included in where relevant.

The Questionnaire Form

1. What is your job here? Can you describe it?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you married?
4. Have you got any children?
5. (If yes) How many, and how old are they?
6. What school(s) are they attending (if any)?
7. Does your husband/wife work?
8. (If yes) What is his/her job and income?
9. What is your level of education?
10. What do you do in your spare-time?
11. Is this your first job? If not, what were your previous jobs (in chronological order)?
12. Have you immigrated to Province? If yes, when?
13. If you have come from a rural area, which village do you come from?
14. Why have you emigrated?
15. Have you still got contact with the rural area you have emigrated from (or any other rural contact)?
(If yes) What is the nature of this contact?
16. What is (was) your father's occupation?
17. How (through what means) have you heard about, found this job? Were you examined/interviewed in entrance?
18. Are you happy with your job? Why?
19. What is your net monthly/yearly income? Have you got any additional sources of income? Where from, and how much?
20. If you have any complaints about your job, what are they?
21. How long have you been working here?
22. Are you planning to change your job? Why? What kind of a job would you like to change to?
 - a) Inside the same Company
 - b) Elsewhere
23. When you applied here, did you choose this job or was it allocated to you? If you chose it, why?

24. What do you think management is? What is its function in such work places?
25.
 - a) Do you own the house/flat you live in?
 - b) If no, what is the monthly rent? If yes, how much rent would you have to pay if you had to rent such a house/flat?
 - c) How many rooms are there in your house/flat?
 - d) Have you got a kitchen/bathroom within or outside the house/flat?
 - e) Have you got electricity and running water?
26. What do you think the necessity of a management like this one depends on? Is it necessary? Why?
27. Have you got TV/radio sets?
28. Are there any changes you would like to see made on the site?
29. Are there any changes you would like made concerning your own job?
30. Do you think this is the best possible way to accomplish the job you are doing here?
31. Which district do you live at?
32. How long did it take you to learn your present job? (How long would it take a newcomer?)
Did you have any special training for this job? (Here, or elsewhere?)
If yes, for how long and of what kind (classes, or on-spot)?
33. What do you think the necessity of the union depends on? (Is it necessary?) What does the union do (what are its functions)?

ON THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN SHOULD AND IS IN THE WORKERS' REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONS ON THE MANAGEMENT.

As was mentioned in Chapter IX, there is a confusion, in the workers' responses, about what the management is and what it should be. This confusion could be related to a general problem. It is the problem involved in any occasion whereby a social participant attempts to assess and reflect on the external world; namely the difficulty arising in distinguishing how much of what one perceives and articulates is determined by the observer's wishful thinking, and the objective reality. One might be said to be adding (or extracting) qualities on the observed phenomena, or in reflecting on the perceptions, one's language, style of expression etc., could distort even the nature of the observation made. To what extent this problem might have affected the workers' responses can only be answered by a combination of linguistic, psychological, social psychological, cultural and sociological analysis, which goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet, it is important to bear this in mind as an intrinsic problem in the analysis that follows.

If a distinction is made in retrospect, about what the management is and what it should be in the workers' responses, it can be concluded that a total of 28 workers defined the management, and its functions, in terms of 'how they ought to be' and 'how they wish the management to be'. Some of these workers remarked on 'how difficult it is to be a manager' or 'how delicate the job of management is' since the management was often regarded as an intermediary agent between the workers and the employers. One determinant of the non-discriminatory replies of what 'is' and what 'should' be therefore, can be said to be workers' subjectivity in both observing the management and reflecting on that observation. The fact that they do not distinguish between the 'is' and 'should' reads as a confusion in their replies.

It can also be suggested that, this form of answers are bound by the various usages of the Turkish terms 'idare etmek' (to manage) and idare (management). These terms mean (in a similar way to their usages in the English language) to manage as in the sense of "I am managing O.K.", and also mean to mediate, arbitrate and literally to find the mid-point between two apparently discrepant ends, and also to get on well (with someone, with some situation). Therefore, the question 'what do you think management is?' could be heard as having many connotations, and perhaps this partly gave rise to the 'should' and 'is' confusion. When

this seemed to be the case, I often let the respondent carry on and complete what he/she had to say and only then interfered. In the second question on management (Is the management necessary?), I specified the question more by adding 'a separate body of managers like the one here', or 'like the management in this workplace' which enabled me to receive the answers to the actual question asked. It should be noted that even then some workers gave their replies without distinguishing between the 'is' and 'should'. I shall conclude by citing one example where this confusion can easily be observed:

QE.14: "Management is a very difficult profession. It becomes easy, if both the managers and the managed are enlightened. If it is carried out among the uneducated it becomes very difficult. This is so in every respect: in language, in religion, in race... Management refers to those who have taken the responsibility to manage; either for work, or for the people whom they manage."

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