

FORMATION OF WORKING CLASS IN A STEEL TOWN IN TURKEY:
A NARRATION OF WORKERS FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE SECTOR

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ABSTRACT

FORMATION OF WORKING CLASS IN A STEEL TOWN IN TURKEY: A NARRATION OF WORKERS FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE SECTOR

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This study examines the formation processes of the working class in Karabük on the basis of Karabük Iron-Steel Factories. The workers, who have been working in the factory since the foundation of the corporation are chosen as the sample group of the study. The working class identity and the general formation of the working class are examined through three different generations. Focus group and a field research based upon survey are applied in addition to in depth interviews. The study, in accordance with the historical development, aims to discuss each period separately, from the perspectives of their continuity and distinctiveness. By laying emphasis on trade union history and political field particularly, the study also tries to define the roles of these variables in the process of formation of the working class in different periods. It seems that the significant distinctiveness of the last generation of these three generations is remarkable.

Keywords: Formation of the working class, working class, trade union, Karabük Iron-Steel Factories, precarity.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE BİR ÇELİK KENTİNDE İŞÇİ SINIFININ OLUŞUMU: KAMU SEKTÖRÜNDEN ÖZEL SEKTÖRE İŞÇİLERİN ÖYKÜSÜ

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Bu çalışma Karabük Demir - Çelik Fabrikaları ekseninde Karabük'te işçi sınıfının oluşum sürecini incelemektedir. Çalışmanın örneklem grubu olarak fabrikanın kuruluş süreçlerinden günümüze kadar geçen süre içerisinde fabrikada çalışmış olan işçiler seçilmiştir. Üç farklı kuşak üzerinden işçi sınıfı kimliğinin ve genel olarak işçi sınıfının oluşumu incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışmada derinlemesine görüşmeler yanında odak grup ve ankete dayalı saha araştırması da uygulanmıştır. Çalışma tarihsel gelişime uygun bir şekilde her dönemi devamlılık ve farklılıklarıyla ayrı ayrı ele almaya çalışmıştır. Sendikal tarih ve siyasal alan üzerinde özellikle durularak işçi sınıfı kimliğinin oluşumunda bu değişkenlerin farklı dönemlerdeki rolleri tanımlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Üç farklı kuşak arasında özellikle son kuşak işçilerin belirgin farklılıkları dikkat çekici görünmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumu, İşçi Sınıfı, Sendika, Karabük Demir- Çelik Fabrikaları, Güvencesizlik.

*To My Late Grandfather Nuri Aydın
and Late Cousin İsmail Aydın
Who Were Steelworkers at Karabük Iron and Steel Works;
and to all Steelworkers of Karabük...*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Industrialization and modernity, or the modernization process, are related concepts, and are the main problems of sociology based on these concepts and transformations of rural society into 'industrial' society. Modernity's definition is important for understanding the change processes and the dynamics of these change processes. According to Kumar, historically near relations with modernism and industrialism creates nowadays debates that focus on 'the end of modernism', because of the transformations of industrialization (Kumar, 1995: 105). Effective changes in production processes and improvement of production, provide to different 'ages' for humanity by thinkers who support 'end of modernism' argument on different formations and positions. Undoubtedly, 'the end of modernism' argument contains many different approaches and different stands for thinkers. This debate is, maybe, the most important discussion area for sociology and social sciences for last two or three decades.

First of all, modernism signs an integrated project that has unbelievable effects for the whole world and humanity. This concept refers to whole discussions of social sciences; on the other hand, this concept is inclusive for all discussions. The Industrial Revolution can be defined as 'a starting point' in this debate. The Industrial Revolution is a crucial concept for humanity because of its enormous effect in human life. Many thinkers point out that industrialization consists of machine production, the basis for an enormous growth in productivity. This process created a new life and working conditions for people and that is a real 'revolution' for

their practices and mentalities. The Machine and its power on human life is an important point for this discussion. Kemp points out (1998: 9):

Industrialization imposed new forms of labor by bringing together many workers under one roof to operate machines driven by power. Workers were incorporated into an articulated system of division of labor in which they performed only one small part of the total labor going into production...

The new production process creates a new articulated and 'natural' solidarity, and 'make jointly' practices in the working process. But, on the other hand, this new process needs a 'new mentality' and a 'new type of men/women'. Enlightenment, humanism, rationalism, modernization and similar concepts are in a 'key' position for new period's mental discussion. Enlightenment, especially, is a crucial concept for understanding this new period. This concept has not a result only and has not a single point the discussion about change. Hobsbawm, generally, emphasizes this point. He points out importance of Enlightenment and rationalization in the historical process. He criticizes capitalism but he does not accept to be against this position for civilization, rationalization, science and technology or Enlightenment (Hobsbawm, 1996). He underlines the importance of the dialectical view and offers to discuss these concepts with 'social structure'. This point is important because, if we choose other way, we can only discuss the matter in an 'idealistic frame'; so, this offers and designates a methodological preference. For example, Enlightenment creates or triggers not only liberal thought or similar. It creates a comprehensive ground for humanity; therefore it is related with capitalistic relations and rules; on the other hand its background is suitable for 'anti-positions'. The Enlightenment's importance is as it 'exposes

humanity's power for the *history maker* to view'.

Harvey defines Marx as a successful interpreter of the capitalistic modernization. In Harvey's classification, Marx is one of the modernist thinkers who uses approaches of Enlightenment and puts forward the contradictory structure of capitalism with dialectical method (Harvey, 1999: 120-121). However, Marx's view of modernization is meaningful in his dialectical approach that refers to contradictions and reciprocal relations with social areas. We can find different assessments about Marx's works after him. Different Marxist approaches offer different views of the social paradoxes and historical processes. E.P. Thompson and his historical Marxist interpretation evaluate the 'modernization' process in a different way from other approaches. Generally, he claims that innovation and the resistance against it is the most important issue for the history of the classes, especially the oppressed ones. He cannot believe that 'innovations' or 'development' can be independent from social relations, and that they were not 'normless'. This process refers in his mind to 'the innovation of the capitalist process' (1993: 352-404). This change process is experienced by the plebs in the form of 'exploitation of the expropriation' of customary use-rights, or the violent disruption of valued patterns of work and leisure. In Thompson's words; "...even here time is beginning to become money, the employer's money..." (1993: 358). Undoubtedly, his approach does not consist only of the 'time' problematic; however this point is of extreme importance for his approach. On the other hand, Thompson's definition of the modernization process, which is evaluated with the 'rationalization' process, is not only based on 'negative' effects on crowds. On the one hand, this process allows it to be used by the crowds for their own interests. In this point, he emphasizes on

'reading groups' is directly related with this dialectical situation (see 2004, 847-887). Thompson's studies show that different 'experiments' of the same process with different social classes in history on some samples Historical Marxist approach is the main perspective for this study.

If modernity, or the modernization process, is rejected, a crucial problematic for researchers comes in view for scientific research. However, modernity, or the modernization process, can be seen in a different situation which is directly related to the social position. Technological development and rationalism are important notions; but if they are disconnected with Enlightenment's core discourse - that is 'human is make history' and common benefit - liberal and socialist approaches lose out their main difference. In this point, common benefit and individualistic benefit or profit is in opposite positions. Otherwise, the capital-centered approach and the humanity-centered approach compose the second major differentiation point. We should not forget, that 'alienation' is one of the big problems that should be discussed with these two major differences for an alternative 'free' society form. The Socialist approach is not only based on vulgar economic-politic or vulgar philosophical discussion. The utopian socialist 'vessel' is always alert to this or similar problems. If this point is not accentuated by thinkers, the 'vulgar scientific' view damages the socialist view with its 'quasi natural' discourse. The socialist and the liberal approaches differences are very clear in their early separation. Hobsbawm emphasizes the main difference about the imagination of society (1996, 243):

In the first place it broke radically with the liberal assumption that society was a mere aggregate or combination of its individual atoms, and that its motive force was their self-interest and competition. In doing

so the socialists returned to the oldest of all human ideological traditions, the belief that man is naturally a communal being. Men naturally live together and help one another...

Ideologies of progress are based on similar main assumptions, but not the same assumptions. Very effective and crucial differences give way to different social consequences and starting points. This point does not reject the Enlightenment's important position for humanity. Liberal thought and implications create only 'limited' or 'restricted' Enlightenment for humanity and this vision offers the role for humans; 'slave of the machine'. Enlightenment is not definite in this liberal and vulgar mechanical version only. We should not forget that the Enlightenment is important as it 'exposes humanity's power for the *history maker* to view'.

Habermas's definition, 'modernity as an unfinished project' is useful for the modernity discussion for social sciences. He accepts modernity's dilemma and the practical problems of modernity such as the oppressive and disruptive dimensions; but, on the other hand, he emphasizes the 'potential of modernity' (Habermas, 1987). Modernity and the 'modernist' view have potential for humanity in Habermas's approach. Generally, what Habermas's most emphasizes about modernity is the 'democratic' potential of it (Habermas, 1987). In the historical process, modernity provides discussions of 'democracy' and it provides too many possibilities for humanity. Habermas generally focuses on the modernity problem on the 'human creative potential'; this view is in accordance with Marx's principal problematic and has been especially linked to his writings at his younger age.

In the thesis, the relationship between the working class and social

change was attempted to be understood through workers' experiences within the framework of Karabük. Meanwhile, the change of 'class', its self-expression through the historical development, the thoughts of working class on working class identity and similar points have been tried to be historically analyzed within different generations. The major structure of the study aims at contributing to the discussion on the working class in Turkey through the mental map of workers who worked at the factory that launched production in 1939 until recently and have been working currently.

First of all, it is considered to divide the historical process from 1939 to the present roughly into three periods and interviews were conducted with the workers regarding each period. The three periods are defined roughly based on macro economic framework. Statist policies, becoming 'more involved' in global economy after the first years, a system created based on the dominated cyclical paradigm of this era in accordance with 'import substitution' period, and finally regulations developed corresponding this period through domination of export-oriented economic approach globally..The last period is pretty significant in terms of outcome since it involves especially the 'privatization' and has more impact on the agenda accordingly. The thesis has tried to focus especially on the conversion of the last period in itself.

Periods:

1- 1939-1963

2- 1963-1980

3. 1980-Present (a- 1980-1995 b-1995-Present)

First of all, it is obvious that the periods shall not be divided this way in real life and history, and there are serious limitations. Besides, since this way of periodization serves to comprehend the process it is commonly utilized in studies. Ultimately there is an inevitable integrity between the previous and following periods. Settled dates both draw attention to the milestones of country's involvement in global economy and the legal regulations regarding working life during the indicated dates. For example, 1963 represents the most important 'legal' regulations ever made until then involving strike and collective bargaining in Turkey too. Starting from 1960s, those were the years that 'import substitution' was taken as a main reference for progress and economic development in the global economic order. Serious breakages were certainly experienced between 1939 and 1963, and the state's founding party the CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi -Republican People's Party) was forced to leave the power especially with the transition to the multi-party era in politics. However, the implementations and legal regulations of the DP (Demokrat Parti-Democratic Party) which came in power in 1950 did not represent a serious differentiation to prior periods 'as expected' in that period. At least it is possible to mention it in terms of legal regulations of working life. The Labour Minister at this time Bülent Ecevit who had noteworthy contributions to 1963 regulations had the serious support of groups that pretended to be struggling in favour of workers thanks to his regulations, which make the workspaces relatively orderly, but then clearly went for their own political careers in the forthcoming times. 1960s represented a more corporate association with the global system, and as import substitution period targeted the increase of consumption in the domestic market, it became 'the golden age' substantially for both working class and for the industrial cities like Karabük. A 'welfare'

environment unlike the previous period in terms of both regulation of the city and workers' social, cultural and economic opportunities is frequently referred by the period in the research process as well.

1980 was considered as another milestone. Before the coup in 1980, as the economic decisions on January 24 led to a new period, 'the coup' actually created the 'required' atmosphere for these regulations. The import substitution period that had difficulty in finding 'capital' globally brought a different approach to the stage for both welfare states in the West and underdeveloped states. After the 1980 regulations, that period in Turkey resulted against the workers as in the whole world. This period seriously affected the conditions of working class such as the wages, inflationary policies, as well as social rights and daily lives. At the time even the 'socialist block' made regulations mostly in favor of the market. For example, even though the regulations made in USSR in 1980, 1982, and 1983 and in Yugoslavia in between 1983 and 1984 did not consist of the very same content as in capitalist countries, they had in common in terms of collecting savings against the workers and identifying the areas to expend on (see Dyker, 2012).

Post-1980 period had a significant division in itself within the research. 1995 was quite important in Karabük. First the factory was attempted to be closed down and yet it was privatized due to the social pressure, and the privatization process was a first in Turkey and rare in the world that allowed workers and locals owning shares. 1995 was the most significant breaking point for the city and workers' life until then. Regulations after 1980 led to a great action by workers for the first time in Karabuk's history in 1980, and they reacted to the losses suffered in the 1980s. Second and more important date was 1995 privatization process. In this

regard, 1995 was a different, local, and the most important and sensible reflection of 1980 regulations. Therefore, it was particularly focused on this part of process in the research.

This study focuses on the story of three generations of the working class in Karabük particularly taking 'union history' into consideration. As the union processes provide significant information regarding the history of working class and working-class formation, it also summarizes workers' relation with the capital and the state relevantly. As a matter of course, a narrative union history through the working class by itself does not reflect the entire story of working class. However, it seems very important for the formation process of working class in Karabük.

1.1. The Importance and Aim of This Study

This study is an effort to understand the making process and change occurred in Karabük through the Iron and Steel Work.

Along with modernization and industrialization, "public investment" and "statism" can also be counted among the important concepts of this study. The social and cultural changes in Karabük have been looked at in the framework of the effects of the Iron and Steel Work. For this study, the experiences and life stories of old workers are the main data sources. In other words, to understand the change and making process in Karabük through the experiences of the workers is the main goal of this study.

The process of industrialization of Karabük occupies an important and specific space among the debates on this area. As an

interesting point, establishing the factory allows for the emergence of a new settlement. From this point, Karabük has a special place in the sense of effects of industrialization and as a founder in everyday life. The founder of Karabük is the factory. According to many thinkers, Karabük is an important milestone in the industrialization thrust of Turkey. Also, city and factory provide a convenient basis for discussing the notion of “public investments”. The dimensions, effects and aims of public investments are different from the private sector entrepreneurship.

As the basic concepts of this study, industrialization, modernization, space and the process of changing have been adopted in relation to the socio-cultural field. Besides that, through the notion of “experience” of E.P. Thompson, change processes are tried to be understood via “experiences of the working class”. Also, the process of “urbanization” is involved in this discussion by itself. Because before the establishment of the Iron and Steel Work Karabük was a small district with 13 households of Öğlebeli, Safranbolu township (Findikoğlu, 1962: 11), in 1937, before laying the foundation of factory, the area was completely empty - a small neighbourhood of a village settlement. After the investment, the area grew rapidly. For example, by the year 1941, the number of factory workers was only 3000 (Yazıcı, 1991: 58). This process points out the biggest change of this location. Moreover, this feature refers to the characteristic of “social lab”. Keeping in view the sometimes strategic and national security, sometimes social and economical factors, and classically without regarding the problematic of the substructure of capital and investments, the establishment of the factory enabled the emergence of a city directly.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

Bourdieu's 'habitus' is an important reference for conceptual framework of the study. The concept that may be considered to include the second and third of Katznelson's layers refer to different and dynamic sociability established by social, cultural and economic data. In this regard, the study includes the working class 'habitus' in Karabuk in a sense. In the study on the British working class by E.P. Thompson, he often benefited from historical and cultural data of the field. He received some criticism on 'originality' within this 'rich' historical and cultural data stack. Besides, one of the most important part of Thompson's meticulous study was not carried through 'a factory founded' and thus the working class culture that occurred, yet it was carried through the 'people's moral economy' concept created by 'clash of the market with some social traditions and values in the historical process (Thompson, 1993). Contradictions, responses, or alternatives were established through this main conflict. Thus as the first 'organizations' were by craftsmen and the first revolts to withstand the marketization of conventional social values such as 'revolts for bread', the reactions to prevent forest villagers from common use that existed for years also came into existence out of the same tension. However, the specific historical conditions became a part of this process at this point. The social, cultural, and historical environments by which the British working class in Thompson's examination was affected were quite significant. For example, the 'radical' movements' he often emphasized in his work were important for emerging working class culture whose structure was shaped by the French Revolution. The working class culture arouse from the tension in many different areas; the broadcasting, written culture, and alternatives in

religious field. However, it is not likely to see a similar case in Turkey's historical terms. While the effects of 'enlightenment' related to lower strata and spread to different social classes with different relations in the UK, this process was quite different in Turkey. Thompson showed the power and influence of working class culture and the effect of 'radical' groups of the period generally affected by effects of the Enlightenment appeared to be directly related (1963; 1991). Hoon (2004) emphasized the similar points through the data of his study on South Korea. Besides, the most important results of Thompson's thesis for this research were the areas where market and social values conflict. In this regard, modernist process in Turkey represented 'the new' by wide social groups, but the reactions about political consequences of this process ensued by wide social groups. What is the new urban life, a military-like labour in parallel to the military-based approach of the time and its social consequences for the first generation factory workers in particular in transition from 'peasantry' to labour? These questions were actually deepened forms of the ones asked by Thompson in Turkey's case. In this respect, the differences frequently highlighted between Turkey and Western societies and the working classes seem possible to track. The working class culture and working class identity are never considered independent from other social and cultural values and processes. If it were, it could be possible to speak of a timeless and placeless validity. However, all of these processes is intertwined with each other. This study also has to include the enlightenment and modernization process in Turkey in the discussions. Therefore, workers' making conceptualization via their own language was taken into consideration apart from the interventions to make the interviews semi-structured and ensure a certain system in interviews with workers. In the research process, the interviewee

was actually expected to speak within the framework drawn in terms of 'epistemological' aspects in advance through the fully structured forms. This approach utilized in a part of this study may be quite useful on the one hand, it consisted of quite many limitations in terms of interviewees' narrating their own mental map, knowledge and experience on the other hand. In this respect, in accordance with the theoretical approach adopted in the background and utilized, qualitative data, and qualitative data collection techniques are given more importance.

The importance of J.C. Scott's work (1990) for the thesis was that instead of simply seeing 'great historical events described', he actually suggested to focus on everyday practices that were more general and created historical events from a different perspective. He has been the target of severe criticism as well as attention from critical social science circles. He received criticism for banalizing 'resistance practices' by relating 'the resistance' to lies, equivocations, gossip and hypocrisy in daily life. However, the processes he noted were about daily life, and he clearly stated that such forms of resistance did not substitute 'major social movements'; on the contrary, these points should be examined in order to understand these processes (Scott, 1995). Scott's approach is based on subjects' movements within the frame of 'a certain sense' and it brings the 'consent' given in case of unequal relations up for discussion. 'Consent' is quite a controversial subject matter of critical social science literature since Gramsci. The Frankfurt School thinkers had a relatively 'pessimistic' approach about the consent / approval process in their own historical conjuncture. A process with extrinsic consent, adaptation and acceptance as Scott emphasized (1990) could go through a different channel to ensure the oppressed subjects' own safety.

When querying how the social reactions could occur unexpectedly out of a trouble-free and so called non-rebellious basis recently, Scott was quite right. The workers' collective reactions in Karabük were also rather limited in the historical process. For example, comparing the neighbouring province with Zonguldak or looking at active social process of the city and the factory in the 1970s, there was not a lot of collective action apparently. On the other hand, the workers in Karabük driven by the 1989 Spring Actions did not want to react 'at a stroke' surely, and these sorts of great social events are, in fact, always 'special and exceptional' cases as Scott stated. In this respect, in interviews with subjects the experiences gained in the process of 1989-1995 and most recently 2010 were not asked, and thoughts of daily lives and the times excluding great social processes have also been studied as well.

1.3. Research Questions and Methodology

It is possible to mention that my personal experience has an important role in determining the subject of the study and problematizing. Karabük, where the my family is based, and the factory where my grandfather worked for 38 years has been quite appealing for the researchers who want to study the working class. In fact, in some cases queried within the framework of this study include the questions in my mind for many years by formulations at different levels. It can be remarked as a source of motivation concerning the study for me. In addition, my old and established family relationships in the city have facilitated the access to more workers and in-depth information in the research process.

In the field research, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Accordingly in-depth-interviews have been carried out with 57 workers on behalf of all three generations. In-depth interviews were conducted through the semi-structured forms with 16 workers from the first period, 21 from the second, and 20 from the last period. The main data of the study comprise of these interviews. Furthermore, unstructured interviews were carried out via different questions with eight people including former unionists, a current unionist, a former mayor, local opinion leaders, a factory director, and an engineer who worked at the factory in the past. Interviews were carried out in center and several villages of Karabük, Safranbolu and Eskipazar districts, and also four interviews were in Ankara. Interviews were conducted at various times in 2013 and 2012. Most of the interviews were conducted in April and May 2012, and March and April 2013. During this research Karabük and Safranbolu were resided for about two months. Besides, Karabük was often visited for interviews and observations in various periods of time. On the other hand, for only 109 last generation (*workers who already working at Kardemir and start works after 1995*) workers was applied short survey (*56 question in the questionnaire*) for understanding their general 'tendencies'. Survey application was taken time nearly twenty days at 2012 June. In survey process, academician Çağdaş Ceyhan assisted survey application. However, this thesis basically based on qualitative datas.

Another source of data is the field research is the a focus group interview attended by a total of seven workers. The meeting was held in a cafeteria arranged in advance in Karabük city center on June 17, 2012, and 2 workers from so called first period, 2 from second period and 3 from the last period attended the focus group

interviews. Interviewers attended the process during field research, and the focus group interviews lasted approximately four hours. Although it was carefully paid attention that the workers should not know each other for the sake of results, in a relatively small city like Karabük it was observed that some acquaintance existed among the workers in certain levels. The thesis supervisor Prof. Mehmet Ecevit proposed organizing the interviews in a way that generations 'encounter with one another'. This interview provided more opportunities in terms of contribution than expected before it actually took place. Voice recorder could be used in a limited way in the interviews where quite interesting dialogues took place. Interviews could 'only be noted down' upon the workers' request that participated in the interviews and due to general needs in the environment. Due to the ongoing competition among the unions in 2012 there were some problems in the interviews. However, these interviews could possibly be analyzed as data.

Some basic points were highlighted in both in-depth-interviews and focus group study. These points also identified the essentials of the study as well. There are;

- 1-) Ideas on the factory and being a worker
- 2-) Ideas and experiences on the city and life
- 3-) Ideas and experiences on privatization
- 4-) Ideas on worker identity and working class
- 5-) Ideas on unions and politics

Four of these five basic axes as Katznelson (1986) pointed out referred to the economic structure, living conditions, shared values, and collective action. Besides, since 'privatization' was the most important event of the sector specifically and historically after the

foundation, and class experience and receiving positions became more difficult as well as it affected the city, factory, and the workers directly and powerfully, it was specifically evaluated under a separate title. During the focus group discussions, these five topics were identified and the interviews were directed in this order.

All eight questions of semi-structured forms in the in-depth interviews focused on this point. Apart from comparing the model Katznelson described as four layers, it was considered to be a facilitator in terms of the order of the study. Interviews in field research were being carried out in accordance with Katznelson's (1986) general framework. Although the proposed framework was in overall level, it actually had a bigger room for local authenticity. A discussion on class carried out in Turkey and Karabük in particular would definitely carry numerous different points from the examples in the West. First, not only was the state tradition different from the West but also it had a history that directly established the factory. Unlike the working class actions that shaped under the the leadership of workers with crafting roots in the USA, UK, and France, majority of the first workers of Karabük factory had no roots of 'crafting'. Safranbolu, a historical settlement near Karabük, a crafting production highly affected by heavy immigration in the early 1920s was concerned. Majority of the Karabük factory workers, unlike the working class in the West who was under the influence of traditional crafting and culture, were villagers. The difference was not just about social professional roots. The critical point is that the classes in the West associate the meeting ground for 'radical' or 'reformist' political movements with the tradition of crafting. Even the meaning of 'politics' may differ for working class in the West and Turkey. 'Politics' may be

associated with 'patronage' for a city depended heavily on state-owned factory for years like Karabük. It was noted as a unique case in the history for recruitment and the unions' interest in local politics. Besides, structural differences of 'organization' and 'union' as well as differences in formation process are noticed as another interesting point. It seems important to note these points within the scope of their originality in this thesis.

In the field research, Karabük was paid ongoing visits quite often for an opportunity to observe for about 2 years (2012-2013) apart from the three ways of collecting the targeted data (survey, in-depth interviews and focus groups). Finally in June 2015 another visit to the city was carried out. The research also bears some 'ethnographic' features that Foley's discussions (2010: 486-487) as well. Another data source in the study is these observations and interaction during the observations for sure. Both in-depth interviews and survey were wholly carried out in workers 'living areas'. There are no interviews in the workplace. As a conscious preference, this is considered make a positive contribution to the nature of the data. Besides, the business and factory in Karabük, which was not easy to enter, were paid 3 visits in different periods. The observations were carried out regarding working process during the visits.

CHAPTER 2

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CLASS IN THE 'UNDERDEVELOPMENT' PROBLEMATIC

2.1 Introduction

One single approach that can be defined in terms of industrialization and class formation in all social structures and the world will not serve accurate results. It is possible to detect various originalities in each example within the process of industrialization and class formation. Although it is not likely that the social and economic history of Western Europe consisted of a similar development as in the underdeveloped countries, the historical developments in the West regarding the subject also vary significantly from country to country (Katznelson 1986). An example in France and Germany or the developments in the USA and the UK can reveal quite different situations from one another. However, different countries and regions might also have parallels and connections within the examples. It is thought to be quite helpful to synthesize various scholars and approaches for a more efficient approach to the evaluation of 'a working-class' study conducted in a country like Turkey. For example, it was aimed to benefit from A. Bayat's studies especially when it entails the point of view of social classes in the 'underdeveloped' countries' though Thompson, Katznelson, Bourdieu, and Scott are considered to be the essential scholars as references of the study.

This section of the study focuses on the concept of 'class', and it has been discussed whether Thompson and French scholar Katznelson's approach, which tries to conceptualize class formation

in the historical process by addressing that class should be regarded as a 'process', can be associated with Bourdieu's approach. Along with these discussions, the emergence of Karabuk as a settlement has also been mentioned in this section. The discussion allowing understanding of features and originalities of underdeveloped countries has also focused on the story of Karabük turning into an 'industrial town'.

Modernism and the modernization process include very complex concepts from their 'starting points' to 'meaning' and specialities. On the other hand, the modernization process, industrialization and class formation in 'underdeveloped' countries constitutes a difficult and complex problematic for the social sciences and researchers. Unequal relations between nations, classes and regions make this problem rather complex and difficult to understand. Especially in the 1960's, interesting and effective debates became more powerful in the social sciences. Therefore, the critical perspective feeds into this debate even more. The 'dependency school' is important for this Third World 'Enlightenment process' that offers to the classical Marxist approach a significant argumentation for the social and economic world. The Dependency school and 'third world movements' are related to each other. This school comes on the scene with international movements and discussions. For example, this school arises in the early 1960s as a response to ECLA. During this same period, revolutionary and independence movements developed, especially after the Cuban Revolution (1959). This discussion directly relates to Marxism's theoretical problems and its disabilities concerning 'development'. 'Revolution' type is another headgear for this discussion that reflected in our country in the 1960s and the 1970s. Alvin reminds us of this point (1990: 92):

The dependency school was also a response to the crisis of the orthodox Marxism in Latin America in the early 1960s. From an orthodox communist viewpoint, the Latin American countries had to go through the stage of 'bourgeois' industrial revolution before they could wage a 'proletarian' socialist revolution. However, the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the Cuban Revolution in the late 1950s showed that Third World countries could skip the stage of bourgeois revolution.

This point shows the dependency school's position regarding 'the crisis of orthodox Marxism'. Modernization school's many approaches like some orthodox Marxism 'comments'. This rapprochement is especially about the 'evolutionary perspective'. Many versions of the orthodox Marxist approach highlight this 'evolutionary' emphasis. Moreover, Alvin points out (1990:18), that the modernization school adopted both an evolutionary theory and a functionalist theory. Especially on the 'evolutionist' viewpoint, modernization school's approach and orthodox Marxist approach like one another.

Dependency school puts forward interesting 'thoughts' for thinkers. For example, according to Frank, Third World countries could never follow the Western path because they have experienced 'colonialism' (1990:96). Modernization school does not put emphasis on this problem; moreover this school does not 'see' this reality. On the other hand, some Orthodox Marxists support this position 'indirectly' with especial reference to Marx's writings on India and Marx and Engels' newspaper writings about Mexico. They offer 'sharp stages' that is about social revolutions; and their expectations are the same for the European revolution process. Frank criticizes the modernization school with his 'external' explanation. According to him, the backwardness of the Third World

countries cannot be explained by feudalism or traditionalism as in Europe. Frank emphasizes the 'metropolis-satellite' conceptualization which refers to the exploitation-relation between developed and underdeveloped countries. This conceptualization accepts the 'external' explanation, the 'basic variable' for development. Dependency school thinkers generally stress that the transfer of economic surplus between developed and underdeveloped countries determines the 'underdeveloped' countries situation. On the other hand, we can compare this process to the 'carrot-stick' dichotomy. Regional polarization is one of the implications of this process. Alvin points out (1990:104):

(...) dependency is treated as a component of regional polarization of the global economy. On the one hand, the flow of surplus from Third World countries leads to their underdevelopment; on the other the development of Western countries benefited by this influx of economic surplus.

Capacity or quantity can change in this process; but 'quality' and the position of the world system cannot change without a 'break'. In this perspective, 'scales' and the program that is offered by the colonialist/imperialist system cannot interfere with the Third World countries position. Moreover, this situation is not related with only West and East or North and South; it creates complex relations on local class relations. Cardoso and Faletto point out (1979: 21-22):

...Insofar as, by definition, links of economic dependency imply a relationship between local and external classes, states and enterprises, the analyses of local social and political groups must include the connections with international partners. Some local classes or groups sustain dependency ties, enforcing foreign economic and politic interests.... Dependence should no longer be considered an 'external variable'; its analysis should be based on the relations between the

different social classes within dependent nations themselves.

This point is important for understanding the complicated relations between state and classes with the modernization and industrialization process in 'underdeveloped' areas/countries. The developing/underdeveloped countries are by no means repeating the same history of the developed countries; the historical conditions are different (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979: 24). This situation is valid for these countries social classes and their 'formations' that are shaped with collective and individual 'experiences'. These countries' working class experienced the industrialization and modernization process within this complicated frame. Also, the 'development' or modernization process is a rather complex debate in underdeveloped countries and their working class. Probably, each underdeveloped country's people experienced this situation in a different form; however for the upper-abstraction grade this complicated process is admissible for all. Maybe, in this visible situation, in Turkey religion or 'reactive reflects' conflicts with 'modern' values, but on the other hand this conflicts refers to a different process on the upper abstraction grade. Class formation and relations have definitely been effected by these circumstances. On the other hand, these 'critics' are not out of the 'modernist' approach in the general stage.

Some thinkers suggest some different specialities of the Third World countries' working class. Peter Lloyd accepts that the Third World is not homogeneous because of their industrialization grades (1982: 22); but on the other hand, he uses this term as an expository tool for the 'underdeveloped' conditions with general class debates. Lloyd emphasizes some characteristics of the Third World economies and class formation. 'Enclave' economic pattern,

economic control by the state, population structure of these countries and the general development patterns are the important point for him to understand the working class formation. In these underdeveloped areas, especially in the informal sector, workers importance in total working class pattern. On the other hand, he suggests 'proto-proleteriat' specialities for 'the wage earners in large industrial and commercial enterprises and the public services' despite their relationships being similar to those in industrial nations (1982: 51). Their rural linkages and social characteristics are important for him. Therefore Lloyd discusses the 'privileged' characteristics of the workers who work at big industrial plants and especially work in the public sector. He criticizes that researchers who support this group are politically conservative because of their 'privileged' position based on their relatively high wages, like Landsberger (Lloyd, 1982: 119). He focuses on the exploitation grade and specialities of capital intensiveness of the companies and workers' productivity grade. Moreover Lloyd points out (1982: 119):

Secondly, these groups tend to be among the most militant - in most senses of the word. It is they who are most exploited and they are conscious of this. Bargaining, however, tends to be confined within the company. Selfishness is also seen in their apparent lack of concern for the poor - but what, in effect, could they do? As we have seen, this militancy is not interpreted by the poor antagonistically - it is viewed as leadership...The gains of the privileged are quickly passed to the poor through increased prices in the informal sector and through systems of mutual aid. Social ties between these supposed aristocrats and the poor remain strong.

Katznelson defines it as follows; "Capitalism is lived in particular locations at particular times" (1993: 204). This expression is

meaningful for the broad life, work conditions and class relations. The modernization process and industrialization are experienced by people in particular conditions; especially the capitalism's effects on underdeveloped country's working people is meaningful for this statement with unequal and combined development process in the world.

The definition and understanding of the 'making class' formation, is only effectual with global and economic, social and cultural relations, and interactions. The modernization and industrialization process can be understood in this frame. On the other hand, working class debates are as complicated as modernity debates. Katznelson cites from Irwing Howe that "the working class is a reality, but the proletariat is an idea" (1993:206). Katznelson improves Thompson's approach that is based on the historical Marxist position. Katznelson's class 'formation' approach has more sensitive steps than Thompson's general approach; he suggests four steps to defining the 'making' class process; first is the classical model of empty places within the mode of production; the second step refers to the dimension of 'at work and off work' time of the workers; the third stage, like Bourdieu's 'habitus' conceptualization that based on tendencies of cognitive and linguistic positions and life experiments, the last one is based on 'collective' action (Katznelson, 1993: 208-209). These steps can be helpful for researchers to understand the 'making' class process with a multidimensional view. Especially in underdeveloped countries, this approach can be useful to understand the complicated social processes for the working people to 'realize' their 'identities'.

2.2. Class Debates and Class Formation as a Process

In contrast to European history, Turkish history has the characteristics of many different specialties in numerous fields. Class formation, modernization process or industrialization is definitely not out of this shot. In this position, it is important that there are some differences with 'Western' societies. In Europe, there are some important debates about different social and class formations (see Katznelson & Zolberg, 1986). On the other hand, the American history of class relations has got many differences in comparison with European samples. Cumbler points out this situation (Cumbler, 1986: 39):

In America, those whole cultures were made up of people who spoke different languages, attended different churches, and understood different national symbols. These differences have led historians to evaluate ethnic and religious differences as being more significant than those of social class.

These 'differences', are generally used as a sample of 'counter-example' by conservative researchers against holistic-universal social theories. Cumbler emphasizes the importance of E.P. Thompson's approach against the 'monic' positions of conservative social thinkers. For Cumbler, Thompson's approach allows defining specificities with universality. Classes affected and molded the conditions of their subjection and thus were not totally passive in the process of class formation (Cumbler, 1986: 57). Thompson's approach is notably useful for understanding peculiarities with universal form, especially in his abstraction level.

The undeveloped country's social and cultural conditions in this

debate have more complexity. This issue is not only directly about late industrialization, but also these country's cultural, economic, historical differences and the relations with the 'centre' are important points. Assef Bayat points out that 'elitist' and 'Euro-centrist' views have mistakes about local historical processes in the Iranian sample. He emphasizes that the local 'peculiar' Islamic historiography is insufficient (1994: 181-184). And Bayat offers that thought on peculiarities with universal approach. In his debate about the Iranian working class, however, the Iranian sample and the Turkish sample are carrying more close specialties than the European samples. Bayat says that the elitist and Orientalist writers tend to ignore the Iranian working class' existence a priori, by denying it as a socially meaningful category; on the other hand, Marxists assume a predetermined historical character, a political ideology and cultural traits for the working class. In general, Bayat says that they all, in fact, tell us 'what the working class ought to be, rather than what is really is' (1994: 185). For Bayat, E.P. Thompson's notion of 'experience' represents an attempt to bridge the gap between the class position and consciousness. According to Thompson, members of a class come to feel and articulate the identity of their interests as a result of their common (class) experiences, which are determined largely by their class position (Bayat, 1994: 187). For Bayat this approach is important for understanding the process. However, on the other hand, after he defines Thompson's approach, Bayat remarks its limits (1994:188):

...This working class developed in a particular cultural setting is characterized by the 'freeborn Englishman', liberalism, the traditions of self-help, and so on. Therefore, a generalization of the previous conceptualizations represents either Euro - or, even more precisely, Anglo centrism. The consciousness of the working class, as such, cannot be presumed to be as necessarily secular, or socialist, or manifested in

the organization of a party of labor. Workers' consciousness is historically specific and can assume different forms in different historical conditions. Religion, such as Islam, may well be a means to articulate class consciousness among certain Muslim workers.

Moreover Bayat's 'religion' emphasizes that Islam has got different sects and remarks. For example, Bayat's sample of Iran is dominated by the 'shia' sect and it has got more 'rebellious' remarks in its historical background. It cannot only be evaluated by the Ali Shariati character, but also by the 'shia' faith, based on a more 'egalitarian' approach in Islamic history with this faith's rise. Alike Shia faith, the egalitarian Islamic view is exposed by some radical thinkers in Turkey (see Eliaçık 1994, 1995, 2011). However, Iran's population is dominated by the Shia faith of Islam, Turkey's population is generally of the Sunni remark of Islam. This difference is parallel with Bayat's consideration. Therefore, out of other components and differences, even the same 'religion' sometimes cannot explain the same 'shared' values.

Hagen Koo is another researcher in working class culture that takes note of Thompson's approach. Koo's works on the Korean working class, based on Thompson's view, and it takes form with Thompson's approach, essentially. Koo takes note of Thompson's words that "class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition" (Koo, 2001: 8). From Korea to Iran and from Europe to America, Thompson's 'flexible' view on class definition is so effective in working class studies, especially in the last twenty years. But, what is the reason for this situation and Thompson's approach' effectiveness.

E.P. Thompson's studies are based on detailed historical data. He

used this data with sensitiveness. First of all, his approach is based on 'living people'. He frequently emphasizes this important standpoint with his discussion works and predominant works. Historically, Thompson's view about the 'formation' of the working class has got interesting differences from the 'classical Marxist' approach. Thompson rejected starting the discussion with 'industrial structures' and 'working class' as its 'outputs'. Plebs and patrician's tension and the roots of social conflict are important notions for Thompson. 'The moral economy of crowds' is one of his main definitions for starting the discussion. Being 'new' does not symbolize being 'progressive' in simple terms. New money and market centered values clash with 'traditional values'. The classical Marxist approach looks so different from the 'change' and new' that Thompson points out that (Thompson, 1991: 9-10):

Hence one characteristic paradox of the century: we have a rebellious traditional culture. The conservative culture of the plebs, as often as not, resists, in the name of custom, to those economic rationalizations and innovations (such as enclosure, work discipline, unregulated 'free' markets in grain) which rulers, dealers, or employers seek to impose. Innovation is more evident at the top of society than below, but since this innovation is not some norm less and neutral technological/sociological process ('modernization, 'rationalization') but is the innovation of the capitalist process, it is most often experienced by the plebs in the form of exploitation, or the expropriation of customary use-rights, or the violent disruption of valued patterns of work and leisure (...) Hence the plebeian culture is rebellious, but rebellious in the defense of custom. The customs defended the people's own, and some of them are in fact based upon rather recent assertions in practice...

Customary use-rights and generally customary 'rights' and 'market values are crashed in social, cultural and economic areas. In this 'crash', common sometimes uses paternalist tools and, on the

other hand, rulers use the same tool for different targets. These contradictions have got a complex structure and they come up in several types. Thompson emphasizes that these clashes and confrontations 'picturize' the 18. Century social tensions. He says that (1991: 12):

In another sense, the problems are different, and perhaps more acute, for the capitalist process and non-economic customary behavior are in active and conscious conflict, as in resistance to new patterns of consumption ('needs'), or in resistance to technical innovations or work-rationalizations which threaten to disrupt customary usage and, sometimes, the familial organization of the productive roles. Hence, we can read much eighteenth-century social history as a succession of confrontations between an innovative market economy and the customary moral economy of the plebs.

In this discussion, it is clear that these confrontations have got a complex structure. Thompson says that we can see the prefigurements of 'subsequent class formations and consciousness in these confrontations. The social identity (or identities) of many working people may be 'ambiguous'. The same situation is valid for the 'social phenomenon'. It can be of a different spectrum in different conditions. Koo reminds that the Korean working-class formation process creates 'new language' with old alphabet. Moreover, Koo emphasizes that, from the beginning of the industrialization process, workers' most urgent demands were humane treatment and justice rather than higher wages or better working conditions. Koo says that, in this regard, there are some similarities between the Korean and the earlier European workers; for both, a moral sense of 'justice' played a critical role in defining workers' reactions to their 'proletarian' work relations (Koo, 2001: 16). Traditional forms can change in these confrontations, in the

Korean sample; we can see 'loyalty' based cultural changes with 'struggle' process. At the beginning, this important notion of the Korean traditional social notion was used by rulers; however, in the 'process', this 'same loyalty' was used by trade-unions and workers' organizations for different purposes. Koo points out that 'pre-industrial' elements of Korean culture give interesting tools for workers in a time. Koo notes that (2001: 19):

Thus, culture and politics have played critical roles in the formation of the South Korean working class, not in the usual roles ascribed to them in the literature on 'East Asian development' - as factors of labour docility and quiescence - but as sources of labour resistance and growing consciousness.

Thompson's view put forward a tool that easily explained the 'working class mind' related with traditional roots. It is an influential 'dialectic' comment in the Marxist approach, with historical contrasts and permanency. Marx says about dialectic materialism in Capital (Marx, Capital, 1993: Afterwords):

In its rational form, it is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time, also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

Thompson is rather sensitive about historical materialism and 'reason's' position. In his famous discussion with Althusser and his historical materialist view; substratum of 'historical materialist' approach is the Thompson's take off point. He says that (1978: 4):

(...) Althusser and acolytes challenge, centrally, historical materialism itself. They do not offer to modify it but to displace it. In exchange they offer an a-historical theoreticism which, at the first examination, discloses itself as idealism. How then is it possible for these two to co-exist within one single tradition? Either a very extraordinary mutation has been taking place, in the last few years, in the Marxist tradition: or that tradition is now breaking apart into two - or several - parts. What is being threatened -...- is entire tradition of substantive Marxist historical and political analysis, and its accumulating (if provisional) knowledge. And if (as I suppose) Althusserian Marxism is not only an idealism but has many of the attributes of a theology, then what is at issue, within the Marxist tradition, is the defence of reason itself.

Thompson rejects class definition as a 'categorical phenomenon; he offers to focus on 'process' and 'experiences' in this process. He thinks that when 'class' uses a 'categorical' phenomenon, it will be disqualified and fail to understand the social reality and the dynamic social change process with 'struggle'. Thompson evaluates the 'consciousness' matter in the same theoretic direction. Class and 'its consciousness' cannot be separated from each other. Where and when can we say 'the truth' class consciousness or false? Thompson makes a point of this situation and his 'process-centered' approach rejects to separate 'class' and 'class consciousness' from each other. Thompson notes that (1978: 298):

...Class formations...arise at the intersection of determination and self-activity: the working class 'made itself as much as it was made'. We cannot put 'class' here and 'class consciousness' there, as two separate entities, the one sequential upon the other, since both must be taken together - the experience of determination, and the 'handling' of this in conscious ways. Nor can we deduce class from a static 'section' (since it becoming over time), nor as a function of a mode of production, since

class formations and class consciousness (while subject to determinate pressures) eventuate in an open-ended process of relationship - of struggle with other classes - over time.

Class relations are lived and experienced not only at the workplace but also in residence communities or other 'social' networks. On the other hand, beside the importance of the specificity of different social structures; 'there is no guarantee that the working class would act collectively to transform disposition to actual behavior' (Bahl, 1995:27). Collective actions may not be in the same form or content. However, some thinkers try to 'organize' and get more 'comparable' forms to give Thompson's theory. Katznelson is an interesting name for this endeavour. He suggests that 'class in capitalist societies be thought of as a concept' with four connected layers of theory and history: those of structure, ways of life, dispositions, and collective action (Katznelson, 1986: 10). In brief, we can define these layers like this; the first level is the structure of the capitalist economic development, (experience-distant); the second level, determined in part by the structure of capitalist development, refers to the social organization of society lived by actual people in real social formations.(experience-near); the third Level relates to the classes and defines that 'classes' are formed groups, sharing dispositions. The fourth and last layer is about collective action (Katznelson, 1986: 10-18). Katznelson's try is important because it provides an 'advancing' stage for Thompson's approach. As, in Thompson's view we can produce a 'unique' sample for all the studying areas. The criticism of the 'holistic' view creates a different problematical situation, like defining all social situations and process as a 'pure unique' sample without any links with 'universal'. This point, it is an important tension in social sciences: contingency and determination. Where the start of their

boundaries begins or ends? Katznelson notes on that (1986: 23):

Class behavior and organization had a contingent but not unbounded or entirely open relationship to changes in the structure of society and the ways of life these alterations made possible.

Vinay Bahl criticizes the Subalternist and Post-modernist arguments in the way they define all areas as 'unique'. She points out the dangers of 'writing history based on 'cultural practices' alone' (1995: 22). Bahl notes that every culture has evolved not only within its own geographical boundaries, but also by learning from other cultures and adapting ideas or discoveries to its own needs and circumstances. Marx's definition of social chance is significant for Bahl that people make their own history, but they do not make it as they please (1995:22). At this point, about 'contingency', Bourdieu's definition can be a good sample. Bourdieu compares the structure of a field to that of a 'poker game' where the pile of chips reflects the unequal distribution of capital, or dealing 'cards' symbolize different conditions. On the other hand, you can create different strategies with your 'own' capitals. Bourdieu says that to Wacquant's question about understanding the field with the use of an analogy of a game (1992: 98):

We also have *trump cards*, that is, master cards whose force varies depending on the game: just as the relative value of cards changes with each game, the hierarchy of the different species of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) varies across the various fields, in other words, there are cards that are valid, efficacious in all fields - these are the fundamental species of capital - but their relative value as trump cards is determined by each field and even by the successive states of the same field.

Of course, every analogy has restricted value for description. However, sometimes it can be convenient for understanding. Bourdieu's discussion based on social sciences' is one of the main debates that is about structure and subject. We can find this discussion in different appearances like as in contingency, determination' dichotomy, etc. Bourdieu's analogy is like Marx's definition, which focuses on 'freedom' and 'limitedness' of humans in history. Dialectical determination opposite to essentialism (Özuğurlu, 2005: 35). On the other hand, in general, solid deterministic views fall into 'error' because they are close to 'essentialism'. This commentary crowds out 'contingency' and the effect of 'act'. Özuğurlu said that this perspective can be defined as mechanistic determinism and it has no concern with historical materialism (2005: 36). At this point, a flexible and relation based view can be an effective tool for this discussion. For Atkinson, 'in a formula, the *substance* of class may have altered over time but the *relations* structuring the objective and subjective field of possibilities remains as obdurate as ever' (Atkinson, 2010: 427).

At high-level of abstraction Thompson's approach is rather useful. It signs that the rejection of the formation of the working class is considered to be the almost automatic result of the industrialization process. Thompson has shown that 'the theatre of class can only be watched in the medium of time' in his approach (Kalb, 1997: 11). His argument generally focuses on the criticism of reductionism. Kalb points out the following about Thompson's approach (1997: 11):

...Concepts such as proletarianization and working class formation have been coined to designate the nature and direction of social change during the 'long' nineteenth century. But though helping to prevent crude, mechanistic, and synchronic versions of reductionism, these

processual concepts are now also questioned for carrying overly reductionist assumptions.

Thompson's anti-reductionist view focus on 'real history' that is created by 'people'. He rejects acquiescent 'change processes' without people's effects and resistances. Crowds/people's 'snowballing reactions against 'new regulations' are the basic force of formation of class. For example, food riots could not only be considered as 'hunger movements' or like this. He said that a 'riot' is not a 'natural' or 'obvious' response to hunger but a sophisticated pattern of collective behaviour, he said that a riot is “a collective alternative to individualistic and familial strategies of survival” (Thompson, 1991: 266).

2.3. History, Marxism and Theory

Marxism is focused on the historical process of humanity while using the 'historical materialist' tool. However, there are some important differences in defining history and focus on the change process. The structuralist and historical Marxist views discussion is one of the main problems for the Marxist perspective. Especially, after the middle of 20th century, this discussion and controversy positions affects critical social sciences.

Determination and 'agent' concepts have got an important position in this debate. The historical determination and effectiveness of class (or humanity) discussion is an interesting debate for Marxism. In general, extreme deterministic approaches are rejected by Marxist theorists. On the other hand, the structuralist view has gain an important position for critical social sciences. E.P. Thompson

argued against the structuralist view of Marxism that was firstly represented by Althusser. Thompson states that Althusser and his supporters do not improve Marxism; on the contrary, they aim for the remove of 'historical materialism' (Thompson: 1978: 3). For Thompson, Althusser's position about 'change process' is like the 'idealistic' form, as in before Marxism. This structuralist view 'keeps out' the whole experience process of humans or class (1978: 5). The key concept of Thompson's approach is 'experience', and his approach is based on this ground, that puts forward class struggle and the role of 'humanity' in the change process. In this point, E.P. Thompson clearly states that he rejected to evaluate class as a structure or 'category' (Thompson, 1966: 357):

Class is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly, or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and, ultimately, the definition can only be made in the medium of *time* - that is, action and reaction, change and conflict. When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely -defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions, and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways...

Thompson's historical and agency-oriented conception of class stresses the role of culture and institutions in shaping people's 'lived experiences', within the production process and outside of it (Koo, 2001: 9). This point is so important, because this affects the whole historical view. For example, in Thompson's studies, or his followers, emphasize the important role of artisans and artisan culture for the 'formation' of the working class. They found many samples and evidence for this process not only for England, but

also in different countries, especially in Europe. Koo finds some parallels between this approach for the Korean working class formation process (Koo, 2001).

The Althusserian approach of Marxism has got a strict structuralist view and offers static formal categories as models of dynamic social process for E.P. Thompson. On the other hand, Thompson's criticisms and contributions are not only in opposition to Althusser's position but also these workings affect the Marxist tradition and approach in general. Gray said that (Gray, 1990: 176):

Thompson is certainly right to resist to structuralisms (including aspects of Althusser) that appear to consign historical agents to passivity. But his proposed alternatives contain their own difficulties. He offers the term 'experience' as the key to understanding how men and women live their own history, the dynamic of struggle and change...Thompson also makes larger claims for the notion of experience, offering it as the missing 'genetics' of Marx' account of social change'...

The 'experience' concept is one of the main arguments and contribution from Thompson to critical social sciences and Marxism. The structuralist view and agents' such as 'pacifism' are not only in Althusser's argument; this approach can be found in the classic works. During the physical sciences 'boom years', Marx and Engels were affected by this general approach. On the other hand, we can find different or contrary approaches to the definitions of some concepts. For example, 'ideology' is an interesting sample for different definitions in different conditions (see Eagleton, 2005). Real people and their experiences are the main notions of Thompson's view. Of course, he uses the Marxist perspective and theory; however his contributions are not only a quantitative

'supplement' for Marxism but also a 'qualitative' one.

Thompson's approach, on the other hand, separates from the 'Frankfurt School's pessimist historical perception. About problems of determination and 'people's passive position against dominant ideology', Thompson's position is so different (Thompson, 1993: 87):

It follows that I cannot accept the view, popular in some structuralist and Marxist circles in Western Europe, that hegemony imposes an all-embracing domination upon the ruled - or upon all those who are not intellectuals - reaching down to very threshold of their experience, and implanting within their minds at birth categories of subordination which they are powerless to shed and which their experience is powerless to correct. This may perhaps have happened here and there, but not in England, not in the 18th century.

2.4. Building a Bridge Between E.P. Thompson and P. Bourdieu

Thompson's approach that is based on 'experience' provides some important possibilities to researchers to understand society. On the other hand, in the medium-abstraction level, it provides some limitedness. First of all, he uses very detailed specific historical material that comes from the English society. Secondly, he offers flexible and free space to the researcher for analyzing the process. In a different cultural and economic atmosphere, we can use different tools for analyzing the process. For example, in one of the important points of his study, he uses 'written materials' from the working class community from the English working class network (see Thompson, 1963). In Turkish samples, written materials of

working class culture are much more limited than in the English sample.

We can state some important similarities between the two thinkers. Firstly, both of them have a critical position against 'theoretical fatalism', which emerges in the pure-deterministic approaches. Therefore, both of them put forward the importance of cultural areas. And they have a high opinion of 'human act'; one of them drives forward 'experience', one of them puts forward 'habitus' and 'field' conceptions. Their discussions and positions are all related to 'contingency-determinism' tension in social sciences; specifically in critical social sciences. Besides that, they have not a 'pessimistic' position about human history as other contemporary 'critical theoreticians'.

In Thompson's studies we can find some references that give importance 'habitus' conception' of Bourdieu. In his collected works *Customs in Common* he notices habitus concept that is important for understanding his own approach (Thompson, 1991: 102):

The agrarian custom was never a fact. It was an ambience. It may best be understood with the aid of Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' - a lived environment comprised of practices, inherited expectations, rules with both determined limits to usages and disclosed possibilities, norms and sanctions both of law and neighborhood pressures. The profile of common right usages will vary from parish to parish according to innumerable variables...

In this passage, Thompson emphasizes that Bourdieu's concept is stricter than his perspective. However, he shows the importance of Bourdieu's conception. Moreover, when Thompson focuses on time

and capitalism relation, he references to Bourdieu's work, which is about Algerian peasants with emphasized parallelism (Thompson, 1991: 356). In general, their conceptions are alike. Bourdieu's works focuses more on the medium-abstraction level in general. Thompson is critical about a 'stricter' concept based on this situation. Because, when someone creates a comparable theoretical tool, he/she is obligated to 'draw' a stricter total scheme.

Some followers of Bourdieu find relations between Thompson's and Bourdieu's 'class' approach. Vester importantly notes that contrary to a historic myth of 'proletarian collectivism' when the working class made 'history', the concept is autonomy (Vester, 2005: 83). In this case Thompson and Bourdieu's discussions are quite parallel. Especially about working-class culture forms of local identification and interaction, Thompson gives important possibilities for the researchers. His works are defined as understanding class in local contexts (Savage, Bagnall, Longhurst, 2005:101). In the context of local studies of class culture, Bourdieu and Thompson's approaches have some parallelism. In the local context, there are more relations about power and it is possible to see different and affluences of facts easily in the 'process' of the working class formation. Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst state the following about Bourdieu's approach (2005: 101):

Bourdieu sees social distinction as being inherently spatial in character: the powerful depend on being spatially distinct from powerless, and situations which bring these classes into interaction are dealt with through the ritualisation of encounter, in which the structuring of interaction usually allows the powerful to retain control.

Wacquant remarks that the concepts of field and habitus are some of the most important concepts of Bourdieu. They can be used in different conditions and they have got flexibility. On the other hand, they provide a comparable research area. He defines Bourdieu's concepts in their specialties (Wacquant, 1992: 16):

What is special about Bourdieu is the zeal and relentlessness with which he deploys such a conception, as evidenced by the fact that both of his key concepts of *habitus and field designate bundles of relations*. A field consists of a set of objectives, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action.

Bourdieu uses 'the habitus' concept as an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to established 'between practices and situation' (Bourdieu, 1989: 101). This concept is directly related with 'practice'. Habitus reference to the limits of human 'free will'. Habitus is on one level 'structuring structure. On the other hand, it is not only a structuring structure. It organizes practices and the perception of practices. Habitus and 'dispositions' have an important relation. Dispositions and 'habitus' reserve in themselves 'past events and history'. This history has influences on now and the future. With the 'habitus' concept, Bourdieu tries to define the 'contingency' discussion. He said the following about the notion of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1992: 120):

(...) All I want to say here is that the main purpose of this notion is to break with the intellectualist (and intellectualocentric) philosophy of action represented in particular by the theory of homo-economicus as

rational agent, which rational choice theory has recently brought back in fashion at the very time when a good number of economists have repudiated it (often without saying so or realizing it fully)...

Capital and field are the other crucial concepts in Bourdieu's theory. In Bourdieu's theory of social class, it is not 'only' defined by a 'property'. In his words, "not even the most determinant one, such as the volume and composition of capital" (1989: 106). In Bourdieu's view, the notion of 'capital' has a broader involvement than the Marxist approach; it is not only about 'property' or 'economics', it has cultural and social dimensions. In this context, it can be defined in different capital types, as economic, cultural, social or symbolic. 'Field' is about the 'social arena' in which people act in. Bourdieu's formulation is clear (Bourdieu, 1989: 101):

...[(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field = Practice...

The materialization of 'practice' proceeds with this formulation in Bourdieu's approach. Thompson's 'experience' concept is basic for his approach that is very parallel with Bourdieu's set of concepts. He discusses experience with 'traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms' (Thompson, 1963: 10). Both Thompson and Bourdieu try to understand the 'complexity' of the 'act'. Bourdieu uses Weberian terminology more than Thompson; however, on the other hand, these general discussions have significant analogies. For example, the 'disposition' term is useful and crucial for both of them. Thompson says the following about class and 'experience' with disposition concept (Thompson, 1966: 357):

When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences,

traditions and value-system, who have a *disposition* to *behave* as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening.

Some followers of Bourdieu emphasize that, generally, R. Williams and E.P. Thompson have key roles for the present importance of the cultural dimension of social analysis in critical approaches (Bennett, Savage, Silva et. All, 2009: 196). In this respect, maybe it can be said that Katznelson's efforts symbolize and create a linkage between Bourdieu and Thompson. His classification struggles in Thompson's view and includes Bourdieuan concepts like the importance of 'disposition' (see Katznelson, 1986). He suggests that class in capitalist societies be thought of as a concept with four connected layers of theory and history: those of structure, ways of life, dispositions, and collective action (Katznelson, 1986: 10). In Rosaldo's view, the most important dimension of Thompson's can be defined as 'a study in an active process, which owes as much to agency as to conditioning' (Rosaldo, 1990:108). This situation is directly related to the 'contingency' problematic in social theory; especially in Marxism. Bourdieu's approach based on this discussion is similar to E.P. Thompson's. In spite of the fact that Thompson evaluates Bourdieu's approach as 'so stricter'; Bourdieu emphasizes its aspect of 'open process' (Bourdieu, 1992: 133):

Habitus is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal! Having said this, I must immediately add that there is a probability, inscribed in the social destiny associated with definite social

conditions, that experiences will confirm habitus, because most people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to agree with those that originally fashioned their habitus.

Thompson's and Bourdieu's approaches not only give us a useful tool for the general social change process, but also sensibilities of their thesis that are about 'specificity'; they can be used in underdeveloped countries samples. In Thompson's view, consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way (Thompson, 1963: 10). Cultural superstructure has a precious position in both of their approaches that is an important dimension of the underdeveloped countries' experience.

A similar approach about relation of structure and subject is in the 'Feminist Standpoint Theory' that is based on the Marxist general view. In general, it is formulated by Sandra Harding (see Harding edi. 2003). Other important names in this theory are Dorothy Smith, Nancy Hartsock and Donna Harriway. The Standpoint theory "starts from the lives" of the oppressed. The differences in those lives will produce differences in standpoint projects (Crasnow, 2009: 190). The discussion of Harding is not only related to 'gender', she tries to overcome the theoretical problem about 'oppressed' people and tries to understand the least advantaged groups. Harding offers to note the voice of voiceless groups. She says that (Harding, 1991: 150):

Begin research in ... the lives of strangers who have been excluded from the culture's ways of socializing with the "natives", who are at home in their institutions and who are full-fledged citizens ... from the lives of the systematically oppressed, exploited, and dominated, are those who have fewer interest in ignorance about how the social order works.

The Feminist Standpoint Theory accepts that knowledge is socially situated, and the researcher should start his/her study with focus on 'power relations'. The notion of 'standpoint', as a concept, comes from G. Lukacs's studies. The feminist standpoint theoreticians refer to Lukacs' critique of Western science and rationalism, his emphasis on the standpoint of the proletariat and consciousness (Ellis, Fopp, 2001: 2). Lukacs uses the 'standpoint' notion for critique of the modern rationalist thought and 'scientific' epistemologies that 'keep back' power relations. In his perspective, this concept symbolizes different 'realities'. Lukacs notes that (1972: 176):

The place in society, and hence the viewpoint of the proletariat, goes further than the example just cited in one vital qualitative way... Bourgeois thought, however, remains enmeshed in fetishistic categories and in consequence the products of human relations become ossified, with the result that such thought trails behind objective developments... The proletariat, however, stands at the focal point of this socializing process. On the one hand, this transformation of labor into a commodity removes every 'human' element from the immediate existence of the proletariat, on the other hand the same development progressively eliminates everything 'organic', every direct link with nature from the forms of society so that socialized man can stand revealed in objectivity, remote from or even opposed to humanity. It is just in this objectification, in this rationalization and reification of all social forms that we see clearly for the first time how society is constructed from the relations of men with each other.

In Lukacs' view, proletariat is defined as a 'subject-object of history' (1972: 148-149). His studies take note of overcoming the problem of 'dichotomies'. For Lukacs, dialectic, that is the main element of Hegel's theory, provides a way to overcome this problem. For

instance, Lukacs uses 'praxis' conception rather than 'practice' and 'theory' as separate concepts. He uses the 'praxis' concept in human liberty and in the sociological determinism discussion. The identity of the subject and object is one of the main themes of Lukacs' approach. With alienation and 'reification' in capitalism, the human mind is affected by it. Reification requires that a society should learn to satisfy all its needs in terms of commodity exchange (1972: 91). Like Lukacs' usage, the Standpoint theory uses 'standpoint' conception in a similar way. Proletariat and women, their positions and experiences have been evaluated 'similarly' by these thinkers. One of the main thesis of the Standpoint Theory is the 'situated-knowledge thesis' that has been interpreted as the claim that women have a distinct way of knowing, different from that of men (Intemann, 2010: 783). This definition is similar to Lukacs' definition of 'proletariat' and the usage of 'standpoint of proletariat' conception. Identity of object and subject and considering them in the historical process are the important common points for the Lukacsian approach and the Feminist Standpoint Theory.

Feminist Standpoint theoreticians generally make reference to the notion of 'experience'. For example, Dorothy Smith notes women's experiences as the starting point for research projects in her sociology (Smith, 1987). Harding emphasizes that one of the main important aspects of this theory is the focus on 'oppressed' groups. In society, "experiences of oppressed groups enable insights about how the society functions that are not available - or at least not easily available - from the perspective of dominant group activity" (Harding, 2009: 194). For definition of subject, 'experience'-centered interpretations are generally focused on subject-structure tension with acceptably 'freedom' of subject. In different cases 'this

freedom' of subject against structure is more or less powerful. However, generally, 'experience-centered' approaches pay attention to the subject's capacity in relationship with structure. For Jameson, the 'feminist standpoint theory' emphasizes an experience of the collective that is different from the active collective praxis of workers and already constitutively experienced as that community and cooperation (Jameson, 2004: 147). Epistemologically, the standpoint theory tries to overcome the 'simple dualism'. The definition of 'Subject-object of history' is one of the key concepts in this approach. Hartsock emphasizes that (2004: 37):

...Rather than a simple dualism, it posits a duality of levels of reality, of which the deeper level or essence both includes and explains the 'surface' or appearance, and indicates the logic by means of which the appearance inverts and distorts the deeper reality...

Hartsock notes that this approach can be found in Marx's studies. She says that if one examines Marx's account of the production and extraction of surplus value, one can see in it the elaboration of each of the claims contained in the concept of a 'standpoint'. (Hartsock, 2004: 39).

2.5. 'Karabük': Before Heavy Industry

Before the heavy industry period, Karabük has no ancient settlement speciality. However, if we evaluate Karabük as a 'broad' region which includes Eskipazar, Safranbolu and other districts, we can find some historical data. Until the period of the Republic, Karabük does not have a 'real settlement history'. However, it

would be appropriate to look at the surrounding settlements of Karabük.

In the Hittites age, this region was defined within Paphlagonia ancient area on the Black Sea coast of north central Anatolia. In Hittites' language, this region was called 'upper country' (Ersoy, 2011: 13). In those times, this area included Zonguldak, Çankırı, Karabük, Bartın, Kastamonu and Sinop cities. In ancient times, Karabük and its surrounding areas were named 'Sora' (Ersoy, 2011, 15). However, that is a name of the 'surrounding area'. Karabük-city was not an ancient settlement in this period. On the other side, Safranbolu, distant only seven kilometers from Karabük, was an ancient settlement with the name 'Dadibra'. First Turks tribes came to Karabük and its surrounding area in the 12th century with the Seljukian's movements. In 1196, Seljukian captured Safranbolu (Dadybra) and changed its name to Zalifre (Karabük İl Yıllığı-Karabük City Annual, 1999: 27). After this period, many Türk tribes have settled in this area. In the later XIII century, Byzantine sovereignty had been finished by the Turks inner side of this area. On the other hand, the Genovese controlled the shore side of this area (Sarıkoyuncu, 2009: 3). In the Ottoman period the subsequent names of Safranbolu following Taraklıborlu were Zağfiran-ı Borlu in mid 18th century. In the historical process, the town's name changed to Zağfiranbolu, Zafranbolu and Safranbolu (Aksoy & Kuş, 2003: 14). On Karabük's 'current land', Candaroğulları Seigniory was established in 1335. During Fatih Sultan Mehmet's time, Candaroğlu Seigniory was made to collapse by the Ottoman Emperor's power. This situation was realized in 1460 that is the time of the conquest of the Amasra town (Sarıkoyuncu, 2009: 3). During the Ottoman period, Safranbolu reached the top economical and cultural levels. Especially, in the

17th century, the road connecting İstanbul-Bolu-Amasya-Tokat-Sivas to Sinop used to pass through Gerede-Safranbolu and Kastamonu. Safranbolu benefited from this situation in this period, “being an important lodging place on this road enabled the trade to develop in a short time and that brought wealth and prosperity to Safranbolu (Aksoy & Kuş, 2003: 14). Many historical buildings dating from that period can still be seen in Safranbolu. Safranbolu was an important 'trade' settlement at that time. At 1894, there were over 800 shops, including coffee-houses and bakeries, and there were 30 *han* (little Ottoman town caravanserai) and hamams (public bath) with over 10.000 households (Acar, 2006: 121). These figures show the region's relatively level of development status in that period. Ethnically, Safranbolu was a Turkish-Islamic town then. According to Yearbooks (Salnameler) from 1869-1903, an average of seven per cent of the total population was Greek of Ottoman nationality. There were none of Armenians, who lived in the crowded Anatolia. For example, in 1892, in the Safranbolu district there were 22.775 Islamic inhabitants and 1231 Greek of Ottoman nationality.

Especially in the 16th and in the beginning of 17th century, Jalali revolts had been particularly effective in this area. In this period, Karabük and the surrounding settlements were a part of Bolu's Administrative District (Karabük İl Yıllığı-Karabük City Annual, 1999: 32). In the historical process, some settlements came into prominence, and this area came under the rule of different 'centers' such as Bolu, Viranşehir (Eskipazar), Kastamonu and Zonguldak (Sarıkoçuncu, 2009: 3). Land proprietors (Ayanlar), as well as the entire Ottoman Empire, gained strength in the 18th century in this area (see Özkaya, 1977). Especially since the mid of the 19th century, Zonguldak has gained economic and social power

because of mine coal mines, after coal was found in this area. This event has already determined the history of Karabük.

In the Battle of Gallipoli, the 42nd regiment of the Ottoman army consisted of people from Safranbolu, which nearly all soldiers (1686) died at Gallipoli (Erdem & Dağdelen, 2012: 23). During the period of the War of Independence, Safranbolu's people came to the fore with their contributions to the national struggle. Notables of Safranbolu declared their supports to Mustafa Kemal from the start of the War of Independence. Meetings were organized and support commissions were established by the people of Safranbolu during this process. During the War of Independence, the people of Safranbolu supplied the needs for leather and footwear to Kuva-yı Milliye (National Forces) (Çiçek, 1991: 66-67). After the War of Independence, Safranbolu's demographical structure was changed with the Lausanne Conference because of the 'population exchange agreement'. According to this agreement, like hundreds of thousands of Ottoman Greek, Greek people (in 'reality' Christian people) of Safranbolu immigrated to Greece. In total, approximately 1,200,000 Ottoman Greek refugees arrived in Greece at the end of the war (Midlarsky, 2005: 343). According to Kızıltan Ulukavak, former Mayor of Safranbolu, these changes affected Safranbolu's daily life and economy in a greater way than expected. In an interview for this study, he says that Safranbolu was affected negatively especially in the field of crafts. Before 1923, Safranbolu's Christian-Greek people worked in the field of crafts such as carpentry, masonry, ironworking, shoemaking and tailoring. After the 'population exchange process', Safranbolu's economic life was affected by this situation. For Ulukavak, Christian people generally lived at Kıranköy area, which was a very wealthy area, at Safranbolu. Nowadays this area is a very touristic place in

Safranbolu (Kızıltan Ulukavak Interview, 2011 September).
Ulukavak says that:

I was born in 1937. Of course I did not see the 'exchange process'. But I heard from my elders...This is important ...number of Christian people is not the basic thing; the matter of quality is more important than these numbers. Nearly 2000 people immigrated from Safranbolu, and they generally performed qualified works... Look... this is an unknown point. These people were not Greek, they were generally Christian Turks, I know that...

During the 'population exchange process', both the Turkish and the Greek states based themselves on 'religion', not on 'ethnic identity' for this agreement in practice. Like this general scene, a similar process happened at Safranbolu, according to some researchers; it is claimed that like Karaman Orthodox people, Safranbolu's Christian people was Christian Turks, especially coming from the Pechenegs tribe (see Kalyoncu & Tunçözgür, 2012). The population exchange process has affected Turkey in social, economic and cultural areas. Safranbolu has had its share of this change process. For Dr. Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, this process was considered one of the important inputs for the working classes of Turkey. According to Kıvılcımlı, Christian minorities had important roles in the economy that was based on foreign trade and local manufactures. However, Turks and Muslims, in Ottoman times, had more privileges than the Christian minorities, and this situation created an interesting mentality among Muslims, which affected them like 'the effect of opium'. The Turkish worker remained behind because of industrial backwardness, that based on the European industrial boom, capitulations and local collaborators, and was doomed to make no headway politically because of his"

Muslim privilege" (Kıvılcımlı, 2009, 7). Spontaneously, that launched big transfers of funds from old Christian minorities' to local notables of Turkish cities after the population exchange process. Kıvılcımlı points out that with reference to Marx, before the Republic, all the sovereign people of Turks/Muslim had feudal roots and sphere for their domination; on the other hand, the capitalist classes came from a different 'religion' and ethnicities (Kıvılcımlı, 2009, 15). The funds transfer from these categories to the local feudalists created an interesting situation; feudal sovereigns gained more power. We can consider this to understand one of the peculiarities of Turkish capitalism and the relationships of the elites with the state.

2.6. Karabük 'Comes Up' With Iron and Steel Works

The periods of industrialization and modernization take part in the history of humanity as conceptions that are closely related, and have "change" in their heart. The periods of industrialization and modernization are notions that have direct effects on social, political and cultural areas. Yet, these areas begin to be used after industrialization. For example, sociology is seen as a discipline that is shaped from the necessity of the serious and rapid periods of change.

The effects of industrialization and modernization are perceivable in all areas, such as in the practices of everyday life, state, urbanization or communication. Marx and Engels defined this world that melts the solid, especially according to industrialization and capitalism (1948: 10):

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the

discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion to how industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion in which the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

This development in the industry would bring many changes to people and their lives. But from the beginning, the “unequal” nature of this development should be seen. Kiray, who takes industrialization and modernization together, points out the uneven development of this matter. Although in the previous periods there was colonization and uneven affairs, the feature of this period is an unprecedented rising of its domain and its capacity of effect with industrialization. Kiray points out about industrialization (1999: 364):

In the West, except in the UK, in every society, industrialization just begun with its own dynamics. Especially in late industrialization, from the UK every society that passes from an agrarian society to an industrial society structure. The Ottoman society has experienced major structural changes that begin with such external dynamics, and tried to reach new stages of the society with its own internal dynamics.

If a development process is experienced, it is called the ideal type, that it is also controversial, it would be asserted for the UK and maybe West Europe. As well, and especially, the state of “underdevelopment” itself, changes the approach to the process from the beginning. While a dependent process is experienced, alternation that belongs to this process becomes more complicated

because of the many added local factors.

Discussions about modernization and industrialization in underdevelopment countries, and also in Turkey, become complex. The year after the establishment of The Republic, in 1924, the 4.6 % share of industry in total employment draws attention as a significant indicator (Makal, 1999: 195). In this limited industrialization, the industries of textile, leather, wood working and food that become prominent can be assessed in “light-industry”. In spite of that, it is remarkable that public investments led by the statism approach were made especially after 1930's. Boratav describes the period of 1930-1939 as a “protectionist-statist industrialization period” (Boratav, 1998: 7). During the formation of this period, the effects of international political and economical developments that show the tendency of the government can be mentioned. About the emergence of statism that was admitted as a notion in 1933, Önder states (1997: 106):

The cyclical reason of statism that was commenced in 1933 is quite obvious. With the liberal policies, or rather pro-capital policies, that were applied in the liberal period of 1923-1929, social welfare could not be performed, and the country was seized by external economic forces that were cooperating with internal forces... The Cyclical Great Depression of 1929 provided a sufficient basis for statist development policies. In this environment, all countries assumed an autarkic structure, to launch a development thrust through state investments, comes to mean to capture the appropriate business cycle...

Because of the dissimilarities of the processes of industrialization and modernization in underdevelopment countries, “statism” that was put into effect in the case of Turkey, stands out as a major topic of debate. Karabük Iron and Steel Works, that was the first

investment in heavy industry, is remarked as one of the most important of these public investments. Aydın (2005: 26) emphasizes that the world recession of the 1930s provided an opportunity for the new Republic to follow 'inward-looking development strategies', during what is generally referred as the statist period.

In 1930's, to establish the industry of iron and steel, first of all, was regarded as an important stage for "development". M. Şevki who was a writer of Kadro, emphasizing this situation, stated the industry as "a presupposition of earning the struggle of civilization" (Şevki, 1934: 41). Before 1932, the establishment of the iron industry was added to the agenda twice but went into abeyance because of various problems and priority problems. It's known that the Soviet committee that prevailed in creating a five-year development plan did investigations about this matter (Yazıcı, 1991:75). After Italy occupied Abyssinia, the tension of international affairs in Europe increased and the affairs of UK and Turkey became too close. Though the growing aggression of Italy under the leadership of Mussolini, with the effect of "Mediterranean Pact" that provide mutual guarantee system (Armaoğlu, 1997: 341), the government of Turkey had found the center for funding investment.

Before the Iron and Steel Works, is in fact the 'railway' that creates the 'Karabük' phenomenon. The Ankara - Zonguldak railway route included Karabük as a station and its name was for the first time used as one of a station 'location'.

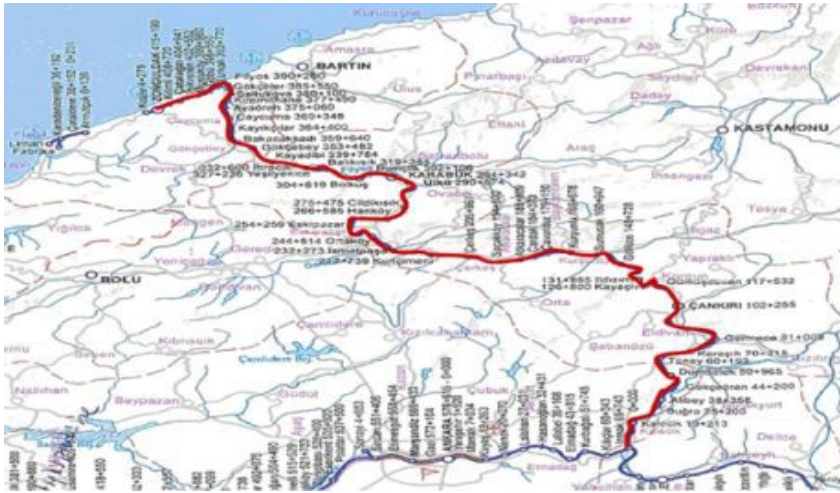


Figure 2.1. : Karabük-Ankara Railway Route

With the help of this international conjuncture, on 10 November 1936 a loan agreement is signed, and on 3 April 1937 ground is broken for the factory with an agreement of 2.5 million sterlin and an English firm, H.A. Brassert, is selected. Yazıcı (1991: 81) specifies the reasons of choosing Karabük for investment:

- a) Proximity to the coal-mining basin.
- b) Being on the railway route.
- c) Suitability of the region for the settlement of workers.
- d) Being available geologically to the establishment of heavy industry.
- e) Being situated close to the port, as iron ore will be imported.

Some thinkers add different reasons to this list, such as that there was appropriate for water and other materials needed, and low land costs in the area (Çevik, 2003: 38). After the finalization of the establishment of the Iron and Steel Works, 'location' was the most important issue for the Government. In fact, many other

locations can be seen as more appropriate than Karabük, such as Ereğli. However, the main reason for the location seems to be coming from the military side, based on “defense” issues (Çevik, 2003:39). Karabük's location came to fore, because of its geographical position, inner nearly 100 km. from the sea and surrounded by mountains. Ümit and Ateş say that (2012: 1243):

As early as mid the 1920s, Ereğli (*Ereğli*) of Zonguldak, a sea town by the mideastern coast of the Black Sea region, was considered by a click of Turkish state officials, including President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, especially in the light of the technical reviews made in the region by a group of experts from the United States, as an appropriate spot for the new iron and steel plant. However, high Turkish military officials headed by the Chief of General Staff, General Fevzi Cakmak, countered this suggestion with a more geo-strategically proper alternative location, largely for military reasons, and were backed by certain Turkish state officials, including the Prime Minister Ismet Inonu and the Minister of Finance Celal Bayar. The latter suggestion for a specific location, *Karabük*, a rather unheard town of Zonguldak, won the day.

As choosing the region through these criteria, Karabük became the first city that, in practice, had a state-led economic policy and factual economic investments. The factory, that started production from 1939, upsurges in the near of Öğlebeli village, on a large paddy field as the first heavy industry investment in Turkey (Findikoğlu, 1962: 14). From its establishment to 1955, it was operated as a Sümerbank's affiliated enterprise. In fact, in Turkey, the first steel production started in 1932 in a military factory of MKEK, called General Directorate of Military Factories, in Kırıkkale. Karabük would have increased its “long product” annual capacity of 200 thousand tons to 600 thousand tons in the later years (Kırca, 1997: 348).

Because there was no settlement in this region, lots of workers came from outside Karabük. When 2.616 workers worked in 1940, 5 years later there were 4.181 workers, in 1955 4.820, and in 1960 6.881 workers were employed by the factory (Findıkoğlu, 1962: 25). This rapid change caused migration. At the beginning of the 1940's, it is known that lots of workers were prisoners (Findıkoğlu, 1962: 72). Instead of the usual model of urbanization, workers transferred from villages and townships with factory's buses. From 8 of the villages and townships and new settlements, a service network provided access to the factory for the workers (Findıkoğlu, 1962: 26). Due to this service network, many peasants that live in close villages became “workers of heavy industry” too. Mehmet Usta tells his beginning to work in 1942, his settlement and services:

... When I was 22-23, I was discharged from the military and there were no jobs or anything else in my village. I began to work in the factory, and I also continued to live in the village. At that time, there was the need for a lot of workers in the factory. First, I was scared but in the village there was no chance to live. These places are not fruitable, you cannot take 3-4 to only 1 ... I ate a variety of food in one sitting; I took the bus every morning after the military service. At that time there were wooden pew buses. ... Kapullu was a village and the service came here in shifts. ... But I didn't quit the peasant works. My wife was more interested than me but, until I retired, I worked in both the factory and the field...

The service network to the villages points to an interesting class status that workers' deterritorializing could become reversed, while they are workers, at the same time they are able to continue to be peasants. Mehmet Usta said that the payment from the factory

would be used for peasants. Then, it was not an exception to take workers from villages. As it is understood from the “Chart of The Number of Workers by Their Birthplace” of 1944, 2.346 of 3.812 workers were born in the surrounding villages and settlements. 706 of them were born in Central Anatolia, 62 of them in Cenubi (Çukurova) and 453 of them were born in the Aegean Region (Findıkoğlu, 1962: 32) . Most of the workers who came from abroad were “peasant workers” from near villages. In this region the notion of “peasant workers” was common so in Yazıcı's field work we can see that, 51 years after the establishment of the factory, in 1991, 15% of the factory workers were still “peasant workers”. This interesting data may not be experienced in 'classical' industry zones. Ziya Usta points out an interesting fact about urbanization:

I came here via an army friend, originally I'm from Kastamonu. ... When I came here (about 1940's) we built a shack in my friend's village and we commuted...After that, I became a *Karabüker*

2.7. Conclusion

Although the studies on the working class in a country like Turkey have been increasing in recent years, it is still quite limited. The circumstances in Turkey such as being an underdeveloped country and the specification in the process of industrialization have highly affected the process of working-class formation. Besides, Karabük Iron and Steel Works as the first heavy industrial investment by the state and also the proceeding processes indicate a distinctive situation. In this respect, this study on the formation and development of the working class in Karabük regards synthesizing different approaches around a general approach as significant.

CHAPTER 3

1939-1963: THE RISE OF KARABÜK AND THE WORKING CLASS

3.1 Introduction

The rise of Karabük as a city and industrial town dates back only to the recent past. The first records about the region, where the city Karabük today, is from the Cadastral Record Books of 1530 (Yılmaz: 2011, 1). According to this record the region was a locality in Taraklıboru (today it is called Safranbolu) Township instead of a village (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012 : 187). Residential population of the area was quite limited. Even compared to the region's villages, residential population was quite small. Although there are more records about the area in 19th century, a radical change in the layout of the area cannot be seen. As Fındıkoğlu (1962: 8) mentions, it is impossible to ask where Karabük was on the map of Turkey before 1935, and it appears to be a small neighbourhood of Öğlebeli Village until 1935.

The process that led to the birth of Karabük is actually directly related to 'coal'. The railway project, which had been developed for the transfer of the coal in Zonguldak-Ereğli area to Ankara and then to the entire country, gave rise to Karabük. As a result of the decision taken in 1926, construction of the railway between Ankara and Ereğli began. The line, due to the plans, would be connected to Ankara via Ereğli-Filyos-Tefen-Karabük-Eskipazar-Çerkeş-Çankırı. The project itself back then was called 'the Railway to Coal' (Yılmaz, 2011: 2). The railway construction was completed starting from two different points in 1927. The first point was the part that

extended from Irmak, which is a town of Kırıkkale today and is on Ankara-Sivas railway line, to Filyos. And the second point started from Filyos and extended to Ereğli. The two parts of the railway line, which was completed later than planned especially due to the tunnel construction in Batıbel locality, were united in 1935 in Eskipazar. The name Karabük appeared for the first time, in Fındıkoğlu's words, on the list of 'Turkey's railway stations', because one of the stations on the line was very close to Karabük neighbourhood (1962: 8). This railway line and the station had become the milestone that led the process which turned a 13 household village neighbourhood into a heavy industrial town/city. Later this 'small' station would certainly have a serious impact on determining the location of the iron and steel factory that was going to be built.

3.2. From Paddy Field to Heavy Industry: The Formation of Karabük

Iron and steel industry emerged as one of the most important criteria of development in the 19th and 20th centuries when humanity was experiencing a significant technological breakthrough. On the other hand, blacksmithing or iron ore mining has a much older history. History of blacksmithing in Anatolia can be traced back to the Hittites, and especially Bilecik iron ore pits during the Ottoman era are noteworthy (Tümertekin, 1954: 234). That there is a significant qualitative difference between blacksmithing and forging military equipment in the Ottoman era and the modern iron and steel factories. However, in principle, resources that can provide high temperature required for the processing of iron have a direct impact on the development of forging since then. In this sense, proximity to the mines with high

heat potential like 'pit coal' along with the railways was another one of the key factors during the decision-making process for the establishment of iron and steel factory in Karabük.

Although there had been different probes of economy since the establishment of the Republic, 'development' turned out to be one of the most important values. For this reason, the fact that the 'iron industry' had almost become a development standard of the period, it became a topical issue on the agenda of the state after after 1925. First in 1925 a 'coal and iron minerals research' was requested from the Austrian professor Granigg. What was requested from Prof. Granigg was a report on their inquiry answering whether there was sufficient iron ore in Turkey to establish iron industry, the quality of pit coal in the country was appropriate to the markup of coke that would be used in the iron industry, and where the most 'economical' location for the establishment of such an industry was (Tümertekin, 1954 : 218). Prof. Granigg's report was generally positive. Prof. Granigg who thought 'investing in the iron industry' would be 'economical' even if the iron ore was exported, indicated that whether there had been favorable iron ore or not was a minor issue (İnan, 1972: 47). Authorities during that period who already believed in the fundamental importance of the 'iron industry' for 'progress' and 'development' promoted research in this area. Due to financial difficulties and various other priorities especially after 1925, investment in the iron industry had to be postponed for a while. For instance, the research and investigations held by the Office of Commander in Chief (*called Military Dignitaries in the old times*) had to be postponed based on financial difficulties (Kaştan, 2003: 497). In fact, one of the main reasons for delaying this investment since the first period of the Republic was the fact that the economic

planning and the structure of the new Republic had been unsettled. 'The missing organic link' (Boratav, 1995: 115) in the economic structure that was inherited in 1923 was the main problem. Accordingly, in transportation the existing restricted railway network was completely in control of the 'foreign' capital and this system was organized entirely on the basis of the needs of the foreign markets. Aside from this, there were various limitations originating from the Treaty of Lausanne that prevent the development of independent economic policies. Liabilities such as paying the two-thirds of the debts of the Ottoman Empire by the new Republic, and tariff quotas were obstructing the establishment of an independent economic structure. The regulations relating to customs restrictions ended in 1928. Disappearance of these regulations, which had still been partially enforced until 1929, in a sense meant the abolition of legal and political capitulations (Boratav, 1995: 118). In fact, it is possible to see that the founders of the Republic who got together at a congress held in İzmir in 1923 were in serious pursuit. Although there were approaches that might be considered as statist, there was no clear stance as a result of this congress. Alternatives were discussed at İzmir Economic Congress in 1923; but with the effect of the international obligations at the time, they were unable to provide a totally radical program for transformation.

The economic crisis around the world in 1929 overlapped at the same period with the abolition of liabilities of the Treaty of Lausanne, which prevented a relatively independent economic planning, and these, in a sense, opened up the possibility to do a more radical economic planning and implementation for the new Republic. The 'world crisis' experienced in 1929 was also a crisis of 'liberalism' that had fully dominated in theory and practice up until

that period. Debates and practices around the world also focused on this crisis. In the United States, which was regarded as the 'root' of the crisis, Roosevelt's 'New Deal' that suggested more public intervention in the economy was adopted as an understanding (see. Leuchtenburg, 2009). Millions of people in unemployment, the bankruptcy of thousands of businesses, and people who had to suffer real hunger in several regions as a result of the crisis in 1929 brought along the questioning of the 'liberal' mentality. That had increased the importance of alternative economic approaches not only for the countries that were considered developed, but also for the newly established Republic. Government officials of the time who were relatively inactive because of the international agreements valid in 1923-1930, at the same time expected to benefit from 'the private sector' for 'development.' However; these expectations in a country conditions that are without adequate infrastructure and and capital accumulation were not very successful to meet. The establishment of the new Republic that proposed serious transformations in the cultural and social domain and in a way implemented these propositions also wanted to be more active in the economic field; the new trends in the economy since the 1930s had been discussed more to extend the 'transformation' to the economic field and to live on that. If the policies implemented since İzmir Economic Congress shall be defined as 'the liberal era' (Makal, 1999: 201-203), that era was now coming to an end. In 1930 Mustafa Kemal's trip to Anatolia after the establishment of the Free Republican Party and its closure is important in terms of the orientation of the new era. The Free Republican Party initiative and the fact that this initiative was 'pretty' successful and supported by a substantial number of people who had been opposing the government showed, on one level, some of the negative results of the government-practice of

the Republic for the last seven years. The impressions Mustafa Kemal gained from the Anatolia trip indicated that there was a lack in the adoption of the Republican revolution in large sections of the society. For this reason, the first point to be emphasized was 'development.' After the trip during the May 1931 Convention of the Republican People's Party (back then as 'CHF'), the principle of statism was adopted in order to realize the basis of a 'fast economic development' and 'economic independence' (Yeşilay, 2005: 121). Thus, statism had become one of the principles of Atatürk and taken its place among 'the six arrows' in the CHF's party logo symbolizing the principles. Then Prime Minister İsmet İnönü indicated the following points on 'statism' in the journal "Kadro" in 1933 (İnönü, 1933: 4):

Statist politics in economics has demonstrated its necessity as a means of defense above everything else. Before else, we needed to save the state from any economically corrosive factors to establish a solid state constitution that will compensate centuries old neglect, reconstruct the destructions, and resist the harsh conditions of the new era...

It seems the founders of the Republic brought the concept of 'defense' forward due to the needs of the era, and deemed the 'statist' approach appropriate for the preservation of the Republic and the revolution. This period was the initial years of this stance and the 'statist' economic practice, and it was also a period in which people known as 'Kadro team' like Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin made their reputation with their articles published in the Kadro Journal. The Journal in which İnönü and Recep Peker's articles had been published, and which was in contact with the prominent figures of the time was, in a sense, like

the 'semi-official' media organ of the 'statist' period. Almost all of these people who supported a course that is in between capitalism and socialism, had been in contact with 'communist' movements in the previous periods. The Journal that published articles on topics such as industrial investments, the importance of statism and development plans had a substantial hegemony during the period. In one of his articles, Vedat Nedim Tör addressed to the 'founding members' of the Republic and insisted that 'statism' was a defense mechanism of the Turkish revolution, and the arguments should not be about the 'state sector' or the 'private sector,' but the essence of the issue was the welfare of the country (Nedim (Tör), 1933: 14). During this quest, by the effect of the international conjuncture, 'public enterprise' and 'statism' came to the fore. Besides, that captured the 'zeitgeist;' the fact that the USA was in search of alternatives to liberalism after the big crisis, Europe was in a powerful corporatist state mentality, and in the Soviet Union the economy was under public control represents the context of the period. After all, for a country that did not have enough accumulation of private capital, the problematic of development would be achieved through 'statism' and public investments. The fact that the principle of 'statism' had become the official ideology of the state in 1931 was of great importance with regard to the Soviet delegation's visit to Turkey in 1932 and the establishment of iron and steel factories. In the report of the delegation, it was emphasized that a blast furnace of 300 tons of production capacity per day was required on behalf of Turkey, and the 'coke factory' that would be built to operate the furnace would also provide significant byproducts to meet the needs of the country regarding the chemical industry (Kiper, 2004 : 25). The authorities of the time did not only asked for an economic analysis from the Soviets that they were only in close relationship for the time being, but also

asked for it from a delegation from the United States. That analysis also focused on the need for investment with similar emphasis. The US delegation had made the investigation more on economic fundamentals.

Investment on 'iron and steel' industry is steeped in Turkey's first 'defined' development plan that passed into history as the First Five-Year Development Plan. Sümerbank that was founded in 1933 would, then, become a center where 'public investments' were organized and funding problems were solved. Sümerbank and the then General Staff started a quest for the location of Turkey's first heavy industrial factory. In fact, in the opinion of Soviet and US delegations that visited Turkey since 1932, the most suitable place to build an iron and steel factory was Ereğli (Tümertekin, 1954: 223). All in all, this industry is characterized by high energy demands, it is important that the factory is close to 'coal production' fields. Almost all the iron and steel industry investments around the world have been established near the coalfield regions directly with regard to this basic condition (see Crowley, 1997; Mercier, 2002). Proximity to iron ore is the second in the order of importance. Energy needs have always been prioritized in this sector due to the structure of this industry. Hence, Ereğli which was then close to the 'center' of the coalfield and by the sea shore was chosen by the two specialist delegates as the most suitable region considering the costs and timing of logistics, and the structure of the settlement (Kalyoncu,2007: 53). But especially the General Staff objected to the suggestion of this economically 'optimal' location, and a committee of representatives from Sümerbank and the military initiated a search for an inland location that was at least 100 km far from the sea shore (Tümertekin, 1954: 223). It is emphasized that especially the

military representatives in the board that was formed of Sümerbank and General Staff representatives were sensitive about the subject; and it is a well-known fact that the then Chief of Staff (*formerly known as 'Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Reisliği'*) Fevzi Çakmak in particular was closely interested in the subject (see İnan, 1972: 13). According to Aydın Engin's narration, the then General Staff Çakmak described a place for the iron-steel factory that is "as secluded as to be away from the gunnery range of the enemy army, out of reach of the infantry, and on a steep ground so that the cavalry cannot gallop" (Engin, 1999: 123). Fındıkoğlu states that Karabük which is a field surrounded by 350 meters high hills and is about 100 kilometers inland from the sea responds adequately to the protection concerns, and he notes that perhaps this is the most important reason of why a heavy industry location was chosen from the point of view of the 'war industry' (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 9). Fındıkoğlu cites from his interview with the former Director of the Workers Chamber Mister Burhan; according to this Fevzi Çakmak's priority was Safranbolu, but the then Mayor of Safranbolu Mister Mehmet went against the idea. It is stated that there were pretty rough polemics then, and Mustafa Kemal went between as the 'referee' and as a result a rice basin at 8 kilometers far from Safranbolu that is occupied by waterside thickets was designated as the location for the industrial factory (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 9). Some Sümerbank experts on the committee, like Ekrem Kapralı, suggested inland regions of Anatolia like Kayseri as a location, but the idea was rejected immediately for the remoteness to coal mines and for the difficulty of transporting the iron ore as importation was the main purpose of the enterprise (Tümertekin, 1954: 223).

The first national press reports about the possible designation of

Karabük as the location was on January 2, 1934. According to the Daily Newspaper Cumhuriyet's report on that date, a German and a Turkish engineers had been assigned to investigate the area in between Filyos and Karabük. The report states that the first place 'deemed eligible' was the land between 'Cebeciler' train station, which is connected to Yenice today, and Çeltik Village (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2 Ocak 1934: 4). Besides, the report also states that the location of the factory today was found 'suitable.' Apparently, the first place chosen to build the factory had been a land about 40 kilometers to the northwest of Karabük. Probably, the second option had come to the fore instead of this land that is 60 kilometers far from Filyos, because under the conditions of the war industry of the period the naval gunfire range should be 70-100 kilometers far. The construction of the factory that had been announced to start in the spring of 1934, started approximately three years after that. The delayed construction of the railway had also undoubtedly contributed to this deferment. Under the coverage titled 'Working for Iron Industry' on September 26, 1935 news it is clearly stated that 'the issue is being handled thoroughly' and the Karabük locality in Zafranbolu has been designated as the location (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 26 Eylül 1935: 6). The area in Karabük, that is to say, the land area of the factory today seems to be designated for good in September 1935 during the General Directorate of Nurullah Esad in Sümerbank.

At first the focus was on importing 'the iron ore' during the establishment era of the iron-steel industry. Transportation from the limited number of known and working mineral deposits back then was very difficult and costly for that period. Instead, importing the ore from the international markets by the sea was accepted at first. And the reports prepared by the experts from different countries

were already indicating accordingly. On one level, this situation would cause an important inconvenience in the choice. While proximity to coastal areas was important for the importation of the iron ore, the Western Black Sea region came to the fore for its proximity to coal mines; however, for military concerns the area should be far from the coast, therefore they searched for a relatively 'safe' area in accordance with the 'military information' of the time. Drawing from the research and reports of Nacil Şükün, Prof. Granigg, A. Özeken, and A. Yazman, Tümertekin lists the five important criteria for designating Karabük as the location for the iron industry (1954: 223-224):

- a-) proximity to mine coal basins,
- b-) being on the railway route
- c-) the region's availability for the settlement of workers,
- d-) geological feasibility for the establishment of heavy industry,
- e-) military considerations.

As a geographer Tümertekin states at the end of his study that the criteria except being on the railway route and proximity to mine coal basins are actually not realistic. In fact, in his study in 1950s Tümertekin indicates that military considerations also do not make sense, the fact that "the factory that was built inland to be out of sight of the 'aeroplanes' was actually on the conflux of two rivers that could be spotted on the map at first glance making it an open target" was contradictory to the 'strategic' motives" (Tümertekin, 1954: 226). Besides, the conflux of these rivers caused many 'floods' in the following years which hindered the operation of mining companies on the area. In particular, a significant volume of the archives were destroyed after those floods. Hür Kalyoncu who

is an expert on Karabük's local history also agrees that except the two the given criteria are quite disputable (Kalyoncu, 1997: 54). A clear definition on the matter comes from Gerhard Kessler who escaped from Hitlerite Germany and came to Turkey working at a university. Kessler who studied and did research on Zonguldak and Karabük had also been an influential name for a period in the implementation of social policies. As a European economist Kessler in some of his statements emphasizes how surprised he was and about the establishment of the factory in Karabük he claims as follows (Kessler, 1949: 10):

... And the creation of iron and steel industry in Karabük was entirely false; these factories were created not for economic but for political reasons. All over the world the iron industry that is established for economic reasons ... is built near coal mines. However, Karabük is neither near the iron ore nor near the coal... Iron industry that is based on all these false precepts, ... , cannot still be profitable. With regard to private economics, it can be understood that Karabük can never be transformed into a profitable investment unless there is no iron ore present nearby...

In the end, one of the biggest problems then basically became solving the financial problems of the factory that would be built on a location which had been chosen in line with the military requirements of the time. At the beginning of the project, the primary plan was to bring the iron ore by the sea from Sweden and Algeria to build this important factory. Among the tenders received for the construction of the factory two major companies stood out. Those two companies were Krupps from Germany and Brassert from England. The tender by the Krupps company in Germany was lower than the others. However, the agreement to construct the factory was reached with the British company. Tümertekin indicates

the following on this topic based on the then Chair of the British Board of Trade Smirth Sommerville's statements made in an interview for the BBC Radio in 1949 and later published in the Daily Newspaper Akşam (1954: 222):

...It is pointed out that the fact that there were limited liabilities of trade between England and Turkey, but on the other hand Turkey was becoming economically more and more dependent on Germany every year played an important role while making this decision; it is alleged that Atatürk realized the political risks of that situation and therefore the government assigned the job to the Brassert company although the Germans' tender could construct the factory only at their loss.

Certainly, the intervention of the then British Government and the 2.5 million pounds loan had played an important part in the Brassert Company's winning the tender. On November 10, 1936 Turkey signed a 2.5 million pound deal with the UK Government. However, the Main Agreement of Karabük Iron and Steel Factorys with the company was signed by the then Minister of Economy Celal Bayar on behalf of Sümerbank and M. MacKenzie on behalf of the Brassert Company on December 1, 1936 in Ankara (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012: 43). It is surely beyond doubt that this agreement was very important for the factory's foundations in April 3, 1937. The year 1936 and this agreement certainly have serious implications within the framework of international relations. The hints of the Second World War that broke out a short time after could be noticed in this period. The rising power of the Nazis in Europe had quite strengthened their power, and their ally the Italian government had occupied Abyssinia (Ethiopia) (Köni, 1988: 45). In fact, the invasion of Ethiopia was also a power signal to the superpowers of the world back then. And in March 1936, in

violation of the Versailles Treaty, Germany invaded the Rhineland territory; this was the 'first' act of invasion by the Nazi Germany. Hereupon, global alliances were formed and the World was in a state of tension. The year 1936, in particular, was a period when those tensions peaked (Armaoğlu, 1995). For example in almost three months before the agreement on the factory in Karabük that was signed on December 1, 1936, it had been announced to the World that a cooperation agreement known as the Rome-Berlin Axis had been signed between the Italian and German governments (Armaoğlu, 1995). In the midst of this tense period, determining the winning company of the tender for the Karabük factory would, by no means, be based 'solely' on economics and numeric information. In this respect, what the then British Secretary of Commerce said about the Turkish statesmen's choice back in that period seems quite correct. Especially the invasion of Ethiopia as a process created a very troubled situation in terms of Turkey for the fact that the countries on one side of the balance of power had revealed their target of developing continental expansionist policies. Under the circumstances of the era, it is clear that if Turkey's foreign policy had become more bound to Germany by improving the terms of their relations, it would have different consequences. Indeed, the language used in newspapers in the period was marked by phrases like the Turkish-English friendship and cooperation besides the emphasis on 'factory' and 'industrialization.' Besides the newspaper reports, this commonly used language was also reflected in some of the columnists' articles. Abidin Daver who later became a deputy of CHP wrote the editorial in the Daily Newspaper Cumhuriyet on April 7, 1937 and he highlighted that there were 'two main points to make during the Prime Minister's trip' which are people's deep love of Atatürk and İnönü, and the emergence of Turkish-English cooperation. Daver

stressed that for the first time in the Republic period an ambassador had participated in such a ceremony and trip, and Sir Percy Lorraine who was an important figure in favor of the Turkish-English friendship made quite a hearty speech and felt the excitement in person (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi April 7, 1937: 7)

It will not be wrong to accept the day April 3, which is still officially celebrated today, as the beginning of Karabük's foundation story. The factory whose foundation was laid by the then Prime Minister M. İsmet İnönü on April 3, 1937 made the papers quite a lot at the time. For about one week the national press made quite a number of news about the developments. The enthusiastic language used by the newspapers *Ulus* and *Cumhuriyet* in their extensive front page reports is quite significant. 'The large turnout of people' from the boroughs of Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Ereğli, Bartın, Devrek, and Safranbolu in the groundbreaking that was referred as 'a massive ceremony' was emphasized (see. *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, issues 04.04.1937-07.04.1937; *Ulus Gazetesi* issues 04.04.1937 - 07.04.1937). The Daily Newspaper Cumhuriyet on April 4, 1937 reported from the frontpage headlines that İnönü was opening the ceremony and the expression in the subtitle was: "the issue that Atatürk has attached great importance for years is coming true" (*Cumhuriyet Gazetesi* issue 04.04.1937, p. 1). It is explained that the participation in the groundbreaking was carefully organized by the local authorities; hence, the Governor of Zonguldak and the Mayor of Safranbolu took care of the process in person (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012: 49). The Prime Minister İnönü particularly emphasized the importance of 'industrialization' in his speech, and on the other hand addressed the Turkish-English relationship. Focusing on industrialization and modernization as the foundations, a part from İnönü's speech is as follows (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 4

Nisan1937: 1):

Dear friends, we have currently started the heavy industry, which is the main part of the real industry, after we stepped in the industrial life. Machine industry starts from here as well. As those factories will provide us with the iron and steel we need, the defense of our country will be based on firm foundation. To establish factories, which are most essential to and beneficial for our country, was the primary subject to which Atatürk attached the utmost importance... Dear friends, a modern and progressive nation cannot survive without industry. Recently, our citizens in here (Zonguldak) have celebrated three great works, three great inspirations of the Republic. First, we have seen the opening of the railways within a year; second, a few days ago, Deputies showed their kindness and appreciation to my dear friend Celal Bayar in the Grand National Assembly for his extraordinary achievement of the complete nationalization of the coal mine. And third, today, we are founding the Iron and Steel Factories. Let me take this opportunity to reiterate that we have commerce and reform programs not only for this part of the country, but for the entire country as well.

Besides M. İsmet İnönü, the British Ambassador P. Lorain and the owner of the company H.A. Brassert, Mr. Brassert also had speeches each at the ceremony (Kalyoncu, 2007: 59). The construction area for the factory had been used entirely as a rice factory and a large portion of the field was marshland. The swamp was drained in a short period of time and the construction work was speeded up. Why the opening ceremony was carried out by İnönü instead, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who attached that much importance to the factory did not attend the groundbreaking in person is another matter in question. Kalyoncu in his column in a local newspaper states that this cannot be explained by Mustafa Kemal's medical condition, and claims that he did not carry out the opening ceremony because of an antagonism between him and Fevzi

Çakmak. According to that Mustafa Kemal had thought the investment should have been done in Ereğli from the very beginning (Kalyoncu, 2013: 8 --*Bölgenin Sesi Gazetesi*, issue: February 13, 2013). Mustafa Kemal, indeed, had been able to attend his trips to Konya that year in January, to Trabzon in June, to the Aegean in October, and even to Malatya, Şanlıurfa and Diyarbakır at the end of the year (Daşdemir, 2006; Bayrak, 2000). The trips he had made during the period also involved various operations besides an intensive program. Thus, it seems less likely that Mustafa Kemal had had a serious illness as of April 1937. And there is no mention of 'health problems' in the newspapers of the period.

In fact, the iron and steel factory that is in question stands out in a way as a combined structure of several factories. Coking factory, blast furnace, steel mill, and other departments as a whole form the iron-steel factory. It is not possible to call it an iron-steel factory without units breeding each other. Hence, finishing the construction and starting production means the opening of various segments. After March 1, 1938 the assembly of the machines starts (Kiper, 2004: 29). It is possible to say that the factory started production with the power station's start in June 1939.

Chronology of the starting date of business organizations are given in the following way by Kalyoncu (Kalyoncu, 1997: 60):

Table 3.1. : Chronology of The Starting Date of Business Organizations

Power Station	June 6, 1939
I. Coking Factory	June 27, 1939
I. Blast Furnace (Fatma)	September 9, 1939
Vertical Pipe Factory	November 15, 1939
Steelworks-C Furnace	January 9, 1940
29" Trio Rolling Mill	April 10, 1940
12" Rolling Mill	June 1, 1940
16" Rolling Mill	July 3, 1940
16" Flattening Mill	November 7, 1941

In fact, social and economic mobility in the region had partially started since 1932 before the construction of the factory due to the pre-established railway and the station. But we should note that it was quite limited. According to Fındıkoğlu 21 engineers started working in Karabük in 1938 before the Power Station had been commissioned, and 26 started after (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 19). Besides, the number of British among the engineers and technicians that had come to work in the region was quite high. It is seen that official correspondences about the problems of the British employees and issues of settlement were frequent during the period. It seems with the decree signed by the President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 29 experts among the English 'subjects' were allowed to work on September 17, 1937 in the first place (Arşiv Belgelerinde Karabük (*Karabük in The Archives*), 2013: 353). Except for the British team of experts, engineers, and technicians staying at a facility built in Safranbolu, there was almost no place to settle for the out coming workers in the first place. Resources indicate that back then it was a settlement with 13-16 houses, and besides this there were two buildings that belong to Turkish State Railways (TCDD). The residential problems of the workers that

came to the area created a serious issue in time. It is stated that the first plan especially for the blast furnaces was to bring expert brick makers who would pave the coking and steel furnaces with bricks to the area. Some of these workers who could be considered 'experts' and had been brought from Artvin's town Yusufeli and Erzurum's İspir were sent to England for 4-5 months after working together with the British experts (Tümertekin, 1954: 243). Besides, 12 Turkish engineers were also sent to London for internship and training in September-October 1937 (Arşiv Belgelerinde Karabük (*Karabük in The Archives*), 2013: 354). Migrations from outside the region started during the construction phase before the production in the factory began. Tümertekin indicates that during the construction phase the technical and expert team was mostly comprised of the British, yet workers from the Eastern Black Sea were also employed especially for the assembly work (1954: 243). Within the framework of the research there was a chance to make an interview with the grandson of a construction worker from İspir who had come to work at the construction during the first period. The brick master Mehmet Ali Usta who still works at the factory tells that his grandfather came to Karabük for the construction of the factory, and the İspir region already has the general cultural features of Karadeniz. The brick master explains that construction work has become a traditional job in the family, and he relates his account of his conversations they did with his grandfather when he was alive:

You see, our family line has done the same job all along, I mean brick paving, craftsmanship, İspir is our original region, but even I have seen it only twice. Naturally we now belong here... My grandparents' arrival was both by will and force... in the end there is employment, but it is a place you don't know. He used to tell us how it had been deserted and all covered with muddy soil here. When he was talking

about those times he always used to bring up poverty and said it was such poverty that, in a sense, it was even difficult to eat every meal here...

It seems that 'the food given' at the factory had a great importance on the local villagers' processes of working and understanding the factory as well as on the immigrant workers who had started working in the region before. The state of Turkey during the Second World War was quite effective on the increase in labour force since the construction had started in 1937 and after the production began in 1939. Besides the villages located on the relatively unproductive soil of the region, the 'meals' given made the factory attractive for the residents of the regional forest villages that had much greater difficulties in agricultural production back then. This era was marked by famine in every respect, and the living conditions of the populace were quite bad (Müftüoğlu & Hacisalihoğlu, 2008: 44-45). Not to mention the fact that it was not very possible to talk about appealing 'wages' during the era. However, it is apt to say that there was shortage of skilled or even 'unskilled' workers to work also in the Karabük region like the whole Turkey during the era. According to Makal, since after 1942 the Iron and Steel Factorys had to work with 3100 people although there had been 4300 positions available (Makal, 2007: 124). The situation back then was similar for other businesses all around Turkey. This shortage of workers, especially in the public factories built in Anatolia, was one of the most important problems of the period. In fact, since 1940 the government back then had introduced some measures that they had hoped also to solve the problem. One of the most significant of these was in a sense a 'framework' law that was called the Turkish National Security Law from 1940. By this law, anyone who worked first and foremost at

the mines and at the factories could not leave the establishment or workplace they work at without a valid reason or notification (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012: 108). The practice of this process in Karabük was certainly not as strict and rigid as what had happened in Zonguldak mines. 'Involuntary servitude' that has become a subject of novels and various researches still has a substantial place in the social memory of people in Zonguldak (see. Köse, 2010; Çatma, 1998; AYTEKİN, 2007). In fact, there are research studies referring to some workers who had run away from the hardships of working at a coal mine in the district of Bartın in 1940s and had come to Karabük to work, but later got caught and brought back again (Kahveci, 1996: 185-186). However, there were also cases that workers had gone back to their villages with various excuses and penalized after within the framework of the Turkish National Security Law. Kütükçüoğlu states that a worker called Ahmet Yurtsever was condemned by this way at the beginning of 1940s (2012: 109). What's more, while it was difficult to find employees to work, the fact that the employed ones were 'irregular' was seen as a crucial problem by the administrators back then. According to the data in Sümerbank, which the factory in Karabük had also been dependent upon, the total number of employees who left the job in 1944 reached % 90 (Makal, 2007: 124). This also meant that the employees who had left should be replaced with new workers and this high turnover of workers made it hard in mid-season to find qualified workers that the job required. This high 'worker turnover ' should be considered with the category of 'peasant workers'. This was also what happened in Karabük since the beginning. It is noteworthy how intense this process was especially in public businesses in Anatolia until the 1950s (Makal, 2007: 128). Besides, in Karabük fractionation sprang up in a short period of time between the 'fixed,' permanent workers of the

factory, and the workers who were almost all locals and still attached to their villages. Tümertekin states that this could be observed clearly at the beginning of 1950s, and he emphasizes that the ratio of peasant workers who prioritized the factory was lower than the other workers at the factory (Tümertekin, 1954: 244). It is explained that particularly during the agricultural harvest the rate of discontinuity and leave of employment rose quite a lot in different towns. Apart from the factories in Ergani, Kayseri, and Karabük the rate of discontinuity and leave of employment was quite high also in the Cloth Factory in İstanbul Bakırköy in those years. (Nacar, 2004: 147-151).

It is stated that high turnover of employees was a serious problem not only for businesses but also for the workers. Besides the effects on production, serious negative sides about labor safety particularly in lines of work like the heavy industry and mining was noted (Ekin, 1959: 285-286).

Nusret Ekin who was one of the first people that used the concept of 'peasant workers' consistently points out that the high turnover of workers had become one of the main problems after the 1950s. He is noteworthy for being one of the first people who examined the issue in detail and also suggested positive and negative measures to be taken about it (see. Ekin, 1979). The workers who took the chance to leave the job in the first period were generally the 'locals.' In the end, the workers who had arrived the region from different parts of the country did not have any other chance but to focus all their energy on the factory, but for the 'peasant' workers the factory could also in a way be a side income. It seems that this process went on differently in the later periods. A 'local worker', Ahmet Usta, who was born in a Safranbolu village and

worked at the factory for 23 years accounts for this period as follows:

... Our people (the locals) keep saying the ones from this place watch for each other, or the ones from that place are backed up, and so on... Oh, what do you expect it to happen if you don't do your job, don't care, do a sloppy job just to finish and go? It's true that the masters, people who know the job are generally the ones not from Karabük... But why? You see, our locals belong to a village here; they have small lands; so they come to the factory to work but how? That is as if the land was a proper one, but their mentality is different, do you know what I mean? Mentality is different, now those things are coming to an end too of course, but the locals here haven't exactly put shoulder to the wheel... You see, it has been like this around my neighborhood, that's why I am saying this, I have always said it, and I am saying it again...

The years when the factory was established in Karabük was in a way a period of major crisis. For example, it is a known fact that the national income decreased %27 only in 1938-1945, and in terms of the crops, the production of agricultural output reduced %50-60 in the 7-8 year period (Makal, 1999: 288-289). One significant reason for this crisis was the World War environment. The War which started in the year Karabük started producing, had quite an effect on Turkey's, and particularly Karabük's, social and economic life.

Another source for the factory's labour requirement was the 'convict workers.' 'Convict workers' whose number was increasing during the Second World War were put to work in the factory, and they provided a great deal of fixed labour force for the factory. In 1941 when workers turnover reached %68 in Karabük, most of the permanent workers were from the convict workers (Sipahi, 2006:

75). It is stated that in 1940s 1/6 or 1/7 of the total 4000 workers in the factory were these convict workers (Sipahi, 2006: 112). The number of convict workers in 1947 was declared as approximately 550 (Kalyoncu, 2007: 69). The formula of 'convict workers' was carried out not only in Karabük but also in almost all the public investments around Turkey throughout the 1940s. They were providing various conveniences for the penalty process of the convicts, and the amount of time they worked was extracted from their conviction. Due to this, each day they worked was equal to spending two days in prison (Sipahi, 2006: 117). However, the wages of the convicts were quite low compared to the other workers' wages. Besides, the clothes they used to wear were also different from the other workers; rumor has it that they were wearing striped clothes. One of the workers, Şevket Usta, who has worked for the factory for 21 years and a member of Turkish-Metal Workers Union was interviewed in the scope of the research; explaining that one of his relatives had arrived to Karabük as a convict worker and later settled in the town, he stated as follows:

...My great uncle had been one of the convicts. You see, I was born in '65, and I remember the great uncle. He died in '75, so I was small... Originally we are from Ankara. But we don't have any relatives there, I mean, that I know of.. After my great uncle had arrived, our family immigrated here, so it was long ago. I was born here... Back then the convict workers used to wear different clothes, they say... But he used to say it himself to us too, I mean, that there was no discrimination among the workers. In the end you are doing your job... I mean, ultimately you are all together at work. After we settled in here, Karabük has become our lives too.. That is, being here is not because of love, but it just is...

Different decisions specific to the factory were also made to minimize worker turnover. After the managers who had been tired

of the high rates of worker turnover decided in 1948 that 'once a worker leaves the factory, he will not be taken back' (Tümertekin, 1954: 245), a tough decision making process had also started for the workers from time to time. There was no other choice left other than working with a fixed schedule in the factory; if a worker left the factory, later he would not be able to apply for a job there. It is claimed that this decision was effective in forming a regular structure of workers, but it is also possible to refer to the greater influence of the efforts in increased social, economic, and cultural benefits after the mid-1940s. According to Tümertekin, the main reasons of why the workers used to leave the factory could be summarized in five important points. First, there were external workers who particularly came to the factory to 'make money' for a while and then wanted to go back to their hometown; second, there was a serious 'shortage of dwellings'/houses problem in Karabük; third, the toughness of factory work. The fourth reason was dissatisfaction with the wages, and the last one was the appeal of the newly established businesses in the local area (1954: 245). The factory authorities had some attempts on solving particularly the dwelling problem by developing housing zones. As a result of these insufficient attempts, some construction works started on the valley towards Araç, that is, in the area called Dereevler, Yüzevler today. By 1942-1943 there were around 200 houses in this area. Apart from that, the number of houses that had been built since 1939 until 1945 was around 1000 (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 81). The plan was especially the technicians, and master workers stayed in these houses. These houses that had been built by the administrators of the factory were particularly significant to increase the workers' sense of attachment to the factory. However, it was not possible that the buildings built in that area could solve the dwelling problems of the factory workers. On the other hand,

the construction works started by the factory management were not limited to that. Construction works by the 'people' also started (Fındıkođlu, 1962: 10). Settlements of this kind in Karabük yielded a rather earlier appearance of slums which are usually seen in big cities. Karabük where people had even used train coaches at the beginning thus entered a mandatory process of configuration with some erratic areas because of immediate housing needs. Today, the areas known as Kayabaşı, Kartaltepe, Esentepe and İstasyon neighbourhoods stand out as apart from the general planning. The 'municipality' since the beginning of its formation in 1939 has always stayed powerless compared to the factory (Kütükçüođlu, 2012: 193). Just as the 'formation' of Karabük as a town was related with the factory, as Fındıkođlu states, the structures of education and health, and even the services there are connected to the factory (Fındıkođlu, 1962: 8-9). Besides, especially until the mid and even the end of 1950s 'the factory' provided almost all the health, education, and shopping services, and cultural activities in the city by itself (Çevik, 2003: 47-52). Beyond being a pioneer in this issue, the factory has become 'everything' in Karabük.

3.3. First Generation Workers in Karabük: Social and Political Life

Enlargement of the opportunities provided by the factory was accelerated from 1945. Attraction of the factory increased due to different opportunities such as construction of leisure centers, premium system applied since 1945 (Tümertekin, 1954: 247), better transportation facilities with buses compared to Zonguldak (Kessler, 1949: 24), housing facilities (*even if it was not enough*) offered a group of workers, social support fund established by the 'Assistant Manager of the Institute' Mr. Tayyip Arı (*he was called as*

Father Tayyip by the workers) in 1944 (Kalyoncu, 1997: 70). Especially from the beginning of 1950s, worker turnover rates in the factory began to decrease. Kurtkan states that 1954 was the determinant year in that term, there was an important degree of difference between the incoming and outgoing worker numbers in favor of the new coming workers (Kurtkan, 1963: 18). The factory which started employing workers from 1939 onwards had had some difficulties in 'putting everything in order' during the World War II, but the system began to get established from the 1950s onwards.

Ahmet Çehreli leading the works of Mine Workers Union in 1963-1964 period in Karabük states that there were four different worker 'classes' in the factory in the period between 1939 and 1950. These were, supervisors working on monthly-salary, 'A' graded qualified workers, 'B' graded assistant workers and 'C' graded relatively unqualified workers working in the areas that did not necessitate competence (Çehreli, 1966: 145). The level of benefit from the limited opportunities provided by the factory was based on these different classes from the first period onwards. On the other hand, the majority of the last group was unarguably the 'domestic workers'. Çehreli says that 'expert' workers brought from Kırıkkale Steelworks Unit and TCDD Sivas and Eskişehir workshops in the first period had increased their effectiveness in the factory that was being administered by the English, and then in time the dominance was taken by the intermediate staff and the local experts totally (1966: 144). It seems that both government authorities and factory managers tried to bring up their own workers and a domestic generation instead of 'foreigners' in this 'apple of the eye' factory for the government during the first years. In fact, the number of the foreigners in the factory was not that high. In 1942, there were

70 foreign experts and 50 of them were from England, 20 of them were from Poland (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012:119). İlhami Açıksöz was one of the young workers who had been taken to the factory with this 'call'. He was assumed to become the Secretary General of Türk Harb-İş Labor Union. İlhami Açıksöz was born in Çerkeş, an old town quite near Karabük which is based on Çankırı today. He graduated from Kastamonu Art Institute in the 1941-1942 period after primary school. When he was educated in a boarding school in Ankara for the service of National Defense Ministry, this call was done. Açıksöz says in the interview done by Yıldırım Koç (Koç, 1999: 56 :)

At that time an iron and steel factory was opened in Karabük. There were some people from Poland and England and other foreigners. Then it was said that "the students in the art schools would be brought here instead of foreigners and the art students would do their jobs," We were sent to Karabük as 124 persons. 20 students out of 124 were chosen. One of them was me. We were chosen for English language course for 6 months and education for 2 years in England.

As a relatively high quality worker at that time, Açıksöz began to work in Karabük by obeying 'what was desired' rather than his own choice. At the beginning of 1940s some calls were made especially for the Technical School students in the near cities and the factory began to bring up its own 'workers'. The first important step in bringing up qualified workers was the Apprentice Training School established on 2 March 1942 (Tümertekin, 1954: 246). Thanks to this school, from the beginning of mid-1940s when the first alumnus graduated, workers living in Karabük for a while were provided to work in the factory instead of the qualified workers coming from different cities. Some courses were opened at the factory with different names from 1943 onwards. There were three

main courses. First one was the reading and writing course aiming at teaching reading and writing in 10 months' time for illiterate workers. The other two were 'inexperienced workers courses' and 'experienced workers courses' that were opened later on (Kalyoncu, 2007: 71). Besides, not only engineers but 'successful workers' could also be sent to abroad to be trained. Tmertekin states that 28 workers were sent to factories in England to undergo a training course in 1943 (1954: 246). These developments showed the influences in the factory in the next periods. At the end of 1940s, besides many different reasons, the decreasing rate of worker turnover in the factory and the establishment of a more regular worker structure were materialized as a result of these developments. These were not handled by the management of the factory in Karabk alone. Especially the chance of being sent to England to get training was attractive for the young qualified and half-qualified workers from the all over the country. This was the case for Mehmet Ali amurali who was born in Trabzon aykara in 1926. Later, he became the manager of Construction Workers Trade Union of Turkey in Trabzon. After graduating from secondary school, amurali went to Karabk in 1943 since he was affected by the factory's sending abroad policy. He expresses in the interview with Yldırım Ko (Ko, 1999: 93):

I saw my friends who were working in Karabk Iron and Steel Factory. They came to our hometown for holiday. They praised the factory too much. They said that 'The factory was sending workers to England'. They were holding different courses. I also wanted to go to England at that time. I registered to high school on my own. My father did not want to send me to school. I said 'I would go to Karabk'. I had made my mind about going to England. One month after my father had to send me to Karabk while my schoolmate was returning to Karabk from holiday. He had merchant friends in Zonguldak. He called them and gave me their names and told me; 'they would take care of you.

At that period, operations were organized centrally in the factories depending on Sümerbank, particularly in Karabük and Kayseri. According to what Makal says depending on the data of *Sümerbank X.th Year* book, the fact that 70% of workers who were working in the organizations of Sümerbank was defined as qualified indicated that there was a transition from traditional 'peasant-worker' type to modern 'worker type' (Makal, 1999: 276). Many initiatives which focused on training and cultural activity opportunities for the workers in Sümerbank rather than the development courses are mentioned. In all the factories of Sümerbank, libraries and reading rooms were provided after the mid-1940s. In the book called *Sümerbank X.th Year* which was published for the tenth establishment year of Sümerbank, many initiatives especially in sports and music areas are shown with photos and samples (see Sümerbank X. Yıl, 1943: 253-256).

There were two different salary payment systems as monthly and daily in the first years (Tümertekin, 1954: 246). Experienced workers got their salaries monthly, but most of the workers in the factory got their salaries per diem. It is possible to see an important degree of differences in the salaries of workers especially between those who got their salaries monthly and daily. Tümertekin expresses that the minimum salary of the worker who got his salary monthly was 200 Liras and per diem worker's wage was 45-40 Liras established by the labour act back then (see Tümertekin, 1954: 246-247).

It is obvious that the 'housing' issue of the workers has been a problem ongoing even today, but it seems that there were some

partial initiatives to solve the housing issue from the first years on. Workers' pavilions for single workers and workers' dwellings for married and experienced workers were important opportunities for the workers that they needed to attain at that time. Nacar states (2009: 158) that there were important initiatives especially in the cities where Sümerbank had factories in the war period:

In the war years, Sümerbank constructed apartments, houses, and pavilions for officials and workers employed in the Sivas Cement Factory, the Karabük Iron and Steel works, the Izmit Cellulose Factory, and the textile factories in Hereke, Kayseri, Nazilli, Gemlik, and Ereğli.

Building 'gardens' in the limited numbers of workers' dwellings in Karabük was also discussed. The same construction structure has also been seen in other locations of Sümerbank's factories, but this was peculiar to Karabük (Öktem, 2009: 157-177). In the houses which included a 45-55 square meters room and a central living room, the existence of a garden in the front of the houses was important in order to help the workers pursue their attachment with the soil even in limited terms. Settlement in these houses was implemented also after 1950s, and married and experienced workers were allowed to live in. Worker pavilions were transformed into large single-floor or duplex large houses from the wagons used in the first period. Writer Atilla Atalay describes how attractive those workers' dwellings was for the workers at that time in his story called 'Fabrika' in which he also accounts for his family life. The author tells his grandfather's story who was a worker in Karabük Iron and Steel Factory, and says that this situation also influenced the marriage of his grandparents. According to his portrayal, the factory was attractive for the peasants living in the near villages during the first period. The 'factory houses' provided

by the factory extended that attraction (Atalay, 2010: 1999)

...The factory didn't seem that bad at all; first it induced the establishment of schools, then workers' dwellings began to be built.. However, living in these houses was restricted with the married couples... Immediately a marriage rush began in near villages,..., In the village everyone wanted to live in these factory houses, the young girls were mated one by one...

Ahmet Çehreli highlights that between 1939 and 1950 there was no collective employee-employer conflicts even if there were some 'individual' disagreements (1966: 145). The law which was in force at that time was the Labour Code 3008 accepted on 8 June 1936. Makal emphasizes that the determinant characteristics of the code were changes appearing in class structure in the period, increasing dominance of working class, insensitivity of the single party management and increased weight of state-economic policies (1999: 354). The law numbered 3008 would be a 'regime code' as Recep Peker said in his last speech while the voting for the law was realizing (Makal, 1999: 369). Strikes and lockouts were prohibited, and unions were unrecognized by this code. This code is important because it was the first 'labor code' in the country and at least organized the work domain. On the other hand, it had quite an authoritarian nature due to the effect of that period. With this regulation, the unions were not recognized, so it was foreseen that as a result there would be some negotiations to reach 'agreements' between the worker representatives and factory managers based on the working place. For example, at that period the representation of the workers was realized by 5 worker 'representatives' chosen by the workers in Karabük for the negotiations with the managers of the factory (Çehreli, 1966: 145). In a sense, this situation laid the groundwork that would vary

according to the local operations and understanding. As a result the whole authority and power belonged to the management of the factory, but if the workers wanted 'to be listened' this opportunity would be provided for them. Makal says that the law numbered 3008 implemented at that period resembled the laws implemented in Italy by the Fascist Party 'in terms of their frame and main spirits' (1999: 384). However, the 'binary character' of the mentioned Labor Code is interesting. This double character can be identified as 'protective' in the field of individual business relationships, and 'authoritarian' in the area of collective labor relations (Makal, 1999: 387); it at least accepts the existence of workers as individuals by some regulations such as working and resting times, holidays etc. that were not identified until that time. 'Being a classless and integrated nation' was predominant at that time and the law was congruent with this notion by regarding workers' 'rights' and 'existences' individually. It is needless to say that the factory managers and the government at that period had all the power. If there was a conflict between the employers and the worker representatives whose 'negotiations' were accepted in the law frame, they would apply to Provincial Conciliation Committee; and if there were no agreement there, the parties would go High Conciliation Committee, both of which were under the control of government at that time. The law stated the frame directly which would be applied when there would be some conflicts which were separated as 'individual work conflict' and 'collective work conflict'. If the conflict had not been solved until the last step, the decision taken by the High Conciliation Committee was the final judgment. Dingillioğlu defines the regulation process at that time as follows (2006: 63):

The ban on strikes required the formulation of alternative mechanisms

for settling industrial disputes. Instead of the trade unions and strikes, the Code anticipated a conciliation mechanism. According to this mechanism, the parties were to attempt to solve the dispute between themselves, basing on the mediation of workers' representative. If this process failed, the conflict was to be taken into consideration by a government official. If the parties still could not reach an agreement, then the Provincial Conciliation Committee (*il Hakem Kurulu*), overwhelmingly consisting of government officials, was to be established. If one of the party was dissatisfied with the decision made by this committee, it had to apply to the High Conciliation Committee, that was composed of high-rank officials from the concerning ministries and the decision of which was absolute.

Akçay who worked on work related conflicts between 1936 and 1963 states that more than 60 % of the decisions taken by High Conciliation Committee were related to the conflicts appeared in state owned businesses. He again states that this situation was the result of better practice of law in public sector and the workers in these organizations had stronger legal insurances than those who worked in private sector, especially Tekel's General Management and TCDD were prominent in public sector in this context (Akçay, 2010: 57). The important point here is the statistics given by Akçay about the distribution of the decisions taken by High Conciliation Committee between 1939 and 1963. Due to that, the number of workers in Zonguldak and Karabük that hosted many workers for that period were not included in the statistics. Akçay states the distribution of the decisions about the work conflicts taken by the High Conciliation Committee was as follows (Akçay, 2010: 56-57):

Out of 1551 decisions 659 were in İstanbul; 230 were in İzmir, Manisa, Uşak; 133 were Adana, Hatay, İçel; 106 were in Bursa, Balıkesir, Çanakkale; 91 were in Ankara, Kastamonu and 75 were in Kocaeli, Sakarya, and Bolu provinces. The total number of the decisions only

about these provinces was 1294. İstanbul (659), İzmir (217), Ankara (84), Bursa (81) and Adana (67) were the cities where the conflicts occurred most frequently. The total number of the conflicts occurred in these areas was 1108 and this number equals with more than 70% of the total conflicts.

The oldest, 88-year-old retired worker İsmail Usta, who participated in the focus groups meeting within in the framework of the research, began to work for the factory in 1946 and retired after working for 32 years. İsmail Usta who contributed to the meeting as much as his memory allowed, said that he did not remember the process of choosing five worker representatives organized by 1936 Labour Code. He also expressed that the 'experienced workers' or the 'expert workers' were in fact the chosen representatives by de facto implementation back then. To him labour conditions at that time were as follows:

When we first began to work it was very hard, everything was so strict... after a while it became more comfortable. Everyone was in order. Were the managers good? There were good and bad ones, but everyone was doing his own job... Elections, disagreements, fights broke out after a while. There was no union at first. I've worked for 32 years, but the hardest years were the first ones... It was hot like hell, I did not know anything. I had to work, and the work was really hard. The machines came later, but at first everything was very hard... It was a bit like being in the army, there was a strict order. Of course, there were many men in such a huge factory...

88-year-old İsmail Usta also has stated that their feelings for the first working days were like 'startle' and 'fear'. In *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerine* written by Orhan Kemal in 1954 it is stated that the first reflections of the workers for the factory were 'startle' and

'confusion'. Kemal is talking about ginneries in Adana whose scale and total factory area was much smaller than the factory in Karabük. However, at the factory in Karabük 'startle' and 'confusion' could be in much higher degrees (see Kemal, 2006).

At the beginning, collective employee-employer conflicts could not be detected 'directly' in the factory. As Çehreli states especially during 1939-1950 such examples were not common (1966: 145). On the other hand, the 'individual' conflicts or the problems among the workers took different forms immediately. İlhami Açığöz tells an interesting story about this issue in the interview made by Yıldırım Koç. Açığöz who worked in the factory during 1943-1944 was at that time one of the 'chosen' workers that had graduated from Art Institute. When they began to work in the first period, this situation was regarded unusual by the other workers, then some conflicts began to pop up and everything changed in a totally different direction (Koç, 1999: 56):

We were called the interns. We were roaming, hands in our pockets. Other workers were jealous of us. They did not understand why the government took care of us. Then something happened. One of my friends sent me a Sivas knife. It was in my pocket. Someone saw it and reported that there was a knife in my pocket. Two guards stopped me and asked. I said I didn't have. One of the guards put his hand in my pocket and saw the knife. I grabbed him. The other man smacked my ear from the behind. I was also a bruiser. Then I began to smack them. There the conflict was big. All of the workers began to riot to save us. Management of the factory and the police interefered. I was taken to the police station. Then the workers surrounded the police station. Then a group of soldiers were brought from Safranbolu and they surrounded the workers. They took me out in front of the workers and made me say that they did not humiliate me. They made me sit in a chair for three and a half months in the police station. They let me free only for a few hours

during the day. From morning till night in the police station I was under surveillance. Meanwhile, my aunt had done something, she tried to rescue me. My opponents said that 'she pulled a knife on the guard'. Prosecutor accused me for that too. But everyone was saying I was not pulling my knife. I was taken to court. Then came a written notification signed by the principals. It was as follows: "We took care of you; but you did not comply with the rules; even though we had the right to press charges against you to recover damages against our institution, we gave it up; but you are dismissed from employment.

The situation changed radically against what İlhami Açıköz thought. Workers went to the police station for their friends and they surrounded the place. This dispute went in a radically different direction when there was no unionization, or no effective worker representation system. Probably the workers took a 'collective' stand against the 'external' intervention for their own problem. This was a time when a formal story could not cover, and 'the secret practice/story came to light. Not only in terms of an 'individual' characteristic of a worker -in the example İlhami Açıköz had a privileged position that was not liked by the other workers- in spite of his exclusive position, a collective counter action by the workers was seen. The police wanted him to say that they had not humiliated him in the police station and this was directly related to the reaction of the workers at that moment. As Scott states (1990) it is not always possible for the powerless people against the management/government to reflect their reactions. This is directly related to the balance of power. Unveiling the legitimate public reaction is rare and depends on the conjuncture. On the secret and public disobedience practices of the powerless people Scott states as follows (1990: 10):

If the weak have obvious and compelling reasons to seek refuge behind

a mask when in the presence of power, the powerful have their own compelling reasons for adopting a mask in the presence of subordinates. Thus, for the powerful as well there is typically a disparity between the public transcript deployed in the open exercise of power and the hidden transcript expressed safely only off-stage. The off-stage transcript of elites is, like its counterpart among subordinates, derivative: it consists in those gestures and words that inflect, contradict, or confirm what appears in the public transcript.

There are different discussions on whether there were other similar 'individual reactions' against high worker turnover in the first years of the factory or not. In fact, absenteeism, regular absenteeism slowdown strike and similar actions may be a part of individual 'resistance' strategies (see Scott, 1990). This is also a clear indication of the negative working conditions if expressed in a different way. However, the absence of 'localized labor' and culture as an important condition was among the causes of high labor turnover experienced in Turkey and Karabük. Nacar says that negative working conditions caused high worker turnover, and he gives examples from Zonguldak as the main issues were the negative working conditions, violence committed by different means in the working area and low salaries. He adds as follows (2009: 162):

It is highly unlikely that workers who labored in unhealthy conditions, faced accidents and sundry forms of violence at work, and received insufficient wages viewed the state as being on their side. Nor would they have seen state-run enterprises as modern educational centers. These conditions were embedded in workers' memories. While recollecting the era of compulsory wage work, a retired miner from Zonguldak stated that workers' lives were less valuable than an animal or a carpet.

Surely, the negativities in question were related to the high worker turnover. Factories implemented 'attractive' elements in time to prevent the situation going worse. Yet, 'work' and 'working' were themselves, in fact, new notions for the public. For people who had defined their lives according to the sun, namely lived 'timelessly,' 'discipline of factory work' was totally new for them. So to say, in nowhere the public was waiting for what they did not know beforehand. Trying to work and the 'destructive' effect of the process on the lives were important in order to understand the process. Makal refers to the fact that there were no regular 'settled workers' since the early Republic period unlike the West that has an established system of industrial labour, and the structural reasons behind this situation as the cause (2007: 53). These statements by Makal are very meaningful, but on the other hand the 'masses' who were introduced with the 'working system' of modern times showed similar reactions in the West as well. Similar spontaneous reactions can be observed during the industrialization and modernization processes when people's 'time' and lives attained new meanings and they rebuilt not only their daily life but their own as a whole. In this sense, the process of industrialization and its tools makes a difference not only in terms of the product. 'Time' has been discovered in a sense, there will automatically be a tension between such 'innovations' and the traditional self-understanding. In Karabük as a new settlement area, there was no existing culture of crafting and that was an important 'innovation' especially for the workers from villages. E. P. Thompson explains the definition of 'time' and in a sense the recreation of it as follows (1993: 359):

This measurement embodies a simple relationship. Those who are employed experience a distinction between their employer's time and their "own" time. And the employer must use the time of his labor, and see it is not wasted: not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent.

In fact, some initiatives that were seen especially in the early stages of industrialization in Britain like 'fencing in the pastures' are to force the masses to work. Masses did not accept the life and 'discipline' of work immediately and they went through the tensions while adapting to it. Therefore, in the early Republican period, especially in a place which had no near residential areas except towns, the newly established 'life' would be certainly different. 77-year-old Hakkı Usta who was interviewed among the first generation of workers within the framework of the research began to work in the factory in 1951, explains his first observations about the factory as follows:

Someone spoke of the factory to us... There was no such place in our village, there was even no field where we could do farming (he emphasized that he was from a forest village)...so we were needy in a way; if we had had gardens, why would I like it... So we had to work, what else could we do... I had very difficult times at first, you had to live like a soldier all the time, and everything was in an order in such a huge place... Where you would go was certain, we behaved collectively even going or coming. Dinner time was certain, holiday time was certain, so everything had been regular as clockwork...

The facts that industrialization in Turkey that has serious differences with the process of industrialization in the West, and the events in Karabük which was firstly a city and a factory

established by 'force' are significant. As the experts in that period stated, it was evident that the settlement area of the factory and all of the investment would not be 'profitable.' However, big and small villages in the region for the need of workforce, the population in relatively old towns such as Safranbolu, Eskipazar, Çerkeş and the people who lived in Kastamonu provinces, Bolu and Zonguldak were regarded as the potential workers of the factory. Particularly, Kastamonu Art Institute was significant for providing intermediate staff to the factory. Since the Ottoman times, training organization in Kastamonu, which was one of the oldest residential areas in the region, were more advanced than the other centers at that time. From 1994, Karabük workers' regional roots defined by their 'birth places' can be found easily in the records. In 1944, 60 % of the 3812 workers came from near provinces and eastern part of Black sea. The rate of workers coming from Middle Anatolia was around 20%. Besides, Çankırı, a city next to Karabük was considered to be in Middle Anatolia as well. According to this data, more than 80% of the workers came from the near provinces (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 27). On the other hand, especially civil servants and engineers came from other centers.

In fact, from the first period of the factory there were significant differences between workers, civil servants, and engineers in terms of wages, and quality. Especially discrimination among officers, engineers and workers was quite clear. The clubhouses of civil servants, workers and engineers were separate, and people could enter the clubhouses as their status allowed. Differences in the social centers of the city were so obvious that traces of it can be seen even today. Transportation, cafeterias, houses, places of leisure time used in daily life were also organized differently

according to civil servants, workers and engineers. It is possible to think that from those years, a negative impression began to be created in the eyes of 'workers' masses. Clearly, the workers who had limited representation and no union base were at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder. Kurtkan who visited the region in 1963, stated that even in those years he did not leave Karabük Iron and Steel Factory with positive impressions in terms of 'communication with the workers'. (Kurtkan, 1963: 15). Akkaya thinks that for all over Turkey, during the early establishment years, with 1936 Labour Code regulation workers got some 'individual' rights such as 8-hour-workday. However they had no right to protect these rights by organizing, or strike so they were seen as a 'class' who could not benefit from their rights (Akkaya, 2010: 95). The situation in Karabük was not different also even the 'control' and 'discipline' in Karabük could be felt more clearly due to industrial structure and its exclusive situation. Ahmet Çehreli states that particularly during the first years, people who were in the management did not find it appropriate to be disturbed by the workers (Çehreli, 1966: 146). During the management of Muhittin Erkan who came from Kırıkkale and was in the factory between 1947-1950, the 'those below' could benefit from the 'paternalistic' relations as expected. The newcoming manager at least 'let the workers rest'. He also made a lot of 'social initiatives' such as the leisure centers like the camp established in Amasra and different events were organized for the workers. On the other hand, as stated by Çehreli, the fact that the workers at least 'could speak' was the most important point during the period (Çehreli, 1966: 146-147). Muhittin Erkan can be found in various studies conducted on behalf of Karabük. In a sense, he is mentioned in various sources as a leading figure who made very significant contributions to the social life of Karabük (Çehreli, 1966, Ümit & Ateş, 2012, Kalyoncu, 2007, Kalyoncu, 2013). To name some

of the important contributions he made; openness to dialogue, organizing picnics for the factory workers for the first time, and social camps.

In fact, referring to Muhittin Erkan, who had a military origin, up to this time, mentioning picnic organization even today are important regarding the conditions of that time and the life at the factory for the workers. Back then such basic organizations particularly organized for the workers were very important for the workers who did not have any representation, and were not even 'accepted.' Dismissal of Muhittin Erkal in 1950 was, once again, the result of transition to a multi-party system in Turkey at that time. It will be beneficial to analyze the political atmosphere of the period with reference to the figure of Erkan. Muhittin Erkan was carrying on his duty in CHP provincial organization as a president besides his job in the factory. On the other hand, his 'easiness' did not work on the workers supporting DP and he exiled some of the fanatic workers among them (Kalyoncu, 2007: 72). Çehreli states that Erkan who was the 'successful' manager of that time got the 'partisanship' illness and in time his success and positive influence on the workers decreased (1966: 147). It is mentioned that, when DP got the victory in elections, while he was leaving the city, a group of workers led by those supporting DP tied cans in the train that he was on (Kalyoncu, 2007: 72).

It will not be wrong to say that people in the region and then the workers were really interested in 'politics'. For both the regulation of social relations in the city and factories in Karabük, for unions in a subsequent period, this 'political' effect had a great influence. Workers interviewed within the framework of the research have done quite a lot of emphasis on the issues of politics. Almost all of

them, except one of the first generation of workers interviewed, stated that they were sympathizers of the DP for that period. The novel where Atalay writes the story of his grandfather's life as a master worker also refers to his active political life that began with DP (Atalay, 2010: 205). Mehmet Ali Çamurali, interviewed by Yıldırım Koç, states that by the end of 1940s the workers, most of whom were villagers, supported DP in Karabük during the transition to multi-party process (Koç, 1999: 94):

There was a great reaction against the Republican People's Party in the factory. Then in the village everyone was complaining about pressure from the gendarmerie. All factory employees were villagers. Workers began to support the Democratic Party. As a matter of fact, Celal Bayar made a six-hour speech in a hall next to the Karabük Municipality. We all factory workers listened to him. People's Party meeting was also being held elsewhere. There was a great flow towards the Democratic Party.

76 year-old Mustafa Usta who was interviewed within the framework of the research uses similar expressions about the factory life, daily life and politics of that time as follows:

We were all supporting DP and Demirel... It was always like that and for everyone... You asked if there was anyone supporting CHP. Yes there were, but we were supporting DP, working class generally supported DP. Civil servants were supporting CHP, but workers were supporting DP. I was 14 or 15 when DP won the elections. I was not in the factory but everyone in factory and the village celebrated the victory. CHP oppressed everyone so the public were bitter, you see? We were like that too...

CHP which was the political party during single-party era that initiated the existence of Karabük had failed to achieve success since then. It is just possible to explain these with the relationships in the factory. This issue which also includes the tensions caused by the modernization process in Turkey is significant as a complex issue. But the 'under-handed' discussions on the 'right to strike' back then also had great influence on the issue related to Karabük and the factory. Since the elections in 1946, DP had been known as being positive about the 'right to strike'. However, it seems that CHP had the opposite standpoint. Çehreli says the then government was regarded in terms of the issues of the right to strike and the workers at the end of 1940s as follows (1966: 146):

Although the Trade Union Act no 5018 was implemented in 1947, unfortunately there was no person who had the courage to gather the workers in a union in the Iron and Steel Factory which was the main heavy metal industry in Turkey. However, in 1949, in response to the opposition parties' argument for giving the workers right to strike, workers were summoned to meetings from time to time and were warned about the dangers of strike. They were made to send telegraphs to the Turkish Parliamentary Speaker's Office that says, 'We (workers) do not want the right to strike;' there were examples of such telegraphs sent, but there were also some other examples sent to the Turkish Parliamentary Speaker's Office by the workers of opposite view saying, 'we want the strike'. This situation brought the atmosphere in the Iron and Steel Factory to a climax.

In 1940s, it is not possible to speak of an organization for the workers, or there was no such an organization in the 'public' sphere. Besides, it seems that the state and the administration in this regard were quite 'strict.' On the other hand, this 'reality'

resulted in the emergence of several trends within CHP. As against the group including Rebi Barkın and Sebahattin Selek who were 'responsible for the workers and tradesman,' (Makal, 2007: 242) there was another group including, for example, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay who was totally of negative opinion about workers' organizations. These groups were separated from each other during the process. In fact, the main thesis of Barkın was that CHP's effect was spread among the working class in society by means of 'workers' organizations'. Barkın and his colleagues aimed to give particular weight to Istanbul by choosing Istanbul as the pilot region (Makal, 2007: 241). This approach can be in a sense likened to Argentina's influential leader J.D.Peron's 'target relationship with the working class' (see Blind, 2009). Barkın and Selek were particularly interested in the process, after the Trade Union Act in 1947 various attempts were made. By the general understanding of the time, contacts were usually 'hierarchical' in nature. One of these initiatives was the 'establishment of a union' in Paşabahçe Sisecam Factory in Istanbul. Hasan Türkay who had been the union leader indicates the following on this issue (cited by Koçak, 2012: 39):

... [the then CHP deputies Ali Rıza Arı, Dr.Rebi Barkın, and Sabahattin Selek who were of working class origin] These three delegates came to the factory, entered the room of the general director of the factory, we surely followed... and they said 'you will establish the union in the factory.' But it is stated that the people to establish this union would be the people close to the current government and be reliable... That day we had 19-foremen at the factory, all these foremen were close to the ruling government of the time and they were also the representatives of the employer... They used to punish or reward the workers as they wanted, and could put the workers out on their ear any time... Those would not leave the job to the factory managers, or to assistant directors; they had a free hand on the workers... And these 19 people

established the Istanbul Glass Industry Workers Union...

With the pressure of the international conjuncture CHP, in 1946, in fact grasped the 'deadlock' issues faced after the transition to multi-party system. Sebahattin Selek and Rebi Barkın set lots of examples in organizing contacts with the groups working for the improvement of these deadlock issues. However, this fraction in CHP that 'gave some thought to' the working class had no significant effect. For instance, although there was the example of a union established by the 'top' in the manager's room in Paşabahçe, it is hard to find such examples in factories in Karabük or in other parts of Anatolia. In fact, Barkın seems to understand the public 'tendency' at the time and tried to turn the process in favor of his party by making it effective. Rebi Barkın, on the other hand, seems to care about the workers problem and representation of the workers. In his report prepared for his party CHP, with the title 'Labourer Issue in Turkey' in 1948, he states that workers were treated as paid servants in many places, when 'the representatives of the workers' wanted their rights they were accused of 'being communist,' there were many 'regretful' incidents about this issue by the security at the time (cited by Akkaya, 2010). This is, in fact, a sort 'confession' that reflects the era of transition. The period beginning with statist industrialization movement in 1930s extended the characteristic of 'rigidity' in time with the aim of coordinating 'national development' and newly opened businesses. Koçak defined the general factory regime as 'national factory regime' in his extensive work about the Paşabahçe Şişecam Factory workers. This definition is so convenient that it explains the role of the government in the 'establishment' period and it shows the conditions for the appearance of 'initial workers' and this definition

is explanatory in this context. This discussion can be traced to explain the cause of workers' big support for DP at the time. During the transformation period of this 'national factory regime', the discussion created by Barkın was be effective. The initiatives of Barkın and his colleagues which were convenient for the corporatism discussions later were quite limited at that time. In the context of general working atmosphere and factory regime, labour historian Koçak explains the 'national factory regime' as follows (2010: 36):

..., the national factory regime is characterized by the separation of core labour and environment, flexibility practices, direct state intervention made during the war years to the labour process and putting the burdern of production costs on workers. Pressure rather than consent was significant. Control in the labour process develops with a dual character in the context of discrimination between center-periphery labours. We find it appropriate to call this regime, which defined by national and / or company development targets, the national factory regime.

A 'union' was built by the end of this so called 'national factory regime' in İstanbul Paşabahçe Glass Factory where Koçak did his research. By the demographic structure of the labour force and the place where it was located, this factory had important differences from the factory in Karabük. Stricter applications of national factory regime were implemented in Karabük. In fact, the prominent causes of this situation were particularly the higher strategic importance of the sector, and the fact that 'immediate' workers' organizations were regarded unnecessary in a place that has a different demographic structure from İstanbul.

There were some incidents in Karabük not directly because of

'workers' organization,' but of 'attempts to organize' in 1944. Zihni Anadol, father of Kivılcım Kemal Anadol, who would later be elected as a deputy of CHP in the region in many times, was arrested in the frame of TKP detentions in 1944 in Karabük. Anadol, born in Zonguldak Devrek attended high school in İstanbul and was known for his 'communist' ideas during his time in İstanbul. Anadol who went near his brother that worked as the Governor of Safranbolu, began to work in the factory as a recruiter in 1943 with the help of his brother (Günçikan, 1999: 3). He began to live in civil servant dwellings and was uncomfortable the most with the differences between civil servants and the workers at the time. He was affected from the exclusive rights of the civil servants and, in his own words, the maltreatment against the workers, so he suggested 'syndicate' for the workers (see. Anadol, 2006). Anadol's arrival to Karabük was also related with the instructions given by the TKP to its staff due to its orientation at that time. Reşid Fuat Baraner, the Secretary-General at that time was the grandson of Mustafa Kemal's aunt and lived next to Mustafa Kemal in Çankaya Palace. Anadol's familiarity with him went back to his childhood. At the end of the process 16 workers in total were eventually arrested including Zihni Anadol who led the first initiative for an organization in the factory. The trials began in October, 1944 and Anadol was accused of forming a pro TKP organization in Karabük. (Günçikan, 1999: 4). Although they had very limited relations, in their own words, they were arrested due to a 'spy' inside. However, the detentions against TKP were realized and seen all over Turkey in 1944 (see. Türkali, 2011). This process is known as 1944 TKP Trial. TKP directed its staff to big factories at that time and tried to hold a position among the relatively big factory workers appearing in Turkey. 1944 detentions resulted with the detention of 65 people all over Turkey. The first initiatives for an organization in Karabük

ended without even starting.

The unions were not observed in Karabük although they were 'allowed' in 1947 by the Trade Union Act. Neither a union under control developed in a 'manager's room,' nor a worker 'based' union could be seen in Karabük. However from 1946 there was an important change in the social and political atmosphere. Especially with the establishment and effectiveness of DP, the workers mostly from the villages were widely affected by the party. In fact, the transition to a multi-party system was an important step for workers in seeing their quantitative power. They had 'voting potentials' and began to be considered as a part of the society in CHP after the discussions at the end of 1940s. The period after 1946 was defined as a passage 'from tutelage to politics' by Aziz Çelik (see. Çelik, 2010). This transition was important in terms of the history of the working class in Turkey and the characteristics of its formation. A class appeared 'feeling the power of its own existence' over the 'political' domain. In the process of working-class movement in Western countries, workers created their own 'political ground' in different ways, for Turkey, especially the transition to 'multi-party system' would reveal itself as a core feature. Keyder states that DP came to power in 1950 and this was a turning point in all terms in the history of Turkey (1995: 172). This transition had already started in Karabük in 1946 for the workers. An old-worker Mehmet Usta who started working in 1948 was interviewed accounts for those days as follows:

Workers or peasants, neither had no value (*he talks about CHP period*)...Your ideas had no importance, then what should you do? You had no value, so the Democrats were considered to be different. They supported workers. We were all glad. The government changed and this

was surely an important issue...

The workers who remembered or 'heard' those periods tells that people living in the villages did not appreciate the CHP management at all. On the other hand, most of the interviewers referred to the 'religion' problem. This is an important determinant in the workers' consideration of CHP. CHP's quite distant attitude towards religion and the process of 'rapid modernization' as a whole were effective in the political tendencies of the workers as a reaction. The issue of religion provided the 'opposition' with an effective discourse against CHP which could not pass from a despotic regime to a hegemonic one. DP which was generally the choice of factory workers from all regions after 1946 (Koçak, 2008: 108-110) benefited mostly from the despotic character of the former government against the workers, but the issue of 'religion' had an important role as well. After all, the workers were not there just with their worker identity. The workers had identities and social roles more than one. Religion issue, on the other hand, has been an important point for the research studies on workers not just in Turkey and for the Islam. 'Religion' can be accepted as an important social organization. In *The Making of English Working Class* by E.P. Thompson this point has been referred to many times. Thompson defines a power which is above their collectivities and the authority of factory managers when he says that 'the only authority for the Irish workers that were the most colorful and special category in English working class was the priests' (Thompson, 2004: 533-534).

On the other hand, DP appeared as an important address for those who regarded themselves on the left wing. In the candidate list of

DP for 1946 elections, there was Mehmet Ali Aybar who became the leader of the Turkish Worker Party later. Aybar who became a write-in candidate (Karpaz, 1996: 142) in the third rank of DP list was an interesting example showing the structure of the political atmosphere of that time.

Actually, the fact that the workers in Karabük came from almost the same region could be regarded as an advantage for organizations. Some researches on this issue indicate that in the USA where many industrial settlements arose with the construction of factories, capital holders encouraged the arrival of workers particularly from different regions 'to prevent organizations.' About the 'steel town' Weirton in the USA which was like Karabük in terms of the history and characteristics of its residential area Hinshaw states as follows (Hinshaw, 2002: 42-43):

...In stark contrast to the pottery towns, Weirton became home to a very diverse population. Some steel managers believed that certain ethnic and racial groups were well-suited to work in particular departments, and historians have found that companies hired large numbers of European immigrants and African Americans partly to keep the workforce divided and help prevent unionization.

It was necessary to wait for 1950s for the first union initiatives of the workers coming from mostly the same or similar geographic regions in Karabük. 'Political' area came before 'union' struggle those days for the workers. For example, towards the end of 1940s, there were some workers 'exiled' or 'punished' due to the quite tense political atmosphere (Çehreli, 1966: 145-148). It was observed that the workers were not totally 'passive' in the oppressive environment. The risks taken against the situation were

'political'. Multi-party process was also a turning point for Boratav. Boratav states that governments had to take workers, villagers and tradesman into account after that time, this obligation was significant in terms of the relations of distribution and economic policies (1998: 74). He also mentions that the populist approach could get a base giving to 'low classes' the chance to show their effect, and become determinant in politics and relations of distribution in Turkey in the last period.

3.4. In 1950 Workers 'get introduced' with Politics

On March the 14th, 1950, when Turkey was entering into a new period with the Democratic Party government, Karabük was one of the places experiencing the changes in an important degree. Especially during the process from 1947 to 1950, Democratic Party appeared as a political choice that excited and activated the workers. In his story about his grandfather's life in the iron and steel factory, author Atilla Atalay draws attention to Democratic Party and 'partisanship' which had excited the workers in Karabük more than ever before (2010: 205):

...Emiroğlu attending another course in the factory has forgotten his Ayşe and is consumed with partisanship to crown it all. He attended the meetings in the near villages getting up his motorcycle every day; he holds on to paper and pencil after the turn of the work, then disappears in the mornings riding his motorcycle again. He was in a village of Çaycuma for the party activity even on the day when little Nurten was born...

The Democratic Party had a fairly large impact especially after

1947 in Karabük. The workers appeared to have tendency toward debates in the political domain rather than struggling for their rights at the work place, but in the meantime they were already talking for the work place as well. CHP's efforts to create a more 'hegemonic' factory regime after 1946-1947 through 'Workers Offices' were quite restricted in Karabük, and in a way 'that ship had already sailed'. During the establishment period of the factory regime which was defined as 'despotic,' the 'unrecognized' workers had to face high doses of powerful hierarchy as well. 'Elections' were becoming more important for the workers because of the conventional reactions against 'rapid modernization', different regulations that had to be implemented on villagers by the government under the condition of the World War, and the 'problems' created by this situation.

E.P. Thompson talks about how the British workers had to make concessions of the 'right to consume and live' between 1790 and 1830 during the process of rapid development in England (2004: 256). This, in fact, is a 'universal' situation that occurs when funds increase and industrialization peaks up. Literary works are full of examples of 'workers who the price and carry the burden' of development in South Korea (Koo, 2001: 44-45), or of discussions about the generations creating the American 'dream.' Although he discusses the issue in broader terms, Thompson, in brief, states that with industrialization people began to be exposed to two kinds of unbearable relations -economic exploitation and political pressure- (2004: 253). All of these were the situations in Karabük during the rapid change and the rise of workers; all the more amazing, the workers thought there was a 'government' which seemed to be the addressee of this situation in the 'political.' In fact, under the poor conditions of World War II, the birth of a 'new'

settlement and 'employment' opportunity was an important incident, but that 'came at a price.' Mostly that price was compensated from the working class. First, besides the 'attendance' and 'regularity' problems of the new working mass including mostly the people from 'villages,' there were also the adaptation problems of workers to work in a huge industrial factory rather than the 'natural environment.' After the regulation in 1948 that can be summarized as 'the worker who walks-out shall not be taken back', there was a relative stability in employment. Besides, it seems that the 'factory workers' had an important role in the big success of DP on a city basis in 1950 in Karabük which was the province of Zonguldak at that time. In 1950 elections, while CHP received 62.000 votes in Zonguldak, DP received 107.000 votes. In Zonguldak, after the 1950 elections DP could have 9 and CHP could just have 1 deputy (see TÜİK, 2011).

It can be argued that the change in 1950 stirred Karabük. The workers established their unions based on 'partisanship'. On the other hand, local newspapers began to be published, shuttles working between the factory and the villages were increased in number and improved. For a town developing such a rapid rate, the settlement problem of the workers was an important issue. At the beginning of 1950s not only the factory workers, but the settlers who began to settle in the region in line with the revival took initiatives that forced the already limited city plan. In this sense, in Turkey, Karabük is the first example where 'slum' type of settlements could be observed. There had been no buildings having more than two floors until 1952 under the control of factory. For the first time, after 1952 three storey houses began to be built starting with the construction of '38 Evler'. Four storey houses began to be built in Yenişehir starting with the construction of

Kübana houses in 1959 (Kalyoncu, 2007: 86-87). In 1953, the status of Karabük as a district of Safranbolu province administratively changed into a province status of Zonguldak. This change paved the way for the expansion of the effects and service area of the municipality that had been established in 1939. The construction of multi-storey houses after 1950s was an initiative aiming to respond to the rapid growth. In the first plans that could be thought and implemented partially, the private gardens for each workers houses were considered (Öktem, 2004: 86). These gardens both provided a small chance to produce in the workers houses, and made it easier for the workers who had come from the villages to adapt to the city life. However, the reality that more workers and civil servants should be settled immediately, in a sense, forced a change from the houses with gardens to multi-floored houses. Besides, the settlements that were outside the limited plan began to appear at that time, and have survived even until today.

The most advantageous thing about the area that was useful for solving the housing problem at the factory was the transportation of the workers by shuttles to 'villages'. In this sense, the factory decreased the house pressure of the center relatively while solving the settlement problems of the workers by means of shuttles to villages. When Karabük became a province, 34 villages were linked to it. Some of them were so near to the 'center' that they could be regarded as in the center. On the other hand, Yenice settlement which was linked to Karabük as a 'sub-district,' but later became a province, had 19 villages. Transportation networks became widespread in the villages in 1950s. In the five neighbourhoods of central Karabük the population in 1960 was 31.483, in Yenice with its villages the population was 34.543 (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 13). 80-year old Hasan who had started to work after 1950 and retired at

the beginning of 1980s accounts for the 1950s and the settlements as follows:

...We are from Karaağaç village. I began to work in the factory with the help of my relatives. The development of the factory began with Menderes. I began to work at that time... They registered people for the union when starting to work. I was interested in the union later, there were some elderly people... The salary was not that much, but paid regularly which was surely so valuable. At first, working was so tiring, but after a while I got used to it... We used to walk to the shuttles, and then come back. We were generally in the same shift with the workers from the villages...

'Registration in the union' mentioned by Hasan Usta reveals that at the beginning the union was perceived like a unit linked to the factory. Ahmet Çehreli states that after the establishment of the first union after 1950 elections, 'a second union was established' because of the disagreements among the workers without a 'political effect' (Çehreli, 1966: 147). This situation was asked to the interviewee Hasan Usta a few times, but it is understood that he has no information about it. Probably, for the workers living in the villages at that time, union relations were relatively more of a 'secondary' issue. Çehreli states that the competition between the unions were working in favor of the employers, but at the expense of the employees between 1953 and 1954, the first work conflict was experienced in the factory after the demand for transference to 'work evaluation system' in 1953 (1966: 147-148). During this process the factory benefited from the competition between the unions and actually the 'protocol' signed between the unions and the factory in 1954 could not reach an exact result. The effects of the newly appearing unions were quite limited because there was no 'clear' regulation about the rights at work. According to

interviews with the laborers who used to work at that time, it seems that there were no elements that 'activate the workers' at that period.

Thanks to the 'Vestibule school'(Apperentice Training School) which would be quite effective later in the factory, the process of unionization and the regional attachments of the workers appeared slowly in this period. Firstly, it should be stated that the characters who created the first labor organizations in Karabük were trained in 'vestibule schools'. On the other hand, it is possible to say that the workers coming from the far regions were prominent more in working life in the factory and in the process of unionization than those who lived in the villages of Karabük. Motivations to work and interest in workers' organizations for the workers in the nearby villages were relatively lower than those coming from outside. In the work of Yazıcı based on the research on the problem of 'family' among Karabük workers at the beginning of 1990s, this feature can be observed in many angles during 1990s. Especially in civil society organizations in terms of approach to industrial problems and union phenomenon, there was an important degree of difference between the 'peasant worker' and the 'urban worker' (1993: 195-196). However it is emphasized that there were many similarities as well. Workers coming from closeby were relatively uninterested in a 'union' and there were some differences in the motivation in the work place as well. Samet who began to work in the factory in the middle of 1960s accounts for this situation as follows:

...Local workers, I mean the ones coming from nearby villages did not work hard. You can do a research and see who the headworkers and foremen were. So that they had a small piece of land, they regarded this job as secondary... however the others were different, they left

everything behind and came here, so they have been improving themselves...

Another important point about the differences between 'local workers' and the 'workers from further villages' besides the motivation to work at the work place, and interest in the unions was the issue of 'skilled labor' that was mostly constituted of the workers coming from outside. Although this situation was changed after the establishment of the 'vestibule' centre, it is possible to say that the situation had been different from the usual fact that the 'migrant' workers constitute the majority of the unskilled labour in a factory settlement.

Koçak who discusses the three different strategies adopted by the political organizations in the process of creating a working class in Turkey, and its effect on the creation of a working class defines the corporatist strategy of CHP, populist strategy of DP (*and also of the center right to an extent*) and independent-organizer strategy of the socialist left. According to these definitions, first one is a stabilizer, the second one is a distributor and the last one is an organizer (Koçak, 2008: 98). The tendency of CHP towards this issue was quite limited in Karabük especially after 1945. On the other hand, the strategy of DP which was populist, and as the distributor of the 'establishment' and 'resources' at the same time, by Koçak's terminology, had some characteristics affecting the process of unionization and political improvements in Karabük. DP period was important both for the improvement of the factory, employment capacity and class creation processes. With regard to Karabük, after the liquidation in 1940s of the socialist-left they did not have the possibility to organize that was already quite limited. Koçak interprets the approaches and strategies taken by DP and CHP against the working class in 1950s after the single party period

as follows (Koçak, 2008: 102):

...DP's populism was based on citizen groups rather than their classes, or organizations and included their relations of distribution by formal and informal ways, and mobilized them politically and ideologically against CHP which they represented as the symbol of bureaucratic elitism. On the other hand CHP's corporatist strategy was based on the recognition of the classes, evening them out, and directing them through central organizations for the common national interests ... DP like CHP wanted to hold them (workers) under control and prevent the transformation to working class, but its control was based on consent rather than force which was a difference from CHP. DP understood well that it was not possible to get without giving or at least without creating the hope to get. The developing industry needs compatible workforce that did not create extra costs.

During those years characterized by Boratav as the apprenticeship years of populism (1998: 73) and the masses effects on the politics could be felt, the vote of the 'citizens' was valuable. The rapid increase in the number of workers in Karabük in 1950s cannot be explained just with 'politics' but this issue is one of the most important factors in the explanation. The number of workers which was 3285 in 1949 and not experiencing important increases since the establishment reached 6748 in 1961 at the end of DP government. Political patronage relations had an important role in the number of workers that increased hundred percent at the last ten years. The number of the workers by years is indicated in the table 3.2 (Ersöz, Özdemir et. All, 2004: 42):

Table 3.2 : The Number of the Workers by Years

Year	Number of Workers
1942	3487
1946	3182
1949	3285
1953	4147
1957	5543
1961	6847

The first union established in 1950 which was formed of Iron and Steel Industry Workers led by İbrahim Odabaşı was united in 1956 by eliminating the problems with Iron and Steel Heavy Industry Workers established in 1952 led by Ali Kaya (Kalyoncu, 2007: 115). After the merger, there were some workers among the interviewees claiming that this merged union could not provide a full representation for the workers. Those kinds of similar situations in union area would be experienced many times in the following years. After the merger period, Ahmet Çelebi who was from Trabzon in the Black Sea region was prominent. Ahmet Çehreli would be the representative of the union that became a member of Türk-İş and won the right to send a representative.

In 1950s, besides the increase in the number of the workers, regularity of the workers began to settle. In 1947 the turnout rate was around 50% (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012: 89), Amiran Kurtkan states that the different reasons of the turnouts between 1954 and 1960 indicate a more established business compared to the previous period (1963: 18-19). The decrease in the rate of turnouts in Karabük was explained in the evaluation of Fındıkoğlu made in the 25th year anniversary of the factory with the workers ability to

adapt to the new heavy metal industry which they had been totally foreign with (1962: 27), and with the success of the 'administration' (1962: 28-29). On the other hand, Makal states that high rate of workforce turnover in the early republic period cannot just be explained with the uneasiness of the workers and the working conditions, instead the emergence of the settled workers and the decrease in the workforce turnout rates could be provided gradually in a very long time with the structural changes in rural-urban areas (Makal, 2007: 53). Hence, as emphasized by Fındıkoğlu 'regularity' could be provided in a short while.

The establishment of iron and steel factories and the impact of the environment can have similar characteristics in different geographical locations due to the nature of the sector. This kind of factories that are not built in already developed cities because of the needs for infrastructure, market, and workers like other 'industries' are established firstly regarding the proximity to 'coal fields'. Like Karabük's, it is possible to find similar 'ex-post built' settlement stories in India, Russia and the United States of America (Metzgar, 2000; Linkon & Russo, 2002; Bahl, 1995; Martin, 2008). Lou Martin who did a research on Weirton of West Virginia in the USA and the region in general with a method of worker oriented oral history, explains the emergence of 'steel towns' that were created out of nothing in the United States with both the nature of the sector and the relatively effective positions of the working class in big cities. In USA, India and many different parts of the World except the USSR/ Eastern Bloc Countries, steel towns were created by the private sector. In many examples, the names of the settlements were given by the fund holder. Lou Martin accounts for the establishment period of a steel town where the working conditions were quite harsh at the beginning (2008: 48):

The environment of Weirton, like all steel mill towns at the time, could be unpleasant. One townspeople recalled that the “red smoke” and the graphite “from the mills was so great you could pass somebody and couldn’t tell who they were.”. Arriving in Weirton could be a shock for newcomers. Horace Davis noted that many middle-class visitors to the United States were “horrified at the poverty observed in the steel towns.

Although there were some similarities with the Karabük example in Turkey, different advantages and opportunities appeared for the workers especially after the DP government in 1950 due to being a public investment. Both union organization and the original mechanism of the political participation differentiated Karabük and the working class here from the examples in the USA. German scientist Kessler researching on Karabük draws attention to the differences in settlement and plans between Karabük and Zonguldak, and talks about the advantageous situation in Karabük for the workers (Kessler, 1949). The Karabük example looked like the other universal examples in terms of sector and structure, but it had different characteristics due to being a ‘unique’ heavy metal industry initiative of the country in spite of limited resources. All of these evolved differently with the political stir in 1950s and the opportunities created by political sphere.

1950s would be the years when Karabük changed more especially with municipality investments in parallel with the merges in the unions, the decrease in the worker turnout rates and the general development of the country. On the other hand, Karabük was the city where international guests of Turkey were hosted in 1950s. Some World leaders such as the King of Iraq II. Faysal, Shah of Iran Rıza Pehlevi and his famous wife Süreyya, Afghan King Zahir Han,

the Emperor of Ethiopia Rastafaryan, and Haile Selasiye who was regarded as 'messiah' in religion visited the factory between 1955 and 1959 (Yazıcı, 1993: 92). The ambassadors of different countries also visited Karabük which generally hosted the leaders of underdeveloped countries. Hence, Karabük draws attention as a 'master investment' and future ideal of the young republic which realized 'democratic change' as well. Karabük Iron and Steel referred as 'the factory that establishes factories' got this character again in 1950s. The city improved rapidly also in terms of infrastructure. The investments for the Iron and Steel Hospital increased, the hospital enlarged and became a hospital that provided the first brain surgery in a 'rural area' in Turkey in 1955 (Kalyoncu, 2007: 72). The opening of the Yenişehir Stadium was realized in the middle of 1950s in that period. The 'factory' had an important role in those investments, construction of schools, the hospital, roads and parks. The opportunities of the municipality increased with becoming a province of Zonguldak in 1953 as well, it tried to organize the investments and plans in the city rather than the investments of the factory.

At the end of 1940s in Karabük the majority of the workers came from the Eastern Black sea region besides Karabük and Safranbolu. According to the data given by Fındıkoğlu, the third biggest group had come from the Central Anatolia, though he did not state that these workers had mostly come from Çankırı and its provinces which were close to Karabük. For example, in 1950, out of 3800 workers, 300 workers came from Karabük and Safranbolu, 1200 workers were from the Eastern Black Sea region (mostly from Trabzon), and around 600 workers came from the Central Anatolia and the majority of this group was from Çankırı and its provinces (Fındıkoğlu, 1962: 4-5). The process of 'democratic change' and

multi-party system in 1950 politically activated the 'townsman' communities in parallel with the DP's 'populist' structure in a way. In the following years, this situation marked both the politics of the city and the union struggle. It is noteworthy that during the first period, the workers from the Eastern Black Sea region were afore in both domains of politics and the union. All of the names referred in the first unionization process were from the Eastern Black Sea region. Osman Usta from Trabzon, who had begun to work at the end of 1950s and then after his early retirement started doing business in Karabük states as follows:

...Coming from different regions you see, you hold on to each other... Also, our people (he is referring to the region, Trabzon) were more active, confident, and restless... We later bought some land, but in the end this land is foreign and our people were more hardworking as well. It is their character. We all supported DP once, then we began to support Demirel... But ours did not include regionalism, I should say this. If you work harder, then you will shine out. All jobs are like this...

As it could sometimes be seen more clearly, the 'vestibule school' and townsman relations were effective in Karabük. Besides, the unions created in the beginning of 1950 and the mergers of them can be evaluated as a 'prepping' period. Most of the workers interviewed evaluated the unions as quite ineffective or as a unit of the factory. Absence of a 'legal framework' had a huge effect on it. Şükrü Korkmazgider who became the president in Çelik-İş General Management, began to work in the factory in 1950 was interviewed by Yıldırım Koç within the framework of this research. He highlights some points about both the workers and union structure at the end of 1950s as follows (Koç, 1999: 165-166):

When I started to work in the factory in 1959 there was the implementation of worker representation. The policy was to claim your rights by making requests within the limits of current laws. Everything was left to private initiatives and friendship relationships... The union was not powerful. There were different working conditions, payment scales determined and announced by employers unilaterally, premium regulations, and worker regulation of each unit due to the absence of collective labor agreement. Salary system was based on degrees and levels. The premium system was effective. This system was effective in increasing production and output. Shifts competed with each other to make more production. Premiums were significantly high in amount. It was 25-35 % of the salary... The technical staff was all consisted of outsiders, from other places out of Karabük. The skilled workers were also outsiders. 90 % of the unskilled workers were domestic workers. These workers had connections in the villages. These connections went on. This was the policy of the Iron and Steel. The settlement policy was important. What should the villagers do when they could not survive with the wages they got? They stayed in their villages.

In the following years, Şükrü Korkmaz Gider was one of the people who gathered the Çankırı-Zonguldak workers regionally against the dominance of the Eastern Blacksea workers during the unionization process. Besides, he became a key person in the increasing effect of MHP in 1970s in Karabük and political discussions of the city. Behice Boran indicates that with the DP, the citizens grabbed power by overcoming CHP, this was 'revolutionary in the political area' and provided a transition to a different level (Boran, 1992: 60-61). This level was the increase of the self-esteem by 'giving consequence' to the public and workers in Koçak's words (Koçak, 2008: 107). In 1950s, the situation did not change actually. Ömer Usta who began to work in the factory at the end of 1940s accounts for the 1950s, worker issue and DP as follows:

During the People's Party era no one recognized us. There was no value. We were like soldiers, or privates... The supporters of DP were the ones who were tired of this, so we all began to support the Democratic Party. DP was like us... It had not been possible to contradict them before. You asked what they had brought; almost everything... Especially the fair treatment. There can be problems in any area in politics, it is normal, but they at least appreciated...

It seems possible to find similar examples in many factories and worker settlements at that time. Koçak indicates that the period could not be defined just with the term partisanship which means the abuse of the party channels, but a positive term 'patronage' that means using party channels and opportunities could be more appropriate. Accordingly, the patronage relations in DP period were one of the collective and individual winning methods of the 'small man' (Koçak, 2008: 108). To analyze within the context of the historical period, it is possible to agree on Koçak's argument particularly on Karabük. Because the 'party channel' is quite functional in positive terms, up until today the parties from the same political tradition could be the dominant power in the cities and among the workers in the process. For example, in the elections held for the Karabük Municipality, CHP has never won the elections because of representing the opposite side. CHP can be regarded as successful in the closeby historical settlement of Safranbolu during the historical process, but it got support from the local people, civil servants, and white collar workers rather than the support of the 'workers' in this settlement. The 'psychological' (Koç, 1998: 229) attachment formed between DP and the workers went on for long years in Karabük. At this point, it is surely possible to highlight the significant impact of 'religious' evaluation

by the workers whose rural relations were more powerful as well.

With the definition of Kalyoncu, Karabük attained the character of a city settlement in 1950s (2007: 80-83). Kalyoncu thinks that the publications of the local newspapers representing social and political factions, increase in the number of cultural activities, rapid progress of land speculations were all indicators of this situation.

At the beginning of 1950 the workers had an important basic gain in the process of 'recognition'. 'Trained,' 'afraid,' and 'invisible' workers with 'low wages' had come to be linked with the factory more until the end of the period. Motorcycles, 'tortor' (or '*patpat*') in local language, came into the lives of the workers, and even some jingles were written for the motorcycles. Besides, the workers were attached to DP emotionally. These features characterized the era. Metin Özuğurlu, with reference to E. P. Thompson, states that the class theory should not be regarded as 'natural,' but as a 'tendency law' Thompson (2002: 38). This 'tendency' is explained by Thompson's concept of class-ways. Once the workers in Karabük had this tendency, there were different cultural, social and historical codes on the way. The method of analysis through tendency 'law' that Özuğurlu refers is explained as follows (2002: 38):

...An analysis method is meant with the concept of tendency law which refers to historical time, not the history of fragmentary times, but time as a process by conceptually revealing the holistic structure of these differences.

Lockman who emphasizes the different aspects of the Middle East from the West with regard to the notions of working class, becoming a worker and being a worker, and draws attention to the differences between 'workerness' and 'workers', reminds that exploitation in the 'work place' is not the single impact in the formation of 'worker identity,' but there are different social, cultural and historical conflicts in effect (Lockman, 1994: 185):

This is not, however, to explain the adoption of working-class identity as simply the product of a certain "experience" of exploitation and oppression in the workplace. Instead, as suggested earlier, one must examine the conflicted discursive field within which there were available to workers various ways of comprehending (or perhaps, more precisely, structuring) their circumstances, their experiences, and themselves, including those ways that posited class (in whatever particular sense) as a meaningful category...Among the elements from which Egyptian workers' subjectivity was constituted were most probably practices once associated with guilds, as well as what might be called popular-Islamic notions of justice, equity, and (for men) specific conceptions of masculinity. In addition to such "indigenous" elements (and ultimately overlapping and inter-acting with them), however, Egyptian crafts workers, self-employed artisans, and small masters, as well as workers employed in large modern enterprises, also began at this time to have access to the European model of working-class identity and agency, positing "class" as a (or even the) central feature of the social order and "workerness" as a means of organizing individual experience.

Katznelson states that Thompson's approach is specific to implement in different countries and regions, but accordingly the main points of his approach can help develop a better comparative approach. In Katznelson suggestion for the analysis there are four

important levels: structure, ways of life, dispositions, and collective action (Katznelson, 1986: 10). What Lockman wants to argue in his analysis of the Egyptian working class is a similar approach. In the end, speaking of countries or different regions which go through the 'same' progresses is just a general tendency of 'meta abstraction.' On the other hand, the second and the third levels mentioned by Katznelson are probably the most critical ones for analysis. At this level, the argument involves different components like social, cultural and historical characteristics, and their intense main effects in the 'short'-'medium' term can be observed, and it requires a method of analysis that is far beyond economic determinism. The so-called second and third levels may provide different outputs: in Egypt, for example, it was the notion of 'popular Islam;' or, in Turkey it was the conflict between the process of modernization and 'traditionalism'. In one of his main papers on this discussion Thompson states (1965: 357):

Class is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly, or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and, ultimately, the definition can only be made in the medium of time- that is, action and reaction, change and conflict. When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely-defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions, and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways.

In Karabük, when the conditions of the period and the people mostly from villages are considered, the workers who experienced working in a huge industrial factory were not only striving against 'economic exploitation'. They were also confronted with a

modernization process within the framework of the class structure and political relations in Turkey which can be regarded as 'rapid' even in the international context. The year 1832 in the USA is peculiar when it resulted in the rise of the working class after decades of struggle (Thompson, 1965: 312). As different geographies may bring along peculiar experiences, Turkey had its peculiarities in this period as well. The important point to note here is that the general 'tendencies' mentioned by Thompson in his own research are undeniably common. As an example Thompson's following statement summarizes how a task oriented construct, which is 'clock' dominated but, in fact, refers to the rediscovery of 'time,' directly transforms into a 'money oriented' one in industry (Thompson, 1991: 358):

The notation of time which arises in such contexts has been described as task-orientation. It is perhaps the most effective orientation in peasant societies, and it remains important in village and domestic industries.

İdris Usta who began to work at the end of 1940s after his military service in Karabük, accounts for the 'tyranny of the time':

...Is it possible not to have difficulties at first? You see, I thought that it was as if the military service hasn't ended yet. First, the work itself was hard, what you always do was group work, that's for sure, dining time was certain... Let's say morning, but what time in the morning? Even the minutes counted... Everything depended on time, I mean no flexibility... And our factory was also really strict... Haven't I reaped the benefit of this? Yes. Willy nilly you become like the factory itself...

The workers all around the world who happen to work at a factory will probably have similar accounts of time regardless of their

nationality. Although there were differences between the workers in Karabük who divided the day into five periods of time according to the Islamic interpretation in the region back then, and - through Thompson's account- the Parish communities in England whose sense of 'time' taught in the church was adapted to capitalism in time; the 'tyranny of time' and the clockwork experience in general are the crucial common characteristics of industrial societies (1991: 361). In agricultural societies seconds, minutes or even twenty-four 'hours' in a day did not correct, but at the present time everything depends on this notion of 'time'.

In the elections held at the end of 1950s, DP kept being supported both in the region and in the country with some decrease. During the time elapsed the workers opened many links, but DP did not keep its promises particularly about the unions. It is possible to say that this situation did not affect the support for DP so much apart from some mild criticism observed during the interviews made within the framework of this research and in the literature analyzed. During those years, even the 'different' uniform rule for the 'convict workers' had not been bended that much. On the other hand, the differences between civil servant-engineers and workers which became more apparent due to the experiences and expectations probably mentioned by the workers as a source of discomfort were improved to a significant extent when compared to the previous periods, but it did not reach to the desired level. The investments made by the factory were basically based on these differences. It was still possible to talk about 'a very strict hierarchy' everywhere including the houses provided, shuttles, leisure centers, and social relations. On the other hand, it is possible to say that the relatively relaxed workers in 1950 started to analyze these issues. While the 1960 Military Intervention was

approaching, the general atmosphere of pressure and confrontation that was increased by DP through the end of its rule could be felt easily. However, as seen by the individual support of the workers for DP, the organizational structure of the workers, and the attitude of the union there was no active 'opposition'. Yet, it is possible to see a supportive discourse in the press briefing of Ahmet Çehreli who was the then president of the union. After coming from Karabük to Ankara, in the newspaper *Milliyet* issued on November 28, 1958 he talked about granting the 'Turkish workers whose conscience is worth anything' with the 'right to strike.' In the press briefing, Çehreli framed five demands, three of which were the basic ones, as 'the minimum wage enforcement, workers' housing allowances, mining compensation payments, paid annual leave, leisure activities for the workers' families'. The demand highlighted as 'mining compensation payments' consisted of an insignificant amount of side income for the workers in Karabük like the one implemented in Zonguldak. Besides, as understood from the demands, leisure centers for the workers were not satisfactory for the workers back then (see. 28 November 1958, *Milliyet* Newspaper).

While the 27 May Intervention was coming, in the 'special' news of *Milliyet* dated 26 March 1960 -just two months before- it was stated that the double salary bonus paid for the Ramadan Holiday in Karabük Iron and Steel Factory each year had not been paid that year, and around 10 thousand workers could not get their bonuses, and this situation was reported to Ankara by the administration. Enunciation of '10 thousand workers' in the news back then meant that this number included civil servants and managers as well. Because it is known that the total number of the workers at that

time was around 6500-7000 (see Çelik-İş, 1989: 11)¹. This date is noteworthy for indicating both the growing expectations of workers who had 'usually been inactive' and the fact that they were claiming their rights. Among the interviewees Nuri Usta who began to work in 1955 can partially remember those days:

...It was just before May 27, either the Holiday bonus was given incomplete or the wages were underpaid, something like that... Salaries had been discussed in the union too ... I mean, it was not a big problem for me actually, and I just said to close people that we should get it. Now I remember, they said no one should get the money, nobody got, and I did not get it either... After a while the salaries were paid I guess, it was already a complicated time. Soldiers took the possession...

To some scholars like Küçükömer, the processes that lead to 27 May can be explained by the 'bureaucrats' defence, besides the conflicts of the modernization process in Turkey (2014: 124). Some important discussions in terms of democracy such as the increase in the emphasis of 'democracy' by CHP until the end of DP government, Declaration of Primary Targets accepted in the 11th Congress were effective in the Constitution discussions held after 27 May. CHP had direct influence in critical commissions after the 27 May period as well, and it is stated the Declaration of Primary Targets had much more effect than the Constitution (Emre, 2013: 56). 1961 Constitution which was accepted after the 27 May period has still been regarded by many scholars and experts as the most democratic constitution in Turkey. Hence, 1960 is one of the break points in Turkey as a date. For example Aziz Çelik in his work about 1946-1967 period accepts the establishment of DISK in 1967 as a

¹ The union and the company do not have any data for the number of workers in 1960. In 1960, this was probably the case in many aspects due to military intervention. According to data of Çelik-İş, 6614 workers in 1959 and 6847 workers in 1961 were working in the factory. It is also possible to give a number between these two for 1960.

break point and handles the 1946-1967 period in this context as a period of 'break away' from the 'tutelage' of the union set after 1967 (Çelik, 2010: 25-34). Symbolically the date DİSK was established indicates a break away from tutelage and the paternalist approach within the domain of the union, and this took place in the period from 1960/1961 to 1967. Aziz Çelik evaluates 1947-1960 unions as follows (2010: 35):

...We can name the 1947-1960 period in Turkey as the childhood and adolescence period of the unionization movement. It was a still period of energy accumulation for the formation of classes. Unionization and partisanship two of which are the critical levels of class formation matured in this period. Historical and objective conditions of this period played an important part in the politization of working class after 1960.

Şehmus Güzel links the control of DP over the unions in 1950-1960 period with the more successful application of 'tutelage-control-order' relations which had been initiated by CHP before 1950 but lasted short (2007: 113). Güzel's argument is important, but it is interesting that the initiatives for the victory of DP were taken by workers themselves at least in the example of Karabük during the period before 1950. Koç's proposition that 'the working class had not been an important political power' before 1960 (2010: 153) is an acceptable proposition as well. However, in this period, 'political' channels and the worker's relationship with the politics (not as a class), besides the still accumulation of energy highlighted by Çelik were also reflected in the relationship of the state with the working class. The effect of the relations of working class and politics with the general improvements in the country is a constantly highlighted phenomenon throughout this study as well. The relation of the 'political' domain with the working class have

been effective since the 1908 Strikes which was 'the most important strike wave' in Turkey (Çetinkaya, 2014: 27) until the improvements made in the last period.

3.5. Conclusion

After the opening of factory in Karabük, the rapidly growing number of the workers experienced a different cultural, economical, and social phase. In the first phase, the fact that the 'qualified' workers came from outside the surrounding villages, and outside the city whereas the local workers basically had been given the unskilled works is an unusual example. It has changed over time when the factory pioneered the establishment of educational institutions to train workers for the sake of factory. However, the workers who were 'discoverer', and 'timid' and experienced modernization and working class rapidly and simultaneously back then got into a serious process of change. Workers started to pay attention to politics as an interesting area, and the organization by workers regarding 'political parties' became more prominent than the unionization in the factory. 1950 election results and implications are quite significant in this respect. After the 1950 elections, unionization increased. Besides, the first examples of 'cronyism' and political based conflict and solidarity took place in that period, which continued in the factory in the proceeding years. 1950s is very important in terms of both establishing a general factory 'system' and the development of the first union experience.

CHAPTER 4

1963 -1980 PERIOD: THE PROGRESS OF WORKING CLASS “IN TURKEY’S GERMANY”

4.1. Introduction

Making ‘classifications’ in the historical process are the problematic and they can never be ‘fully’ explanatory as categorizations. 1963 regulations referred to are; “Trade Union Act no 274” issued on July 24, 1963 in the Official Gazette and “Union Agreement of Strike and Lock-out Code no 275” affected both the labour relations and the political domain in general towards the 1980 military intervention in Turkey. In fact, 1960 or 1961 when the new Constitution was implemented could be accepted as the beginning of this process. All the same, 1963 is taken as a base for the research due to the legal situation it causes directly for the unions and workers.

1960 is very important in the history of Turkey within the context of the economy. The 1960-1980 era was when a new period began to be implemented towards the domestic market with import substitution industrialization policies. It was the initiation of a strong domestic market with the redistribution of income and politization of certain economic sharing mechanisms with a Keynesian approach. Serkan Öngel states that this approach paved the way for the allotment of economic resources to the private sector, and by intervening in the redistribution of the demand for the local market some union rights and freedoms were tried to be improved (2012: 89). 1961 Constitution can be defined as the legal framework for such a situation.

Besides the creation of the union in Karabük between 1950 and 1960, the number of the workers in the unions reached from 72 thousand in 1950 to 282 thousand in 1960 (Makal, 2002: 276). Although the right to strike was not stated in the legal legislation and in spite of all kinds of problems, in this period there was an important increase in the number of the workers in unions. 'Regional' unions that had been established with the mentality of a business were the dominant form of organization for Turkish unions in this period (Dereli, 1965: 160-167). On the other hand, with the establishment of Türk-İş, 'meta-organization' took a rapid stand.

4.2. Workers' Lives Changing in 1960s

1961 Constitution guaranteed the most basic rights of employees without separating the workers and civil servants. However, there were no detailed legal regulations about the union rights. Many scholars working on labour history state that the belief that Bülent Ecevit was 'the pioneer of union rights' is wrong, but many limitations in 1961 Constitution regulations were implemented by 1963 laws. Koç emphasizes that right to strike defined in the 47th Article of 1961 constitution clearly was limited to 1963 regulations and the right was restricted (2010: 156). Lots of debates took place in the literature after the recognition of the right to strike in 1961 Constitution. Some scholars state directly or indirectly that 'the right to strike' was the product of the struggles in 1950-1960 period, but Koç indicates that it was not possible, there was no situation like taking the right 'by force' even many of the workers voted 'no' in the referendum due to the closeness to DP (2010: 156-157)². The workers interviews and the numbers confirms the

² 1961 Constitution Referendum was held in 9 July 1961. 61, 7 % of the votes was yes, 38, 3 % of the votes was no. The constitution was accepted with the participation of more than 10 million citizens.

argument of Koç for Karabük easily. The constitution was 'rejected' in 11 cities. When searched within the city base, it is seen that 11 cities rejected the constitution. These cities were Aydın, Bursa, Çorum, Denizli, and İzmir, Kütahya, Manisa, Sakarya, Samsun and Zonguldak (Karakartal, 1984: 174-175). The rejection rate in Zonguldak was around 53 % and in its province Karabük rejected the constitution with 55% rate. On the other hand, participation rate in the cities which 'rejected' the constitution was higher than the average of the country. In the total of Zonguldak, Karabük came in the third rank after Bartın and Kurucaşile in terms of the dominance of 'no' votes (see. <http://referandum.secimsonuclari.com>). In the center of Zonguldak, the rejection rate was 46% but the provinces like Karabük changed the result. The voters above 25 thousand at that time in Karabük were mostly consisted of the workers when it was thought that the near villages were related to the factory also. Some workers interviewed emphasized the same situation. Ziya Usta who began to work in the factory in 1950s and participated in local politics in Justice Party (AP) and True Path Party (DYP) states that:

In this region the situation never changed...After Menderes was executed, the referendum was held. In the whole country only 3 or 5 cities said 'no'. It was so difficult. You could not answer to anyone... Military intervention took place. Karabük said 'no' in the referendum... we could not say our ideas everywhere but the outcome was proving everything...

It is possible to mention about the increase in the 'democratic' expectations all over Turkey even though the effects of the mobilization in 1961-1963 were so limited in the change of legal

opportunities in those years. Those who expected democracy were consisted of also the workers and the unions. As stated by Makal, the period before 1960 passed with the struggles of the unions 'to be recognized' (2002:311). These struggles were related to create the corporate operation and provide self-esteem for the workers rather than collective movement appearing more in the next periods.

The economic orientation in 1960s would be of a special period for public organizations and workers like the ones in Zonguldak, Ereğli and Karabük. It was expected that the government investment would create input in private sector on the basis of import substitution industrialization. Besides, with the developing union rights this region went through 'spring' seriously. Aytekin and Şengül explains this situation as follows (2011: 168):

With the establishment of a giant, state-owned steel company in Ereğli in 1965, the triangle formed by Zonguldak, Karabük and Ereğli became the spatial focus of Turkey's import-substitution industrial strategy. In this regard, the mid-1960s can be taken as the major turning point in the history of the region. Between 1965 and 1980, as urbanisation extended throughout the region the population of the city of Zonguldak doubled, while the region's population increased by 50 per cent.

Çehreli points out that the union could get 'partial' improvement salary increase for the workers in 1958 and 1959. After 1960, before the legal regulations about the union's area in 1961 and 1962 were accepted, salary increase agreements were accepted at the beginning of the year (1966: 148). The union whose full name was Karabük Iron and Steel Heavy Metal Industry Workers Union stayed 'local' without joining to an upper organization in terms of

'federation' even though it had joined to Türk-İş until 1963. This union in 1963 joined to Türkiye Maden-İş Union (Turkish Miners Union) led by Kemal Türkler and adopted the role of a pioneer union for DİSK that was established in the coming years, but it was joined with Türk-İş at that time. The role of 1963 regulations in promoting 'meta organizations' was big in these mergers. However, it is stated in many resources that the workers in Karabük were reacting against this merger which was conducted with the slogan 'unity in money and idea' used by Türk-İş at that time led by Ahmet Çehreli. Hür Kalyoncu (2007: 115-116) states that the workers in Karabük who were 'silent' until then, were dissatisfied with this merger with T. Maden-İş that was based in İstanbul for being assigned to different duties in a short time period, and they established another union against the merger back then, but its operations were finished in order not to affect collective labour agreement. T. Maden-İş signed the first 'collective labour agreement' on July 1, 1964 in Karabük. This first collective labour agreement which was signed with the employer as the Regional Hub of Iron-Steel unit that was linked to T. Maden-İş included around eight thousand workers, and an important percentage of salary increase and social aids were provided (Çehreli, 1966: 149). This merger within the framework of national unions and the relation to T. Maden-İş did not last long. With a stir (rebellion) in October and November 1965 the 'branch chairperson' and the workers resigned from T. Maden-İş (Turkish Miners Union) and established Karabük Steel Industry Workers (Çelik-İş) on November 17, 1965. Besides the prominence of 'localism,' allegations of 'irregularity' were influential in this separation. On the other hand, it is argued in different ways that the existence of a union with a 'tendency to the left' in this strategic factory was not desired both by the business itself and the government as well. The stir in

October and November 1965 does not seem that much coincidental. Justice Party (AP) came to power on October 10, 1965 elections by taking more than 50 % of the total votes. Six out of nine deputies in Zonguldak were from AP, two of them were from CHP and one of them was from National Party (MP) (TÜİK, 2011: 13). Karabük played an important role in the victory of AP in Zonguldak. The votes for AP and MP were much higher in Karabük than in the city in general. After all, this provided an important reason to separate from the union that was known for having a 'tendency to the left'. In the news by Özçelik Küçükertunç in *Milliyet* dated November 20, 1965, it was recorded that 4600 workers had resigned from T. Maden-İş and a new union had been established. In the same news, it was saying that the leader of Miner Union Kemal Türkler had come to Karabük and had stated that various abuses in Karabük branch had taken place, so the managers had been sued. The statement of the Branch Chairperson Ahmet Çehreli was in the same news as 'We are not to blame at all'³. These explanations and claims represent an interesting example for the corruption/abuse issues with the unions that is valid even today. In the following years, the terms 'corruption', 'union', and 'abuse' were used quite frequently. There are many workers who knows about those years with the T. Maden-İş and they remember the first collective labor agreement. It is observed that many of the workers do not see the separation from T. Maden-İş as a main problem, but in their statements after the separation they frequently relate unions with corruption. Even though this does not reflect the general tendency of the workers, Kadir Usta who had begun to work in the factory after 1960 remembers the process of separation from Maden-İş and frowns on it:

³ "4900 workers resigned from Maden-İş Union in Karabük", 20 November 1965 *Milliyet*.

By hook or by crook, the workers here resigned from Maden-İş. We were new back then, we had limited networks so, to be fair, I did not say anything. I had other problems back then, I was not interested in it. I was, and am, just interested in my money. But was that good? I do not think so... Kemal Türkler leaded it, the man who was shot later. You see, they shot him, it means this feller did something, he claimed his rights. Then compare him with the older unionists here...It was said at that time "we are from Karabük, we have no effect in the union, and the men above are suspicious... Of course, wasn't there politics included? Hey, f.c.k the politics! It is just corruption, bribery, what else can you make of all this? The workers mostly supported Demirel for sure... Then there appeared no Maden-İş again.

The period starting with the 1961 Constitutional Law will be remembered for its in terms of unionism and labour rights in Turkey. The founding of Turkish Labour Party by the unionists, the permission civil servants got for union organizations, increase in the number of activities the unions can carry out mark this period (Koç, 2010: 204-209). And if the improvement of the domestic market by import substitution period is considered, it can be seen that a 'steel town' located in the country just like Karabük becomes more important within the context. At the same time it was a time when the living conditions of the workers were getting better, activism in the unions was ascending, and workers' unions and workers were getting more active in local politics. Lütfi Usta who entered the factory at the beginning of 1960s, and retired with the turn of 1990s describes the period after May 27 as follows:

...There were releases after May 27 and among them were our seniors and acquaintances. Back then there were workers on duty in district organizations or so... Most of them started again, you see. We also felt very happy when Demirel won in 1965... I surely remember that election, and in fact progress started after that, you see, and a factory in

Ereğli was opened. When we speak of investments, our factory was already doing everything...

With Lütfi Usta's words “our factory was doing everything” are crucial to understand the workers' general psychology in 1960s. The period after the 1960s is in fact when workers' self confidence, and self respect, and confidence in the factory they work for peaked. Although the saying 'factory that makes factories' has its roots in the previous years, it was also used frequently by the workers in their daily life in 1960s and 1970s.

The factory workers went through another important process in this period. The Vestibule School that had been established when the factory had started in order to provide workers, and had stayed open for long years was closed in 1959. And the Technician School had been open since 1958. Besides that, a very important school that raised pioneer workers for the coming period was opened in the period after May 27 with the name Evening Trade School (*Akşam Sanat Okulu*). Şükrü Korkmaz Gider who was also the Union Chair in 1970s states the following regarding this period in his interview with Yıldırım Koç (Koç, 1999: 166):

The vestibule school was equal to a secondary art school to go after primary school. Enver Kaya was also from there. The vestibule school was closed in 1959. In 1958 the technician school was opened in Karabük. And after the Military Coup evening art school was opened. They had three years training. There were two shifts at noon. It was half a day theory, half a day practice. And they were doing their practice by working in the factory. The students were boarders. They were also receiving some allowance. Three meals a day, clothes, overalls were also provided. The graduates of the vestibule school could immediately start work in the factory. The first graduates of the vestibule school had

also done their military service at the factory after a short training. There were no skilled workers back then. The graduates of the vestibule school were treated like engineers. Because they were boarders, their friendships were close. They used to act together. They used to control both the politics and the union movement in Karabük all the time...

The establishment of the Technician School and the Evening Trade School after were actually related with a change in the general population structure and an improvement in the qualities of expected 'workers.' In fact, examples of workers who were 'treated like engineers' that Gider focuses on about could be seen more among the graduates of the Technician School and the Evening Trade School in the following period. The new generation of workers was pioneers also in the union movement during this period. Local identification and the total changes and transformation, in Bourdieu's terms, in the 'habitus' accelerated in these years. There was also a strange correspondence between the Labour Act regulations in 1963 and the local experiences. During this period workers' sense of belonging and their respect both towards life and their job improved significantly. Considering some of the important points like the establishment of Turkish Workers Party (TİP) in 1961, CHP's stance becoming 'left of centre' in 1965, establishment of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK) in 1967, and particularly the movements of university youth movements of 1960s was noteworthy for significant changes. The influence of 'radical public opposition' was always limited for the factory workers who had left Turkish Mine Workers Union in 1965. After the car crash causing the death of Ahmet Çehreli who had been a prominent figure in local union movements, the first Chair of the independent union Sabahattin Bulut did not want to continue the role; hence the Vestibule School graduate Enver Kaya who is

originally from Trabzon-Sürmene became the Chair of Çelik-İş Union in 1966. Kaya who had had and would have active roles in the Justice Party, took over the Chair when unions became more effective and their institutional power increased. Right after the union had been established, discussions over being either a 'local' or 'national' union shaped its formation. In the amendment congress of the charter in 1967, the decision was to be a member of Türk-İş and all these tasks to be carried out via the administrative board (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism), 1996a: 229). In the second congress held in 1968, Justice Party member Enver Kaya who had been widely criticized for 'being a party member and propagating a political party' was elected as Chair again ((Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism), 1996a: 229). Even though there had been reports in the newspapers in 1966 and 1967 informing of a strike led by the union that represented more than 10 thousand workers, it never came true. To be clear, there were not even very influential attempts. Similar news reports telling of 'a possible strike' with 'wage dispute' as the reason were frequently seen after this date. But there was no protest coming true. Protests like 'grow a beard' which was one of the current significant types of protest that had become widespread in 1960s, and was also remembered during 1989 can be seen in Karabük in 1966. There were news reports on the front page of Milliyet Newspaper on October 23, 1966 that workers who were protesting the factory's assembling department manager Nejat Vural's relieve of duty would go on 'beard strike.'⁴

Iron and steel production plants are established near coal mines and generally on premises that are called 'steel town.' It is possible

⁴ "500 Assembly Workers Will Go On Beard Strike for Their Manager", October 23, 1966, Milliyet.

to see similar examples in different geographical locations like the USA, Russia, Germany, England, or in underdeveloped countries after 1960s. It is usually possible to talk also about a relatively more powerful 'paternalist' structure that developed differently from other sectors. It is also likely to see similar examples in France where the historical development of business ownership and country conditions are different. 'Factory' that permeates in social life and also urban life with it affects the structure of the working class pretty much as well. Daley states the following in his study on iron industry workers particularly in the area of Lorraine in France (1996:66):

...The organization of social life in the steel towns revolved around the plant and the patron. Capital was concentrated in small uncompetitive plants with labour-insentive technologies, and owners sought a political solution (market sharing) to competitive threats. Labour practices were governed by a search for social stability. Employers tended to own essential elements of social infrastructure. Housing, central to paternalist system, was provided to most workers. According to one estimate, the steel firms throughout France could house over 50 percent of its employees by the mid - 1950's...

There is a difference between France and Turkey in terms of investments done entirely by the public. The 'political' domain is almost the base in the formation of paternalist relationships between the workers and the management in the example of Karabük in Turkey. Since the establishment of the factory even starting to work has been shaped by the relationships formed in the 'political' domain. In many of the interviews, the importance of 'party' network in the process of starting to work was stressed by the workers. Besides this distinctness, Karabük also has the international features of a 'steel town,' therefore in itself it has relatively 'improved' opportunities provided for the workers.

In 1960s the factory in Karabük was no longer an establishment that has difficulties in finding workers like the beginning, or has worker turnout problems like later; it started to turn into a factory that lots of people from the region and even from outside the city looking for a job want to work. This, at the same time, was one significant reason for the tension between political 'paternalism' and economic management, union claims and claims of the regional population. In the years to follow, some of the problems seen in many public businesses in Turkey are experienced in Karabük, too. In his study published in 1963 where he presented the data of his research, Amiran Kurtkan gives an account of his observations regarding the factory and unemployment as follows (Kurtkan, 1963: 80):

Thus, some of the relevant people that we interviewed on worker productivity in Karabük states that since the wretched unemployed masses have reached to significant amounts the number of workers applying for a job in the Factory is quite a lot. They insinuated their opinion as instead of employing workers in small quantities and taking measures to make them work with high productivity, employing more workers for lower daily wages was right from 'the viewpoint of social justice'...

This observation by Amiran Kurtkan in Karabük is, in fact, quite significant in the process of the factory going towards privatization. Yet it should be noted that rather than the so called 'viewpoint of social justice' stressed by Amiran Kurtkan's 'relevant' interviewees, political 'clientelism' would mark the era. Rahim Usta who had started working in the factory in 1965 and then at the beginning of 1980s left at his own request to start working at private sector, and worked in a private rolling plant as 'worker manager' for donkey's

years, in a funny kind of way discusses his own process of set at work and 'productivity' from the point of view of his private sector experience in the interview made:

...I began to work after Demirel had won the election. We found a connection both in the union, and in the party who was a member coming from hereabouts (his own village). I had just returned from the army... I mean, back then it was surely effective in finding work. There were lots of Art School attendants, too. One way or another, I managed to land the job. We started at the same time with my uncle's son.... But I was willing, you see, I loved the job... Look, the job is different in the private sector, I now look back from where I am, and see the factory did not get closed only by chance. When you hire staff, they should be of use; yey I must confess probably it wasn't like that either when we were hired. I mean, you want to start, but what are the requirements? Not everyone got hired according to their interests, you see, I was already interested; for instance, my cousin started and then left, he wasn't like me... You just said workers, union, etc, tell me how come there will be a union now; they start work and go on upon persuasion... The factory has taught us a lot, but when I look back, I really wonder sometimes how it functioned...

It seems that foreman Rasim has in a way attained some consciousness of productivity that Kurtkan mentions by looking at 'working relationships' from a different perspective at the private sector that he had been transferred later for, in his own words, 'high pay.' Besides, it should be noted that foreman Rasim stands out among the other interviewed workers for his quite strange characteristics. The foreman who had been a successful worker in the factory seems to be a unique person for leaving his job after getting an offer from a private rolling plant, which is not a very common situation. The prominent feeling among the workers in that period was, in brief, 'pride.' This perception that had also been

significant in the first period workers, but essentially seen particularly after 1960s indicates an international characteristic of 'steel labor' (see Crowley, 1997; Daley, 1997; Linkon & Russo, 2002 etc.). In Linkon and Russo's research on Youngstown which is one of the most important steel production centers in the USA, it is stressed that it was pretty widespread among the workers 'to be proud of the job' especially when the factory was working with full capacity (2002: 88). This might on the other hand result in a situation that also 'the dominant discourse' benefits. However; with reference to the fundamental importance of business line during the industrial era, it is noteworthy that the emphasis on 'pride' comes to the fore. Naturally, hence this process at the same time took place at a public investment in Turkey, working at an establishment that was the fundamental means and symbol of progress for a young Republic might have prepared a more powerful basis for this situation. Linkon and Russo explain that this situation does not make the exploitation invisible for the workers, and in some conjunctures it might transmogrify. None the less, the following statement about steel labor and 'pride' that was also used by the investors and the state in the 'steel town' Youngstown which is one of the steel centers in the USA renders the 'spirit' of the era (2002: 94):

...all the workers at the steel mill, from the labourers to engineers, work together to make the steel that is formed into cars, buses, streetcars and household goods, and all share a similar feeling of pride in their contribution to modern life...

Also in the research by Akgöz on Bakırköy Cloth Factory workers, it is seen that the appeals to the 'state' and progress by the government were directed towards the workers until the 1950s and

it was partially successful (Akgöz, 2012). This is more apt for workers who work at critical 'heavy industry' branches like the iron and steel production. Besides, for a working class who work in a place that is referred as 'the Germany' of the period with increased income levels, social opportunities, and, what is more, with increased self confidence this 'pride' has a different meaning. Müslim Usta who started work in the mid 1960s, is one of the workers that used Germany analogy for Karabük back then. He emphasizes the following about the period:

...Definitely you learn a lot here. I mean it is the base of the world. Contemporary civilization means iron and steel. I mean the basis of business... You see we were like Germany. Back then I used to go to Istanbul and Ankara. I think there was no other example like our life in Karabük, or the characteristics of the workers... I don't know about before, but wages had not been bad; in fact after September 12 the streets may have settled, but our income decreased. Before it had not been bad... The steel worker knows, I mean they are interested. Producing steel isn't just like producing other materials... If I had not worked here, my horizon wouldn't have broadened...

It is not by chance that Germany was a measure for development in 1960s. Germany that signified development since the late Ottoman period is known for taking workers from Turkey after 1960 to close its manpower deficit. During this immigration process, lots of immigrants particularly from Zonguldak's districts Devrek and Çaycuma emigrated. Karabük back then was part of Zonguldak.

However, the number of people that involved in this immigration wave from Karabük and its whereabouts was quite limited. Germany has such a place in the collective memory of Karabük workers.

1960s are in fact noteworthy for the development of public economy politics besides the rise of 'welfare state' in Europe and liberation movements in underdeveloped countries. Although the Soviet Union had more weight in the world's political stage after the World War II and the 'Cold War', 1960s are when the new balances of power were stabilizing with the developments around the world besides the regional wars like Vietnam. While the Berlin Wall built in 1961 was symbolizing the era, balances of power within this era were stabilizing. In 1970s with the Soviet Union policy of 'living together in peace' the world was entering into a new stage. During World War II besides the 'welfare states', the underdeveloped countries were also in search of a path choosing between socialism and capitalism. It is not independent of global conditions that import substitution was adopted in Turkey.

Labour history researcher Atzeni has a critical approach towards Argentina's ruler in 1946-1955 Peron's 'control' based method for relationships between the state and working class, however he also puts the difference from previous eras (2010: 37-54). On the other hand, welfare policies about how to share the great 'revenue' around the world are noteworthy during this era. Yet, in countries like the USA that are behind in this subject compared to Europe, other processes such as the great Steel Strike in 1959 show up. Workers, who were in the steel sector which particularly has high profit rates, asked their share from this welfare in 1950s and from 1950 onwards they sometimes had severe struggles. But this process that started on July 15, 1959 and involved 500 thousand workers, one of the greatest strikes in the history of USA up until then is important on behalf of social participation (Metzgar, 2000: 58-59).

The period after 1963 will also affect the 'worker profile' significantly. Even though, in Hakan Koçak's words, the 'working class was formed silently' in 1950s (see 2008: 91), what happened in Karabük is a bit different from examples like in İstanbul. Regulations in 1963 were a serious breaking point for the workers and the union as an institution. Experiences in 1950s are quite important for sure, but the period after 1963 is significant in terms of the fact that the union literally grew stronger and the self 'confidence' of the workers improved. The positive effects of these regulations are relatively stronger for the workers in rural areas. For instance, Kalaycıoğlu, who did a research on the working class in Bolu states that 1963 Labor Code regulations were a turning point in Bolu in terms of union organization (1995: 252):

...In Bolu, the first unions appeared after the 1963 Labour Code. At the time of the research all large industrial establishments (over 100 workers) public or private, were unionized....

It was already mentioned that union disputes gained momentum with 1960s. After the election victory of the Justice Party in 1965, the independent union chosen by the great majority that had left Turkish Mine Workers Union was powerful in Karabük. Another group that declined joining Çelik-İş Union and were pro- Turkish Mine Workers Union published the Union Bulletin from 1966 to 1968 (Kalyoncu, 2007: 116). It is seen in the available issues of this bulletin that it refers to unionization processes, evaluates the working class from a 'leftist' perspective, and it voices harsh criticism towards Çelik-İş Union⁵. Steel workers were under the

⁵ According to the explanation of an old-line tradesman from Karabük, Selami Aydın who helped me to reach photocopies of two issues of this bulletin with low readability, published issues of the bulletin back then was not much.

influence of vestibule school graduates, later fellow townsmen were favored, and along with local politics a rapid process of conventions began.

Disputes in Steel-Workers Union about affiliation to an 'independent-local union' or 'a national union' in a way went on continuously; some steps were taken, in this sense, to the extent that permitted by the local networks. Discussions of affiliating to Metal-Workers Federation conjoint with Turkish-Workers Union were influential in this period. Decisions taken about this subject sometimes change even from one year to another. The disputes on whether to join Metal-Workers Federation or not would go on until the 1970s. (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 229).

The central Karabük which previously had five main neighbourhoods had fourteen neighbourhoods in 1965. With the formation of these neighbourhoods the population in the central neighbourhoods Bayır and Hürriyet also decreased (Kalyoncu, 2007: 122). In a way this also means the formation of lines of business and at the same time reproduction platforms for the workers at the center of the town. Mr. Hulusi, who ran a restaurant that he had opened in one of Karabük's central neighbourhood Hürriyet at the end of 1960s, says the following in his interview:

...Originally I am not from here. I learnt about Karabük from a friend during the military service, I also had acquaintances... This place (town center) livened up in fact at the same time when we opened our restaurant... Lot of places were turned into pubs, coffee and tea houses. Some time later there were more workers commuting between here and their villages by shuttles... Young workers predominated...

In the period after 1965 besides the shuttle network to the villages, this development in the town centre also seems important. In fact, according to some workers' statements, the existence of a livelier social life in the town center compared to the past caused some problems in family relationships of the settled concerning the use of time. What is more, bitterness of class and status differences that had existed since the establishment of Karabük still went on these years. There were 'separate' social clubs for workers, civil servants, and engineers. Also besides a 'public' garden with a pool, summer and winter movie theaters, and a youth club, there was the DÇ Stadium which was the only grass pitch in Zonguldak back then (Sakka, 1970: 21). The hierarchy in the clubs established for the workers, civil servants, and engineers marked great differences also in those years. Engineers club had the quality of an aristocratic club. Due to an observer from that era, the club had strict rules, and foreign classical music was played in the place (Bayraktar, 2006: 28). Workers from that period points to these great differences as well. The engineers who were around 200 in number at the beginning of 1970 (Sakka, 1970: 20) used to represent a different cultural atmosphere in the town, but their effect in the cultural domain of the town was very limited. Local historian of Karabük Hür Kalyoncu detects the following about this subject (2007: 124):

...clubs not only prevented the communication of social classes, but also evoked an artificial class distinction in town. This portrayal of Karabük defined the class categories in town as engineers occupying the top of the pyramid, civil servants, tradesmen and industrialists in the middle, and workers in the base level...

Workers who had better expectations and 'self confidence' back

then also told lots of narratives about this situation. As a strange data in terms of local politics, engineers were referred as "leftists" by the workers. Although this situation is difficult to be proved through data, along with lots of workers who delivered opinions about this era, it is also noteworthy that it was frequently stressed during the 'focus group interview' made. Workers who had more expectations and political power at that stage, placed 'engineers' on a higher and different category although workers did not have a greater 'wage gap' between them like the one they had compared to 'industrialists' or mighty tradesmen. Hür Kalyoncu's description of the system based on class distinctions represents the general perception of workers in Karabük. When the workers are interviewed about 'class' distinctions in this period, the fraction they stressed the most is the 'engineers.' For instance, similar statements to Ömer Usta's who started in the factory in 1966 were seen in other interviews:

...Of course there is a class distinction; I mean you can't go in the engineers' clubhouse. There is a different life there; engineers were different of course... You know, there were some who got on with the workers as well, they were also in our section, but they used to live differently compared to us... It was surely luxurious for us, I, for example, came across with this a lot, I remember that when you say class distinction...

'Engineers' whose status was basically not different from the workers in terms of classical Marxist terminology, are for those times the first group that come to the mind of workers when they hear the expression 'class distinction'. The categories 'habitus,' 'field,' and different 'capital' by Bourdieu are pretty significant in this context. According to Bourdieu, the concept of class cannot be

understood only through positions of 'economic' foundation. It will surely not be wrong to approach within the frame of objective class position, but it is not enough to understand the 'practice' (Bourdieu, 1986: 101). It is not enough to define a class or a fraction of a class only by the means of production or the production itself; in fact it mostly brings along serious errors. Just as Bourdieu explains, occupation, income, and the level of education are noteworthy as significant 'indices' (1986: 102). 'Educational capital' is particularly a significant determinant. In addition, specific to the example of Karabük, although the business is a 'public' one and the owner of the property is the state, it is distinctive that 'workers' think of a 'different class' of proprietors when the concept of 'class distinction' is mentioned. In some situations relationships with local industrialists or 'mighty tradesmen' are regarded more positively compared to the ones with classes of different 'educational capital.' In the end, even though there are gaps of 'income,' or 'wealth,' it is possible to have common 'tastes' to a large extent with these fractions. This situation particular to Karabük cannot be regarded as 'secondary' either. In fact, this process was quite determinant in the context of local politics. Bourdieu relies on the data from his research on France while stating the following point on social classes (1986: 106):

Social class is not defined by a property (...) nor by a collection of properties (...), nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (...) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practice...

The role of 'religion' should also be recognized in this sense. Even the construction processes of mosques in Karabük indicate this situation. Findıkoğlu states that the initiative for Karabük's oldest and biggest mosque Yenişehir was taken completely by the 'workers circles' (1964: 33). The cost of the mosque building was deduced from the monthly wages of workers. There were similar cases also for the subsequent mosque constructions. While making these statements Findıkoğlu also makes quick evaluations on problems of the 'secularist' approach adopted by CHP for some time (1964: 31), and falsifies the Marxist assessment of working class and 'anti-religion viewpoint' (1964: 33). Yet, here it is important to specify that Marx makes a more different and deeper analysis of the relationship between 'religion' and masses. Marx also stresses religion's function of being 'the heart of a heartless world' in his analysis of the relationship of masses with religion. In the same paragraph of his well-known quote of the 'opium' analogy, Marx (1992: 244) also emphasizes this function of religion:

Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to give up a condition that requires illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo

The rapid modernization process Turkey went through and the tension among the religious practices of Islam in large masses affected both the political and the social domains pretty much. Although the 'conflict' between 'religion' and the Turkish

modernization process has its roots in the pre Republican era, the main tensions will increase during the Republican era. Many of the implementations like the abolition of the caliphate, prohibition of religious sects, Turkish azan, and alphabet reform were all regulations directly related with 'religious communities.' Besides, developments in women's rights, clothing reform, presentation of 'the codes of Western life' as the ideal way were all hand-in-hand. Herein, the Kemalist establishment's attitude towards religion, in Zürcher's words, was also disagreeing with the elements of 'popular religion' beyond the 'institutionalized Islam.' Here, reactions and resistance were increasing exactly at this point (Zürcher, 2000: 279). CHP that developed a 'pungent' attitude with limited means at a 'constricted' timeframe like the real 'universal' argument of modernization became the political addressee of all those tensions. Islam attained also a 'political' content as a reaction to the regulations of daily practices that can be considered as 'popular religion.' Zürcher stresses that by turning their backs on 'popular religion' Kemalists had severed all ties with the masses (2000: 280).

Besides, there are significant differences between the Western Christian belief and Islam. Taner Timur stresses that although both Christianity and Islam are monotheist religions, there are significant differences between them. Secularism in Christianity developed as in the conflict of the state-church, the state stretched its material authority to the detriment of the church (Timur, 2001: 123). Since spiritual and material principles are tightly connected in Islam, this results in disputes on whether 'secularism' is 'compatible with the essence of Islam or not' (Timur, 2001: 124). Kur'an is in a sense seen as the 'a to z' of moral, legal, and political principles. It is also possible to find a 'theocratic' side to Islam in essence. Besides the

belief in 'modernism', secularism, and a new legitimism, behind the Kemalist attitude towards religion there was also the fact that there had been a 'lack of examples' in the Islamic geography around the world having these discussions. That is to say it was not possible to find examples in Europe like CHP's attempt in a strict modernization in a constricted timeframe.

It is possible to find various discussions in literature on the fact that Islam provides a different frame from Christianity for the relationship between working class and 'religion.' As Thompson (1966) stressed many times in his influential work, it is difficult to find outputs in Turkey similar to the relationship of religion and the notion of 'radical working class'. Besides this, it is even more difficult for Karabük in particular. Even though there are certainly some similarities in the use of 'religion' as a reference to social justice and in the 'reading' of the narrative as a whole by the 'low class', it is more possible to see quite different outputs from the example of England. The tension between religion and modernization was reflected also in the working class in the Islamic countries Tunisia and Egypt that were claimed to go through similar tensions like Turkey especially after the 1960s. Aside from that, import-substitution, industrialization, and state-led development processes in these three countries provided working class organizations attain a relatively stronger political and social role (Beinin, 2001: 136). Certainly Bourguiba's Tunisia, Nasir's Egypt, and Mustafa Kemal's Turkey had their own unique features of modernization processes. Yet, among the Islamic countries they also have significant common points in their processes of modernization. Even though the experience of Turkey had a forty year long past, and the process in Turkey included serious radicalisms especially at the beginnings, in time it is possible to see

similar disputes in these countries resulting from the tension between modernization and religion (Beinin & Lockman, 1987).

It also seems that in particular to Karabük, 'religion' and mainly the Sunni Islamic interpretations have been an important reference for the social life in Karabük particularly for the workers coming from nearby settlements and the eastern Black Sea region. Although the workers interviewed did not always 'openly' refer to 'religion', it is a noteworthy element in the political, cultural, social, and even in unionization processes. Bringing along pretty important results in political processes, these cases include very important data in terms of 'public Islam' which Zürcher considers (2000: 280) as an element of 'popular religion.' In the town where communities of religious cults and sects were intense, 1970s would also include the deepening of these processes. Mausoleums and entombed saints more than ten in number still being visited in the region seem crucial in the context of the religious life in Karabük. In a research on the 'superstitious beliefs' of iron - steel workers, it is stated that the practice of 'superstitious beliefs' are pretty common among factory workers (Gözen, 2006: 114). Sorcery and 'incantation' are noteworthy among the common practices. Narrating the 'supernatural' stories of workers particularly in the night shift, Gözen draws attention to groups that specifically deal with these situations in the social and public domain as well (Gözen, 2006: 97-108).

4.3. Hectic Days of 'Politics' in 1970s, Working Class and Daily Life in Karabük

While coalition discussions were going on after the 15th Parliamentary Election on October 14, 1973, an important change took place in the 4th General Assembly in Karabük carried out on December 21-24. The convention in which Şükrü Korkmaz Gider had been elected as the Union Chair (TSA, 1996: 229), also became a turning point in terms of the tense street politics of 1970s. In 1967, Gider had been among the founders of the district organization of Republican Villagers Nation Party which changed into Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) in 1969. His position in politics and the union would also be referred with this party later. At a time when Turkey's political agenda and the streets got stirred, the fact that an active supporter of MHP had become the Union Chair in Karabük triggered various course of events.

The fact that the factory workers' general characteristics had transformed in time was also a factor behind Gider's election victory. Şükrü Korkmaz Gider was a representative character who appeared at a time when the technicians and the graduates of the 'Art School' which had been opened in 1959 exerted their authority. He had been among the pioneers in the organization of 'Art School' graduates and 'technicians' against the previously dominant 'Vestibule School' graduates. In fact, he had been the leader of a group that became popular with frequent civil conflicts in the union after 1969 (Koç, 1999: 167). Technicians and the 'art school' graduates were in a way foundation of relatively 'young' and self confident workers of the period after 1963. But besides this, Şükrü Korkmaz Gider's election was most importantly the consequence of an 'alliance' between Çankırı and Zonguldak that was represented by the district license plate codes. Known as the '18-67 alliance', it

was the formula of workers acting together from Karabük and its vicinities which were connected to Zonguldak, and from the close by province Çankırı. This process included the organization of local workers' 'reaction' against the fact that workers coming from Eastern Black Sea region, particularly Trabzon, had been assuming leaderships in unions until then. But it was also noteworthy as a result of the 'qualification' of local workers. Gider states the following about the convention in which he had been elected as the union chair (Koç, 1999: 168):

The General Assembly of the union was held at the end of 1973. We were going to enter the delegate elections as the art institute graduates again. In the mean time we did something else. We gathered people that were close to us. We considered the features of the region. Ovacık and Eskipazar were connected to Çankırı. There were also lots of workers from other townships of Çankırı. Half of Karabük was from Çankırı. We also included Safranbolu and its villages. The 18-67 alliance was the alliance of the folk of Çankırı and Zonguldak. We established that. Enver Kaya had been the chair of our union and he was a candidate again. Enver Kaya was from Kastamonu Araç. He was gathering his relatives and trying to get their votes to win. So we too gathered these friends. We said, 'We can do this job.' Justice Party (AP) was supporting Enver Kaya. Enver Kaya had worked as the district president of AP, and became a parliamentary candidate. And CHP was supporting the second candidate for the chair Mehmet Ali Börek. I was the third candidate. Mehmet Ali Börek was from Erzincan. He used to say, 'Elect me as the chair, I will serve you as such and such.' When I stepped in, things changed. We thought, 'We usually have elected delegates, why not be a candidate?' I had served in two unions. When it was decided that I become a candidate, I held a preliminary meeting. The neighborhood press captioned, '18-67 chose their candidate.' This term was first used there. I became the candidate of the Çankırı and Zonguldak's folk.

By this way leadership role of the workers who had been close to the stance of Justice Party from the previous term and mostly from Eastern Black Sea, after the end of 1973 passed to a younger generation of mostly local workers who were associated with MHP. When Gider was chosen for the position, he was a young worker who had just turned 30. 'Transition to a 'national type of union' was also declined in the same convention.⁶. This transformation in Karabük just before the 37th government's formation by the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit on January 26, 1974 known as CHP-MSP (National Salvation Party) Coalition in the public and political history would also be effective in the years to follow. The union was organized and powerful in the factory in İskenderun as well. However, Gider says that they were hard done with the April 1974 workplace referendum, and their organizational activities in the factory in Ereğli were 'prevented' after the Prime Ministry of Ecevit (Koç, 1999: 169). Hikmet Usta who evaluated this change in the Karabük based Steel-Workers Union (Çelik-İş) and the period in Karabük following 1973 in terms of the workers, said the following in the interview made within the scope of the research:

...Of course I remember the Congress that Şükrü's team won. Şükrü was an active kid, I certainly know him... I am from Çankırı as well; he is from Yapraklı (a district of Çankırı). We all, workers from the region, supported him; I mean everyone belongs here, but we are guided by the folk of Trabzon. There was an awakening... Şükrü was a bit extreme, he was from MHP.. But he was hardworking, he was known for that... He became a candidate when he was most active, but he couldn't be elected from Çankırı... Yet, I must say, he stirred the political agenda anyway...

The decision 'not to turn into a national union' made during the

⁶ "Çelik-İş'te Yönetim Tümüyle Değişti," December 27, 1973 Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 9.

union's convention in which Gider was elected could, in fact, result in the dismissal of the union from Turkish Workers Union (Türk-İş). Because Türk-İş had made such a decision for that period. Back then Çelik-İş was connected to Metal-Workers Federation. And the chair of this federation was Enver Kaya who also had been the chair of Çelik-İş. A 'national union model' had been established as Turkish-Metal (Türk Metal), and the purpose had been to gather unions of the same line of work under Türk-İş. After that decision made in the convention, problems with Türk-İş to last years long started (Koç, 1999: 169). Referring to the union with political street movements also increased in this period. In fact, in some of the press reports back then it was released that 'nationalist ranger workers supposedly going from Karabük' were interfering with unionization processes in different regions around Turkey and creating scenes. For example, in Milliyet Newspaper's issue on July 13, 1975 it was reported that a 'rangers' (chauvinists) group of 150 who made a scene at Seydişehir Aluminum Factory by attacking workers from DİSK had been brought from Karabük and Kırıkkale⁷. While social struggles and street movements were getting stronger in Turkey in 1974 and 1975, the workers union in Karabük was also influenced by the political agenda and various tensions created. And the tension caused by whether or not to join Türk-İş and Türk Metal had lasted as a painful and stressful process until 1980. It is claimed that there were different decisions made in some conventions, there were obstructions by the Council, and in some conventions quorum of decision was the issue.

After the election of Gider as the Chair, various 'business corporations' and investments of the union were at issue as well. This and similar issues would increasingly be an important base for

⁷ "Seydişehir'de İşçilerle Komandolar Çatıştı, Üç İşçi Yaralandı," July 13, 1975, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 10.

the 'corruption' disputes in the following periods. Yıldırım Koç states that in the Union Act no 247 article no 14 which allows the unions to "invest in artistic and economic concerns provided that it be no more than 30 percent of effect", has the purpose of unifying some fractions of working class with the system (Koç, 2010: 226). During this period, Çelik-İş Union established its own company, and later raised serious claims by becoming a partner with Asya Fruit Juices (Koç, 2010: 227). Some workers also mention investments in partnership with Yünsa Company and in a rolling mill in Bolu Gerede whose construction never ended. The investment that the union had planned to make in Gerede which was claimed to be transferred a serious amount of resources was never completed. This investment and the related claims of corruption were for a long time among the significant topics of conversation within the workers.

The number of people who started working at the factory especially through the mediation of National Salvation Party (MSP) had increased since 1974. Three of the interviewee workers also declared that they started working directly thanks to this network of relations. Political paternalism which had also been intense in the previous periods had an increasing effect through different channels in this period. There was the influence of MHP in the union domain, and the influence of both MHP and other right wing parties particularly through Nationalist Front (MC) governments on the factory was strong. Fevzi Usta, who was born in 1950 and worked at the factory from 1974 to 1994, says that the following regarding this period:

I had been an artisan before, I was a tailor. There were people in AP [Justice Party] that we had known; we gave some money to start. Back then wages of the factory was good... Our ancestors were really poor;

my father used to tell us that they even looked for wheat in turd and ate that. Thank God we didn't famish, but you see before they had... The job had also been different; there had been more troubles previously. In our time technique was advanced... I didn't interfere much with the union; I mean it is a different place... It seems like MHP supporters were the majority, but mostly they were only the powerful ones, sure I was not that far, but I didn't go into politics either...

It was inevitable that the town did not get influenced by the political left-right opposition. There were some left wing dominant regions in the town which was mostly rightist. On the other hand, leaders of the workers in the factory were the influential names in political life in Karabük. It is stated that this was reducing the fights and tensions. For example, Mehmet Ali Börek from Erzincan who used to be in the opposition side of the union movement in 1970s was at the same time the District Head of CHP. Metin Türker who would later become union chair, and Enver Kaya who had been the previous union chair were both party executives in the Justice Party. All the same, it is stated by various interviewees that the dominant structure in the union especially during the period after 1974 counteracted the relatively weak structure of the left both in the factory and in town. Gider stated the following points about that in his interview with Koç (Koç, 1999: 172):

There weren't many fights between the right-left wings among Karabük workers. That was within the public. The reason why it wasn't among the workers was because ranking people from both wings were pretty mature. For example, Mehmet Ali Börek used to be the District Head of CHP. We used to go arm in arm on the streets. We were setting an example like that. Even though we had different views, we always respected each other among the workers.

Safranbolu that is 8 km far from Karabük and is a district of Karabük today is also noteworthy to understand the right-left wing oppositions in town in 1970s. As an historical settlement the overall political tendency in Safranbolu is different from Karabük. For example, the municipality in Safranbolu has always been governed by CHP since the past, yet there has not been any mayorship won by CHP in elections in Karabük up until today. Kızıltan Ulukavak who was the Mayor of Safranbolu between 1974-1980 and also interviewed states in his memoirs that the political tension that had been felt since the 1970s was influential both in Karabük and in Safranbolu (2010: 374). The Cultural Center that had been established indirectly by the mayorship's support in Safranbolu became a gathering place of the leftist youth; it is also stressed that from time to time tensions increased with people coming from Karabük. Although Safranbolu is an ancient settlement, it has also been under significant influence of the factory since its establishment. The settlement which had a relatively 'easy' daily life compared to Karabük was a chosen residency area by the civil servants who used to work in the region in 1970s, and it is also known that there were a great number of iron-steel workers living there. The ex-Mayor Kızıltan Ulukavak states the following in his book regarding Safranbolu folk's perception of the factory at the beginning of 1970s (2010: 4):

At the beginning of 1970s the greatest source of happiness for a Safranbolu resident was to start at Karabük Iron and Steel Plants as a worker; finding this opportunity was equal to finding the jackpot in the National Lottery and gaining a higher social status. Becoming a factory worker was the best reference and the strongest assurance towards future for the youth who wanted to get married.

Contact between Karabük and Safranbolu that is pretty close to the fast developing 'steel town' Karabük was very intense. The reason for that gets clear when the 8 km short distance in between is considered. Workers Clubhouse of Karabük Iron-Steel Plants that was opened at the end of 1960s in Safranbolu Bağlar region which is still popular today, was one of the most popular places in Safranbolu at the beginning of 1970s (Ulukavak, 2010: 6). Due to some information received from the interviewees, a significant amount of the leftist workers in Karabük used to spend time in this clubhouse.

In parallel with the developments in Turkey, the process in which political tensions intensifying and political assassinations surfacing in Karabük and Safranbolu would take place after 1977. Ulukavak states that the first political assassination in the region took place in Safranbolu in October 1978 targeting the Chair of Cultural Society Ali Türk by the 'right wing' youth (2010: 375).

It is stated that there were summer and winter sections in Yenişehir Movie Theatre opened by the factory in Karabük. The movie theatre that was more active in 1960s had actually been from the initial dates of establishment of the factory. A worker who started at the factory through the end of 1940s stressed that in the movie theatre a new movie had first been released for the British and their families, on the second night for engineers and civil servants, and on the third night it had become open to everyone. In 1970s this changed and workers also could see the film on its 'first release.' Yenişehir Movie Theatre and particularly its 'summer cinema' section have a special place in the accounts of the workers. Many workers referred specifically to the cinema while talking about the

daily life in 1970s. It is known that in 1970s this movie theatre in Karabük used to release particularly the foreign movies at the same time with İstanbul (Ulukavak, 2010: 6). The fact that this made such an effect that people from close by towns and even cities came to Karabük, was stated many times by the interviewee workers.

1970s are also noteworthy as the years when cars were replacing motorcycles, in the folk saying 'tor tor'. From then on, one of the most important consumer products was the 'automobile.' One of the interviewees, İsmet Usta, who started at the factory in 1975 says that when he started working at the same factory with his father, his only aim was to own an automobile:

...my father was one of the old workers in the factory... In fact, at the beginning I didn't want to start here, I had come from the military service. I opened a small business, but it didn't go well, you see, I was young, and I always wanted to have my own business... Then my father insisted, and my mom pressed. Back then there had been a chance to enter. He told me not to miss this chance, and I can't forget that he even said, 'people are giving money for this opportunity, what do you think you are doing?' I was single back then, so I was staying with my parents... Of course there were lots of poor fellows, but we were fine... In short, even though I didn't want it, I started at the factory because of my father, but I warned him, 'look, I will buy a car...' And he didn't utter a word, I bought a white 'Murat' [car brand], I used to give all my money for it; of course I got my parents' support as well. I bought 'Murat', you see, I never forget it, even the engineers didn't have this show off... By gosh, we were like Germany, that's why I am saying it. Cinema, cars, having lots of fun, back then we had good money and so forth...

4.4. End of 1970s: Union Chaos, First ‘Resistance’, Tense Political Environment

Karabük workers who had been introduced with some of the positive sides of the import substitution period in a ‘steel town’ established by public investment, were also being affected by the increasing influence of political tension in Turkey. A frequent change of governments in 1970s is a very crucial situation also for the workers in Karabük. Since the plant is a public investment, changes in the government was very important for the business and the union. What’s more, it seems that the factory has a special situation because since its establishment and the production settled, the main determinant of its employment structure had almost always been the ‘political patronage.’ It is possible to see many parliamentary questions about Karabük regarding the period such as illegal scholarships and worker hirings in the archive records of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) (tbmm.gov.tr/ last access 29.05.2015). While the Turkish working class movement was starting a new period and the influence of DİSK was spreading especially in the cities around İstanbul since June 15-16, 1970, Karabük was going through a relatively calm period in the plant in terms of ‘employee-employer’ relationships. Tensions were high mainly in local areas showing up as partial problems. Besides that, it is possible to consider that the state was taking measures for these ‘strategic’ investments both in the union and political domains. Union leaders were at the same time the political opinion leaders of the region. It is possible to make this evaluation for almost all political structures.

Discussions on ‘meta-organization’ in the union domain

accelerated in this period. Different tendencies since the beginning against the 'merger' in Çelik-İş Union that experienced serious problems being under Türk-İş organization can be summarized with three different views at the end of 1970s. The first view was the tendency of not being connected to any confederation. This view which already had a pretty strong local support was also being indirectly supported by fractions that raised factual difficulties in the 'merger' process from time to time. The second view which Türk-İş was also inclined was supporting adherence with Türk Metal Union that was based in Kırıkkale. And the third view that was supported by the team of Gider through the end of 1970s as well was the idea of merging with Türk-İş via another union that would be established together with Türk Metal (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 229). In the convention held in 1976 under the strong impact of 'politics', merging under a third union within the structure of Türk-İş together with Türk Metal was decided. A protocol was signed with Türk Metal Union and Turkish Steel and Metal Workers Union was established on December 20, 1976. During this process Çelik-İş was not under Türk-İş. However, it has always been a union which has 'Karabük' workers as its skeleton while also having some members in various private sector plants besides in İskenderun. While talking about the complexity of merger process Gider says that he is definitely pro 'adherence' and 'merger'. However, decision to merge was not taken in the convention where Gider was elected chair once again. The strange thing was, the decision of refusal by the General Assembly that gathered one day after the establishment of the union bound by protocols made everything pretty complicated (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996: 230). Due to the protocol, Türk Metal and Çelik-İş would each send 50 delegates, and Turkish Steel and Metal (*Türk*

Çelik Metal) convention would be held for three years. But when merging was refused, these plans and the protocol failed. The union also decided to move its headquarters to Ankara in this convention held at the end on 1976. The union that lately tried to gang up on in different businesses and particularly private sector chose Ankara in a sense to open out to Turkey from a central place. On the other hand, with the effect and guidance of 'politics' Gider accelerated his activities in ganging up on private sector from the headquarters that he moved to Ankara. Gider says the following about the process and developments after 1976 Convention (Koç, 1999: 170):

In the meantime, we moved our headquarters to Ankara. We started to organize throughout Turkey. I started to open branch offices in various places. We opened branches in Kayseri, Bursa, Adana, Eskişehir, İzmir, İstanbul, İzmit, and Denizli. This work lasted two years. My intention was still to make adherence real. Karabük and İskenderun Iron and Steel were collective workplaces. Their delegates used to act collectively. I did the necessary organization in the private sector. Delegates I brought from there were more than the ones from Karabük and İskenderun.

An approach like moving the headquarters of the union in an era when there were civil war conditions in the country was, in fact, not received very well by the base. Crown it all, some problems showed up in time between the 'private sector' delegation and the workers in Karabük. Abdullah Usta, who first had not wanted to give his name in the interview although years passed since he worked in the period of 1976-1979 in the discipline section of the union, and later started talking about his impressions when he was told that the real names would not be used says that the following about 1976-1979 period:

...There were strange types in Ankara, and they weren't from Karabük or so... I mean, we were in the old generation, there was a list called discipline or so, and I guess I was in the list, but doing the job is difficult. I said that I won't do it, I won't go on. Then behaviors changed, so I didn't say much after that. I mean the work in the union had changed back then, and the country was unsettled in that period as well...

The number of workers who became members of a union in Turkey multiplied two and a half times from the beginnings of 1970 to 1980 (Ahmad, 1994: 156). This significant increase was on one side related with class struggles, but also with the fact that political subjects from both right and left were directly busy with developing the union platforms. None the less, Koç states that the announcement of the number of union members before 1980 by the Ministry of Labour was based on one sided declaration of unions without any proving documents (Koç, 2010: 194). Kazgan indicates that the rate of industrial growth in 1963-1976 was at a level of %10 (1999: 110). After 1976 these numbers were reduced significantly, and the inflation rate in the country reached % 25 in 1977, %52 in 1978, and %64 in 1979 (Kazgan, 1999: 133). Especially the problems experienced during 1977 and 1979 formed the basis of an agreement with IMF in June 1979. Aydın states that (2005: 42) demands for new regulations both by the national and international capital, and by the financial circles increased at the end of 1970s. Zülküf Aydın who reminds Boratav's emphasis on populist policies, and the expanding rights and income of the public (Boratav, 1991), related the attempts of employer organizations such as TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association) and TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey) to aggressively influence the political domain since the mid

1970s with this situation (Aydın, 2005: 42). Against the relatively higher wages and the increasing power of unions, the capitalist establishments started to act more coordinated after 1975. Calls for a labour-intensive export oriented economy model also existed in the working reports of TÜSİAD in 1976-1977.

'National type of unionism' that the unions were discussing in 1970s was being considered by a wider scope except the sectors already inclined in merger because of its structure like the metal sector. This situation that also put Karabük Çelik-İş Union in trouble from time to time is in fact can be seen in similar international examples. Brody states that both unions and the system in general got closer to this field by 'centralization' in the USA especially with the 'increase in mass production' after 1930s (1981: 82-91). A 'New Deal' policy in the USA resembles the output in Turkey after 1960s. The number of union members increased impressively in both countries during those periods. On the other hand, sustainability of the structure of the system was intensified by the 'centralized' unions as well. Certainly there are some differences and this can be observed more clearly in some sectors. As it was clarified before, 'steel-towns' in the USA were established by powerful private sector investors. Therefore, since towns are being established directly by the investments of the 'capitalist' in examples like the USA, it is possible to talk about a significant effect of the capital not only on the management of factories, but also on social and cultural life of the town. In his work on American metal workers, Brody stresses the following about social and cultural life in 'steel-towns' (1970: 118):

...The social alignments of the steel towns also buttressed the dominance of management. In this sphere, too, lack of diversity was the

paramount factor. Company officials were ordinarily the leading citizens...The presence of company men set the tone of life in the steel towns...

With specific to Karabük, the situation is pretty different since it is a 'public investment.' The influence of the political domain provided significant chance of movement in commons as stated by Boratav's emphasis on 'populism' (1991). Besides this, reactions were directed towards certain identities during processes of cultural transformation, and unionists came to fore as the organizers of local political domain especially on the subject of 'voting power.' This was quite clear in Karabük in 1970s. The fact that 'governments' changed frequently regarded as important opportunities particularly by the people who wanted to work in the factory. While political instability was forcing political parties to preserve and expand 'patronage' relationships, each change in the government provided chances of contracts with 'extended rights' in public businesses besides new employment opportunities. Benefit from this situation became a more poignant issue for the workers whose income had declined with the increasing inflation rates after 1976. Besides the indefinite situation between Çelik-İş Union and Türk-İş, moving to Ankara, and the commercial activities often brought into question by the union opposition brought forward deeper dissidences through the end of 1970s. In the focus group study, one of the workers from those years states that as far as he remembers serious dissidence resulting in fights between workers occurred for the first time after 1978.

Private rolling mills that was nourished mainly by the factory and prepared the products from here for various fields in the market in 1970s improved significantly in this period. These establishments,

about which Kurtkan in her study emphasises that they appeared and started to become effective in 1960s, also included the business of Yücel family who in the future would actually own the factory (Kurtkan, 1963: 14). Development of these businesses was directly connected to the factory, and the relationships were still significantly affected by politics. Besides, corruption allegations regarding both the union and the factory which were pronounced often in daily life were mainly framed by the earnings of 'rolling mills' and the convenience provided. These disputes would increasingly continue after 1980.

Although workers and their official representatives in Karabük decided to 'go on strike', there were many samples that it was not implemented. There had been similar situations in the beginning of 1970s. Making the 'decision' and not implementing it is not a rare case in the history of unionism in Turkey in general. Karabük went through similar processes. However, the year 1978 in Karabük was restless. This year was like this both regarding the political street events and the activities of the union and the workers. When the archives of Newspaper Cumhuriyet are scanned for 1978, it is seen that there were more than 25 acts of violence in Karabük recorded in a national press organ.⁸

1978 is also important in terms of Turkish political history. In June 1977 elections although CHP was the winning party reaching historical voting rate, could not constitute a majority in the parliament and form a government, so Turkey began the second period of Nationalist Front government. CHP achieved a great success in local elections on December 11, 1977 as well. During this process CHP added 11 parliamentaries who had separated or

⁸ See <http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/reader/reader.xhtml> , last access April 21, 2015.

encouraged to separate from AP, overthrew the government and succeeded in forming 42th Turkish Government on January 5, 1978 (Arcayürek, 1985). Here, exactly in this sphere, the fact that the union which was already exceedingly in politics in Karabük took action can even be regarded as an attempt of local 'Nationalist Front'. It got tense first in İskenderun İsdemir Factory which did not have more than half of the total number of workers in Çelik-İş but has the greatest number of members. News reports about this topic frequently took place in press organs close to CHP. Some of the common issue news reports in this period were saying that during the MC Government (Milliyetçi Cephe - Nationalist Front) there was intensive pressure in the plant and the regulations put the factory out of commission⁹, the MHP supporter union wanted a crisis in iron and steel production in general¹⁰, İsdemir was used as a political instead of an economic base by inexplicably providing employment for 20 thousand people. Chair of the then 'Research Sub-Commission for Iron-Steel' and Zonguldak Deputy Kemal Anadolu reported his impressions after the research, and criticized Çelik-İş for being close to 'MİSK', and for their tendency in slowing down or stopping the production¹¹. Hence, the 'first strike' in Karabük took place in such an environment in 1978. In 1978 when negotiations for collective contracts were prolonged, Çelik-İş decided to go on strike on July 13, but the strike was postponed for 90 days by the CHP government. When the time expired in October, the union acted once again¹². The then Union Chair and MHP member Şükrü Korkmaz states the following about the 'first strike' (Koç, 1999: 172):

⁹ "İsdemir Çelik Değil Pik Üreten Tesis Durumunda", April 30, 1978, Cumhuriyet, pp. 4.

¹⁰ "MHP Yanlısı Sendikanın Demir-Çelik Üretiminde Bunalım Çıkarmak İsteddiği Açıklandı", Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1978, pp. 1.

¹¹ "MHP Yanlısı Sendikanın Demir-Çelik Üretiminde Bunalım Çıkarmak İsteddiği Açıklandı", June 11, 1978, pp. 1.

¹² "Çelik-İş'in Karabük Demir -Çelik'te Başlatmak İsteddiği Grevi İş Mahkemesi 6 Gün Erteledi", October 15, 1978, pp. 8.

In 1978 when CHP was governing, it was us that went on strike for the first time in Karabük. Negotiations for collective contracts continued for 6 or 7 months. We couldn't somehow agree. We decided to go on strike. We were on token strike for 24 hours. Our first strike was postponed by the government. We would still go on strike at the end of this postponement. They were one day late to postpone for the second time. During that 24 hours interval we were on strike. They didn't take measures as well. But together with the employer, we also did our best to protect the workplace. We proved that Iron-Steel could go on strike. They claimed that the strike was illegal.

The agencies in 1978 did not come to an end with this. Due to a regulation about the use of 'coking coal' by the workers, workers had a share in the 'coking coal' previously and they got used to taking from the plant. When the then Secretary of State for Energy Deniz Baykal wanted to take away this implementation, workers reacted against it. The union 'made way for' workers in this reaction. Although the plant in general was not bound up with the Secretary of State for Energy due to the regulations then, regulations of the Department of Energy were valid for the Coke Factory section in the factory. In one of his interviews the union chair states that there were 'a few more small problems' (Koç, 1999: 173). In fact, these small problems probably constituted the base of the issue. These problems also included high-ranking official appointments. In a sense it turned into the revenge of the developments in 'collective negotiations' as well. Events grow bigger, and the factory was actually occupied. Tires were burnt; workers went in the Head Office and destroy the building. Abdullah Usta who witnessed those moments accounts as follows:

...There was Ecevit in the government... They already didn't give a raise

thinking they are not one of us, you see. All the workers think like this. What's more they took away 'the right to coal... And there was order in the factory, back then there were new appointments. You could already cut the atmosphere with a knife... It wasn't all in an instant, I mean, they said there would be an announcement from the speakers, then the shifts merged in the afternoon. I was leaving, then waiting started and the workers got tense... As I remember a fire was started, of course we were asking for a raise, but the issue got out of control... Soldiers arrived and so on...

Resistance lasted until the morning on that day. This process which started as the result of yield compression because of increasing inflation after 1976 and incompleteness of collective negotiations, and on the other hand the local 'Nationalist Front' against CHP was recorded as the first big resistance in Karabük. The Minister of Industry and Technology back then was Orhan Alp. Orhan Alp had originally been elected from the Justice Party, after 'Güneş Motel' interviews he joined CHP and won a ministry. The interviewee workers who are politicized say Orhan Alp had a soothing role in the arrangements in Karabük back then. In fact, the appointments CHP wanted to make for the establishment were not very far-reaching. As a matter of fact, it is also stated by the interviewees that the local AP organization also had various attempts during his duty since Orhan Alp was originally from AP.

Even though there are different factors in class formation, in a sense the 'whole' pattern of events and experiences might be interpreted differently. Years after this experience at the end of 1970s, the workers remember not the 'details' but the 'resistance' they put up. Workers who also went through the struggles in 1989 and 1995 describe those days at the end of 1970s very differently. According to Katznelson the workers expressing themselves and

thinking for themselves is a very important stage (1986: 23). Therefore, the experience of 1978 is a very important development in this regard. The fact that among the focus group study a worker who experienced those days uses an expression like 'we saw that the factory is ours' is very significant in proving the effect of collective power. However, workers had actually never faced the 'system' and the affairs at workplace. What are called 'specific conditions' are, in fact, part of a 'general' situation that differ in each example. Hence, within the frame of this generality, the formation process of working class is a general tendency as well, and cannot be regarded as 'exceptional'. It is quite important to analyze more 'specific' processes and collect data about experiences. Regarding the formation of working class and the process of 'possibilities' Zolberg states that the formation of working class is seen "as a gradual crystallization of a limited series of examples that emerge from a wide spectrum of probabilities" (1986 : 403). As well as seeing that the political domain and ideology has a special place in the process in Turkey, from a wide scope it is certainly possible to talk about the formation of a class as a developing fact of 'capitalism'. However, when restricted within the frame of this 'most extensive description', historical development processes might turn into a kind of 'verification' in broader time intervals. In this sense, 'specificities' become prominent calling for careful attention. Accordingly, Katznelson's stress on the importance of adapting Thompson's approach becomes crucial (Katznelson, 1986). Katznelson and researchers that have articles in the book (*Working Class Formation: Nineteenth Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*) edited by Katznelson argued this in the context of the 'Western' world. As for the underdeveloped countries and Islamic geography, authentic research outside 'the

general frame' gains more importance. In his article on Egyptian working class, Z. Lockman mentions the significance of political and ideological conflicts in the formation of working class in particular to Egypt, and underlines the following point (Lockman, 1994: 187):

In Egypt, as else-where, the emergence of the worker as a social type and of a working class as an economic and political actor was the consequence of capitalist development, but, just as crucially, it was also the result of political and ideological struggles through which new subject positions, new collective social agents, and a new politics of nation and citizenship were constructed.

The tension between Çelik-İş Union and Ecevit's government reached its peak on October 9, 1979 when "a criminal complaint was filed to the Public Prosecution Office for carrying out trade activities apart from the declared purposes in the union code" (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996a: 230) against the chairman as the legal entity and the board of the union by the Ministry of Labour in person. In the criminal complaint there were many claims such as the incomplete Steel Construction Factory investment, partnership status to various companies, and the use of money. However, five days after the application on October 14, 1979 'by-elections' were conducted in Turkey and resulted in another government change. By-elections were made for a total of five seats two of which in Muğla, and others in Manisa, Konya, and Edirne; all deputies were won the candidates of the Justice Party. Renewing one-third of the members, the Senate elections and local elections for some municipalities discharged were also held the same day. In the elections held on October 14, 1979 a revolutionary candidate

(*'tailor Fikri '*: *Fikri Sönmez*) won the elections in the Fatsa district of the city of Ordu; as after the date of November 12, 1979 Süleyman Demirel's AP minority government was established. The government that was supported from outside by AP's political partners in the National Front, MSP and MHP would be the government that came upon the military coup of Sept. 12, 1980 in Turkey.

CHP which could not meet the expectations in the by-elections both regarding the Senate and the deputies lost serious amount of the votes. The AP government was formed after the resignation of Prime Minister Ecevit, and around two and a half months after declared January 24 decisions which put 'radical' liberal economy and export-led development in the center. In fact, January 24 decisions were by themselves the announcement of a 'new era'. In fact, January 24 regulations where foreign trade was liberalized, import restrictions were gradually eased, the state reduced its share in the economy, and a decision for devaluation was announced were summarizing the demands of capitalist establishments like TÜSİAD and TOBB as well. What's more, these regulations did not have the quality of an ordinary stabilization program. They had a perspective of 'structural adjustment' formed on the base of two strategic targets as "domestic and foreign market liberalization, and strengthening the local capitalist against the labour" which the international capital was trying to spread through the IMF and the World Bank (Boratav, 2012: 148). 'Import substituting' period which came to a deadlock after 1977 was now being dismissed. As many researchers state, the implementation of this program by Demirel's government was seriously problematic. And the biggest problem was 'lacking the [necessary] political power' (Boratav, 2012; Shick & Tonak, 1987; Kazgan, 1999).

Çelik-İş Union got rid of the rule of CHP which had caused great problems for itself. However, like the internal discussions, and merging with Türk Metal Union gaining currency again the union started to experience similar problems to that of the stability problem in Turkish political regime. In fact, strange cases used to appear in the conventions held every forty days. Merger between Türk Metal and Çelik-İş unions was becoming current again according to the agreement made in mid 1979, but different attitudes were being adopted in December in both unions' conventions. Şükrü Korkmaz Gider who states that the merger of 1979 was primarily prevented by Türk Metal, and a period in which he began to lose power as well started (Koç, 1999: 170). Gider who stayed far from Karabük while being active in the Headquarters in Ankara had gradually lost his power in Karabük. Elections in the most important and founder branch Karabük was won by the District Head of Justice Party Metin Türker who was originally from Trabzon Sürmene, and his team. In the Extraordinary General Assembly held on January 27, 1980 Gider and his MHP member team had been partly successful, but Metin Türker with whom they had had to come to terms had been appointed to secretary general. In his interview, Şükrü Korkmaz Gider reproached to the workers in Karabük who felt like the owner of the union and did not want 'private sector' deputies that appeared as a result of 'private sector organization' of Çelik-İş Union (Koç, 1999: 171), and stated that in spite of all negativities he got the result he expected in 1980 Convention. 'Private sector delegates' mentioned by Gider, in fact, have quite a different significance for Karabük. In the eyes of an average worker in Karabük, these 'delegates' were MHP militants rather than workers. Abdullah Usta who was also a right wing worker and attended the convention on January 27, 1980 at Ankara Bahçelievler Arı Sineması [Movie Theatre] says the

following about 'private sector delegates':

...you call it organization in private sector... It's not true, you see, I said it before, the guys are from MHP okay? Most of them weren't workers, there are no records or so... What metal workers are you talking about, I am saying the guys were not workers, but it wasn't easy to object... Ankara was full of them, they were called rangers... I was an AP member as well, but you see we were busy with the union... That was the biggest fault of Şükrü's team, I mean, they filled up the union with them, I used to know Şükrü for long, I liked him, he was in our department... You are asking if there had been any more reactions. What else do you expect? You sweat blood here, and some guys would come and lay claim to the union, no way! ... No no, it wasn't 'private sector' or so, we know that, I mean we were there...

What Abdullah Usta stresses here was also confirmed by many other workers. This process which was regarded as Gider's enrollment of MHP supporters as members to the union instead of organizing in the private plants of the metal sector would cause serious reactions in time. There 'was not too much opposition' towards the team before September 12, but it seems the AP supporting workers in Karabük back then were quite reactive. Another worker who witnessed this period stated that MHP members were fighting 'essentially with the Communists' but in Karabük there were not any 'communist' workers 'inside' the union, and these problems were created unnecessarily in the union. Several explanations alike are made by the period witnesses.

With some events in Karabük and Safranbolu, tense political climate in 1980 was often reaching to a scope where it affected the everyday life. On April 17, 1980 a board member of the leftist Progressive Youth Society, İsmet Ceylan was assassinated in

Karabük¹³. On May 22, 1980 District Head of MHP in Karabük was seriously injured by the bomb put in his car, and this triggered serious incidents both in Safranbolu and in Karabük. Former CHP member Mayor of Safranbolu Kızıltan Ulukavak stated that attacks took place in the workplaces and homes of CHP members in Karabük and Safranbolu, and it was difficult for him even to go out back then, and he moved his house as well (Ulukavak, 2010: 386-387). It was pretty difficult to take the events under control on that same day, 'an art school student' Salih Kosovalı reported as a right wing got killed¹⁴. From Thursday night on May 22 at 19.00 until the next day at 06.00 was declared a curfew in Karabük and Safranbolu¹⁵. Workers' shuttles during the curfew could move with a "special permission from the soldiers'. During the summer of 1980, like the whole Turkey tensions increased also in Karabük and in the closeby historical settlement Safranbolu. Meanwhile, clear dissidences began to appear in the 1970s even in the pubs and coffeehouses where workers often went. Hacı Usta who started in the factory in 1975 often visits Ankara to see his relatives, he states that tensions and dissidences became very visible in 1980, the tension that he had witnessed as high in Ankara before had not influenced Karabük because of 'workers' solidarity' for a while, but it started to raise in 1980.

4.5. Conclusion

The developments in Karabük are notable as an important example of the period of import substitution which national economy and

¹³ <http://gdevrim.blogspot.com.tr/2014/04/1980-oncesi-yitirdiklerimiz.html> , last access: April 22, 2015

¹⁴ "İstanbul, Ankara, İskenderun, Safranbolu, Adana, Aydın ve Siirt'te 11 Kişi Öldürüldü", May 23, 1980, pp. 10.

¹⁵ "Karabük ve Safranbolu'da Olay Nedeniyle Dün Akşam 19-06 Arasında Sokağa Çıkma Yasağı Konuldu", May 23 1980 Yenikarabük Gazetesi, pp. 1.

working relations have had the effects in favor of workers. 'The public workers' of the factory achieving significant gains in terms of social facilities as well as their revenues experienced the effects of the subsequent increase in the relative prosperity after 1960s. Besides, there was still a time in 1960s when the political developments and union relations were determinants. The union started to function properly and gained strength particularly in 1960s. In 1970s, the effects of the political tensions in Turkey on the factory and unions in Karabük have been quite remarkable. Towards the middle of the 1970s, labor union became capable of 'investment', established a grounded bureaucracy, and thus took over an important part in local politics. It was a very active period that led 'compatriotism' among workers and in the union to come to the fore. Political tension and developments became a very important part of the union and workers' activities.

CHAPTER 5

PERIOD AFTER 1980: YEARS OF 'OBLIGATORY' STRUGGLE IN KARABÜK, WORKING CLASS AND THE 'NEW' KARABÜK

5.1. Introduction

The military coup on September 12, 1980, in Boratav's words, can be seen as the removal of obstacles to the program announced on January 24, 1980 (2012: 148). It might openly be stated that the military intervention that took place in the process of street battles happening each day and when there was a lack of political power to implement the decisions of January 24th also stood by this program which was supported by the big capitalists excitedly. Boratav states it is not a coincidence that Kenan Evren in his first speech after the intervention complained about the high fees' (2012: 148). The results of this stance could be seen in a short while in the advantage of the capitalist. According to Schick and Tonak, holding the prices of 1980 in mind, between 1980-1983 Koç Holding that had 117 companies raised its fortune to 407 billions from 163.7 billions, with 90 companies Sabancı Holding's fortune raised from 184.8 billions to 308 billions, and Çukurova Holding that owned 50 companies raised its fortune to 203 billions from 88.2 billions (1987: 398).

Having parallel features with its international counterparts, the model and the program which Boratav describes as the 'counterattack of the capitalist' (2012: 149) evidently created conditions to the detriment of workers nation-wide. Besides muting the expansion of public sector employment in the labor market, the effectiveness of unions in this period was reduced. Although there are various shortcomings of wage data, in his calculations on gross

daily wage of insured workers as the most accessible comparative series, Şenses indicates that using TÜSİAD's research data, if real wage index in 1979 is accepted as 100, the figure decreases to 71 in 1982, and to 68 in 1985 (Şenses, 1989: 32). As these data show transfer of funds between social classes seem quite clear. This 'transfer' was made quite roughly and quickly by a military a process. Immediately after the coup the coup government signed a three-year 'stand-by' agreement with IMF (Aydin, 2005: 44). Military intervention and the period developed after brought serious problems, especially for DİSK and DİSK-affiliated unions. Unionists that filled the prisons were usually the representatives of DİSK and its affiliated unions. DİSK and its affiliated unions, as indicated by Koç, 'were not legally closed' but their 'activities were stopped' (2010: 195). This situation would last 11 years. Sadık Şide who had been carrying out the General Secretariat of Türk-İş, became the Social Security Minister after September 12 (Koç, 2010: 196), during this period, Hak-İş Confederation and its affiliated unions were ceased and desisted order only for five months,¹⁶ but MİSK which was close to the stance of MHP were ceased and desisted order for about three and a half years after the coup (Aydanoğlu, 2007: 46).

5.2. Karabük After 1980

In the four months immediately after the coup, Çelik-İş Union experienced a significant development. On January 28, 1981, the trade union member Mehmet Ali Özdemir gave a bill of complaint to the Presidency of National Security Council about the Chairman of Çelik-İş Union Şükrü Korkmaz Gider. The bill was claiming that he was a candidate for MHP in the general elections in 1977 and he

¹⁶ "Referandum, Sendikalar ve 12 Eylül", Aziz Çelik, 22 Temmuz 2010, Birgün Gazetesi.

carried out his party organization with four vehicles belonging to trade union, that he embezzled, he established front branches in İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Eskişehir, and Ankara through people who were not workers but members of Ülkü Ocakları (Grey Wolves -the right wing organization), and held an election on December 1979 with illegal delegates and brought himself to Chair (Atatekin, Kosif, 2002: 52). Şükrü Korkmaz Gider expresses that due to these allegations and the investigation, he had been jailed in Karabük for about a month and he makes the following assessment (Koç, 1999: 171):

...In the meantime there was unrest among themselves (among the workers). There was controversy. They complained about each other. Complaints about us were also on the agenda. Since we were MHP members, they were putting the blame of some issues on us. Then September 12 Military Intervention occurred. Prosecutors also took these controversies into consideration and started an investigation. They called me to the Office of the Attorney General. I explained what had happened. They were rubbish cases. Our attorney's car had been bombed, they had put a prosthesis leg on him. They asked us questions like 'Why did you help?' There was some empty political talk. After the testimony, they arrested me. I was jailed in Karabük prison for about a month. They applied to transform the case file into a MHP case. They sent it to the Commandership of Martial Law in Gölcük. Gölcük returned it saying it was a 'local case.' Then they released me. In the end, I was acquitted.

Within the scope of the research acquaintances of Mehmet Ali Özdemir, who is not alive now, were found and interviewed, his kinsmen state that he complained 'with the encouragement of soldiers.' However, they also stressed that his claims were seriously valid. As Koç underlines, during this period 'subserviency to the military government' was pretty widespread among the

unionists. Gider spent February 1980 in Karabük Prison, in April 1981 he made a speech at the General Assembly of İskenderun Branch and he expressed his gratitude to the National Security Council, and stated that it was fair and right to close the unions, and his 'honorable Evren' was a responsible statesman who cared for the problems of Turkish workers (Koç, 2010: 282). This approach by Gider and his team would continue also in the 7th General Assembly held on 20-21 November 1982. In the report submitted to the Convention, besides openly advocating September 12 Coup and appreciating the dissolution of unions like DİSK that was resembled to 'Soviet V. Corps Headquarters', the emphasis was "after September 12 the trade union struggle in workplaces has become more democratic" (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996a: 230). Mehmet Kurtulan from a central village of Safranbolu whom Gider had personally supported in the past became a competitor of him in the Convention in 1982. Back then he was the Chairman of Karabük Office, although Gider's team had supported once, he would not be able to find a perpetual support in Karabük Office anymore. Gider won the Convention in 1982 mostly by the support of the 'private sector delegates', immediately after the convention he abrogated the Karabük Office where Kurtulan was the Chairman as he had become a competitive candidate (Koç, 1999: 171). 'Parliamentary elections' allowed by the military government was held for the first time after the military intervention in Turkey on November 6, 1983 with the participation of three parties. The party directly supported by the military government could not achieve any success; hence Turkey relatively had a relief period after the elections. Right after this, 8th General Assembly of Çelik-İş was held on December 24-25, 1983. Gider lost the elections in this convention, and replacing him was Mehmet Kurtulan whose branch

office he had abrogated after the previous elections for becoming a candidate fronting him.

Although the military government of September 12 was generally grounded on 'brutal' measures and 'force', they also used the method of gaining 'consent' by giving advances up to 70 percent of salary that is known as practice of 70 percent advance particularly for public workers. Yüksel Işık indicates that the model that fought against the workers' wages had the intention to soften the reactions since the beginning. According to Işık, the organized labour movement 'softened' as a result of '70 percent advance' practice managed by the pro-coup mindset (Işık, 1995: 262). In fact, 'the military coup conditions' were also very difficult to do otherwise.

Although they cannot be considered as 'working class aristocracy' with the relationship they established with the state and the political paternalism that was considerably live locally, the working class before 1980, especially the organised workers in the 'public sector', occupied an interesting position. Sociologist Mehmet Beşeli emphasises that the public workers that were 'to struggle' by the end of the 1980s had a significant relationship to the regulations made in 1980. The period following 1980, during which a rapid and high decrease would be seen in real wages would also change general characteristics of the workers of the period between 1960 and 1980, who were quiet, passive, satisfied with what was given and who were not aware of their 'conditions'. More precisely, the process of the 'formation of the working class would lend an important structural input (Beşeli, 1992: 87). There are various assessments in the literature regarding the general characteristics of the Turkish working class before 1980. However, three

characteristics mentioned by Blind with respect especially to the 'organised' public sector workers with reference to the labour unions of this group are interesting (2009: 54):

...Until the 1980's, the labour movement was characterized and shaped primarily by;

(1) state-dependent unionism and its PAP doctrine¹⁷, (2) Import substitution industrialization and a closed economy, (3) labour unions' lack of independent and competitive political experience, especially in the case of the unions active in the public sector

He draws attention to the fact that the Çelik-İş Union which remained independent for a short space of time as in the case with the labour unions under Türk-İş had a similar structure. However, it is useful to say that the evaluations made by Blind further down in his text which are similar to the main emphases of his 'labour aristocracy' thesis also have a limitation. The 'labour aristocracy' concept used especially for workers of the Third World; or similar discussions rely on a rather 'simple' dichotomy. The working class is described either as 'revolutionary' or 'aristocratic' (Beşeli, 1992: 36) which can give rise to considerable difficulties at this point. As mentioned by Munck, the scope of the behaviour of the working class in the Third World is more complex than the simple reformist - revolutionary dichotomy (1995: 159). Together with this, however, structural factors cannot of course be ignored in the process of explaining the formation of the working class, but a historical and sociological analysis is virtually a necessity within the larger life and dynamism of social relations (Munck, 1995: 168). With regard to this issue it is possible to find interesting results depending on

¹⁷ PAP Doctrine: Politics Above Parties (strategies and style of negotiation employed by Türk-İş)

the framework and geography under which the study is conducted. Working on the African working class, Cohen indicates that the investigation cannot simply be conducted over the lack of a 'passive' and 'organised resistance', while pointing out that in the African example the ongoing proletarianisation is still not complete and that it sometimes continues in unusual subtle and spontaneous forms (Cohen, 1988: 246). Although Cohen does not only handle 'public sector workers', he nevertheless presents a rather important reminder. According to the approach that J. C. Scott opened to a more effective discussion in the literature as 'art of resistance' and 'hidden transcripts', 'potential resistances' rather than the appearance of resistance in 'public' form is a widespread form (see Scott, 1990). With respect to the factory workers in Karabük, there are many alternative situations underlying the situation that appeared 'quiet' both before and after 1980. Scott, who built his inferences into a general approach especially with his work on the peasants of the Third World, offers evaluations of the oppressed and their 'struggles'. Scott emphasises that a secret scenario is fundamental with regard to resistance in practice (1990: 191):

We can, in this respect, view the social side of the hidden transcript as a political domain striving to enforce, against great odds, certain forms of conduct and resistance in relations with the dominant. It would be more accurate, in short, to think of the hidden transcript as a condition of practical resistance rather than a substitute for it.

Scott's approach too has rather important aspects in connection with this research. Firstly, practices and past experiences brought from 'peasantry' are important with respect to workers who have transitioned rapidly from 'peasantry' to urban factory 'labour' or

who have experienced this process simultaneously. In addition, workers in Karabük did not remain 'quiet' due to occupying a position that could be considered under 'labour aristocracy' until the strike that 'appeared' after emerging based on the 'general politics' of 1978 and the great strike in 1989. Frequent talks of the hidden transcripts and the testing of limits in many narratives of the workers are rather widespread as well as 'pretending to be sick', 'playing dumb', 'lying' and similar practices in addition to staging 'exaggerated shows of obedience' in the strong positions of the government. The following analysis offered by İsmet Usta of the interviewed workers, who started work at the factory in 1977, where he provides examples to the workers' attitude towards the military following the coup, after stating that he generally 'considered the military coup as necessary', is interesting:

...Naturally the military has enormous power during a junta regime; you know, a mere sergeant is acting like a governor... While leaving *en masse* we would applaud the soldiers, which they naturally enjoyed. That year there were many who kept doing the military salute, which we found amusing in a way... How the soldiers felt proud... During those days they even summarily arrested the labour union president, no questions asked and all that, but if they hadn't done that the violence wouldn't have ended, do you think that's easy?

In analyses on the military coup process, when the workers who experienced that period were asked about their attitude towards the coup during interviews, it was seen that they had not 'put up much of a fight' and that some even made comments that are close to 'legitimising' the coup in spite of being affected by the 'general discourse of the public opinion' of the time against the coup. The effect the process of a decrease in wages would cause among workers in time would be different, however. According to

many of the interviewed workers, the wages paid by the factory were rather good against the inflation that increased before the coup of 1980. The side income that was obtained also plays a role in this. The Ankara adventure of Yakup Usta, who graduated from a vocational high school in Karabük, worked in a private sector factory in Ankara before starting at the factory in 1978 and, after his military service returned to the factory, reflects the following regarding the wages of the time:

My family is from Çerkeş (*a district of Çankırı*). After graduating from vocational high school I worked in a private factory... I graduated from high school in Karabük. I worked in a factory in Ankara Gölbaşı for about two years, and then the opportunity to start at the factory in Karabük presented itself, so I came here... In other words, I wanted to go to Ankara and not return to Karabük, but the conditions were very different; the wages here were three times those paid in Ankara. One also had a side income... I can say that, before 1980 workers in Karabük were paid more than teachers for instance... After the coup the military levelled the wages in time and then our wages became less and less...

A relative pause in the increase of the number of workers in Karabük following the coup is noteworthy. After the system allowing 'elections' and 'parties' was reintroduced in 1983, although political paternalism relationships were employed in factory recruitments, the factory would no longer maintain its 'former attraction' in the workers' eyes especially due to the worsening in the wage conditions. However, the prospect of 'secure' employment, which would gain considerable importance later on, would also cause the factory to attract the attention of the locals as an important source of employment. Nevertheless, the total number of workers would suffer a relative decrease in the new term. The decrease in the total number of workers following 1977, which was caused sometimes by lay-offs and sometimes by retirement, the following course after 1980 (Çelik-İş, 1989: 12-13):

Table 5.1. : Number of Workers at Factory after 1980

Year	Number of Workers
1980	11.818
1981	13.269
1982	10.538
1983	11.810
1984	11.207
1985	10.236
1986	8.846
1987	8.846
1988	8.207
1989	8.491

Considering that the total number of workers was almost 15 thousand in 1977, it will be seen that employment decreased nearly by half by 1989. Along with this, a relative increase is seen in the recruitment of officers and white-collar employees in the factory. It must be noted here that the technological advances in the sector played a role in this. Also, encouraging retirement and the choices of workers wishing to exercise their retirement right under wage conditions that were less favourable compared to the past attract attention as important inputs. The adoption of the innovations in the iron-steel industry of the 1960s by Karabük would not be seen until the 1970s. First of all, serious differences between the 'labour intensive' and 'capital intensive' modes of production in the iron-steel industry can be immediately seen. For instance, much different from Turkey, in France a 'labour intensive' mode of production was naturally seen in steel operations which were much smaller before the World War II. This state of affairs had a significant impact on the production costs of French steel. However, through the regulation carried out after the founding of

ECSC¹⁸, the data on France would approach the European average in time (Daley, 1996: 60-61).

Turkey's iron and steel production has important differences to the iron and steel production of both Western countries and underdeveloped countries. First of all, the fact that Turkey was introduced to this sector directly through public enterprise made a large scale production that allowed planning possible. Also, during these years when Turkey made its investment, this production existed in a small number of countries. In some underdeveloped countries such as India, the 'private sector' pioneered this industry (Bahl, 1995). While resembling the Soviet Union in terms of the structure of the investment (Crowley, 1997), Turkey did not run a socialist economy.

Karabük was to meet the crisis affecting the iron and steel industry in the mid 1980s with a decrease in worker real wages as well as with an operating crisis suffered after the mid 1980s, which was caused by the lack of necessary investment in the factory, the unwieldiness of the bureaucracy (Bafoil & Acar, 2009: 156-158). Along with this, Engin (1999) especially considers the depression in the iron-steel sector starting in the early 1980s and felt more intensively after the mid-1980s and a global drop in prices an important reason of the difficulties that were to be experienced by the factory. Engin (1999) also indicated that the 'principle decision' of the government of the time made in 1986 that recommended sourcing the financing deficits of public corporations from the market by obtaining loans at market interest rates instead of turning to the state budget virtually constituted a 'fatal blow' to the factory.

¹⁸ ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community. This structure that was founded in 1951 would later form the foundation of the European Union that would emerge later.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the US steel workers too were facing the peril of losing their jobs. At the end of 1977 the American press wrote that the large factories in the Youngstown-Warren district would close down. By the end of 1978 there would be thousands of unemployed former steel workers and the historic location of the steel workers would start to transform (Linkon & Russo, 2002: 131-132; see Mercier, 2001). The changes in the world steel markets were experienced differently by workers under the conditions of different countries. While shift of production from central countries to the peripheries would create de-industrialised cities and unemployed workers in countries like the US, the situation would be different in underdeveloped countries. During the process when American steel workers became unemployed, an intense wave of proletarianisation with a high human cost was experienced in South Korea. In South Korea where the industry's share in the total economy almost doubled between 1970 and 1980 (Koo, 2001: 33) the iron-steel industry which would develop in the early 1980s would demonstrate very rapid development in the early 1990s. With a production volume that grew eightfold between 1980 and 1990, South Korea would become one of the most important producers in the world¹⁹. The fact that capitalism solved its own crisis in the mid-1970s, and the globalisation process that would be heard more in the following years would present this view globally for workers in the iron-steel sector. Of course, this process would be experienced not only in South Korea, but in many underdeveloped countries with similar characteristics. Parallel to this, the fundamental sector to play a role in the increase of China's effect on global markets is iron and steel. Today, China is by far the greatest iron and steel producer of the world. Its total

¹⁹ See <http://www.kosa.or.kr/sub/eng/introduction/sub02.jsp> /Last access 30 May 2015

production appears to have increased twenty-five times between 1980 and 2013²⁰. In the world it was possible for global economic changes to be easily observed in this sector as a both strategic and fundamental sector. The iron and steel industry, the fundamental sector of the industrialisation process, is very critical in both observing the direction of global economic tendencies and understanding how the working class would be affected differently by this process on a global scale.

In terms of iron and steel, the development in Turkey was neither altogether like that seen in underdeveloped countries nor like those experienced by developed countries. While experiences close to both examples were experienced in Turkey, there have been outputs parallel to the results that were in fact original but to the detriment of the working class universally. The decline in real wages from 1980 to 1989 according to Çelik-İş's data is at an unbelievable scale. The fact that 'inflation' tended to drop, although for a short while, following the coup did not initially cause tension between workers with regard to wages. However, workers' purchasing power in the face of the rapidly growing inflation after 1982-1983 would continuously decline. By 1988 the gross net daily wages of workers would fall even behind those of 1964. In fact, compared to the purchasing power of the gross net hourly wages of 1978, the point reached in 1988 amounted only to 36 percent of the level of 1978 (Çelik-İş, 1989: 37). In short, workers were earning three times the amount they earned in 1978. In addition to this, high inflation and the beginning of the new consumption era in Turkey symbolised as the 'polished image era' (see Kozanoğlu, 2001) would also cause serious pressure on workers. Yakup Usta,

²⁰ See <http://www.worldsteel.org/dms/internetDocumentList/statistics-archive/production-archive/steel-archive/steel-annually/steel-annually-1980-2013/document/steel%20annually%201980-2013.pdf> /Last access 30 May 2015.

starting at the factory in 1985, relates the days he started work and the wages, says that:

...It was difficult even to find employment at the factory, but in 1985 money just melted away... I have knowledge about other wages through my uncle and my family; we were out of luck... I started work at the worst time. They say that it used to be like Germany, but in our time, before the strike, we became Africa... What else do you expect but a strike? The wages had already dropped down to the level of minimum wages...

While the public enterprises of the period before 1980, characterised by labour unions traditionally dependent on the state and workers partly benefiting from this in terms of rights, was vanishing (Blind, 2009: 55), the union of the workers in Karabük could not do much during that time. In the focus group study, a worker who started work in the 1970s but who also experienced the 1980s and the great strike emphasised that during this period 'no labour union could have done anything' and that the period was a military period. In spite of the fact that elections were held in 1983, the military's effect on daily life and politics continued. Although Turgut Özal's party ANAP secured employment partly through 'partisanship' although depending on former AP relations in Karabük, in this case a situation similar to that in the 1960s and 1970s was not possible. In addition to this, the enterprise's decline due to the previous management and the negligence in new investments accelerated with the policies followed in the 1980s. Looking through an engineer's eyes, Kiper listed the technical errors and wrong choices made in the previous terms as the disadvantages of the factory in Karabük, and said that the government's negative approach to 'public enterprises' that would

become clearer by the end of the 1980s would play a fundamental role in the downfall (Kiper, 2004: 38):

...However, the real regression process in Kardemir started by the late 1980s with the policies to dispose of public enterprises at whatever cost. In fact, the cruellest of various bad management policies such as failing to make technological investments when necessary or hindering them, overemployment, lack of capital and borrowing from private banks at very high interest rates were applied to this enterprise

The Mehmet Kurtulan and Metin Türker team that came to office at the congress of 1983 would be elected also at the 9th General Assembly held on 24 December 1986 (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996a: 230). At this congress the former president Şükrü Korkmaz Gider tried his hand once more, but lost the elections with a little difference (Koç, 1999: 171). Before the coup of 1980 was carried out, the regulation that provided labour unions with 'funds' and 'investment' facilities was changed. During this period labour unions could not be occupied in operations such as investment. The period was silent on the one hand and served as the incubation period of the 'struggle' period on the other. The discontinuation in investments in the State Economic Enterprises in the industry sector as a reflection of the economic policies and choices made during the ANAP government in Turkey led to technological wear and loss of efficiency (Boratav, 2012: 155). The factory in Karabük and the Karabük iron-steel workers, whose wages melted away as a result of the high inflation rate, would be overly affected by this condition. The 'collective bargaining' system that was resumed in the beginning of 1984 was also not very fruitful for the workers. In addition to this, public sector employers' unions were founded in

late 1985 and early 1986. All enterprises in the public sector were made members to these public sector employers' unions. These unions became members of TİSK²¹ in September 1988 (Koç, 2010: 322-323). This decision made by the government was very important. It clarified the government's position with respect to social classes. The collective bargaining negotiations that started in 1984 at the Karabük factory and ended in 1985 was not satisfactory for the workers; a legal 'disput' process was started. Kurtulan, the president of the union criticised the government harshly, saying that "if a factory the price of whose products are increased five times a year is suffering loss, the party responsible for this cannot be the workers who sweat under 2500 degrees Celsius"²². During the middle of the Özal years which Aydın and Taşkın (2014: 14-26) described as 'low density democracy' years, Turkey was preparing for turbulent days in terms of class struggle.

5.3. The 1989 Spring Demonstrations in Turkey, a 137-Day Strike in Karabük

The liberal economic policies of the ANAP era had started to have a negative impact especially on the working class of Turkey. The referendum of 6 September 1987 concerning 'whether political bans brought with the coup of 1980 should be abolished' would big change in Turkey. The result would not be what the government wanted in the referendum where ANAP, the ruling party, supported 'no', that is the continuation of the imposed political bans. Nevertheless, the results were quite close to each other; the referendum resulted in 'yes' with a mere difference of seventy-five thousand votes, and former politicians under political bans were

²¹ TİSK: Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations)

²² "25 bin İşçinin Toplu Sözleşmesi Yarıda Kaldı", February 23, 1985, Milliyet Gazetesi.

able to return to politics. The active Türk-İş Confederation openly supported 'yes' in this referendum (Koç, 2010: 325). The reflection of the results of this election would be an early election in the country (Aydın & Taşkın, 1989: 371). Although ANAP won the early elections and continued its power alone, a period of serious political stir was about to start in the country. The impact of this on the working class would be seen in time. The referendum results would be 'yes' in Karabük; a number of 'yes' votes three points higher compared to the average in Turkey was to reflect to the ballot boxes²³

The great labour movements known as the 1989 Spring Demonstrations was a process that was primarily led by the workers in the public sector. The unions and workers that remained quiet for a long time following the period after the coup in terms of 'public' reflection started to 'stir' after 1986. Türk-İş would organise its first rally after the coup on February 8, 1986 in Balıkesir under strict security precautions by the security forces. The demands were that precautions should be taken against loss of rights brought by the years, unemployment and increased prices (Koç, 2010: 323). While small-scale stirrings continued in 1987, Türk-İş's saying 'yes' to the abolishing of political bans in the referendum and its running an active campaign appear as a noteworthy turning point. Although the Çelik-İş Union that was still 'independent' from Karabük did not make an 'official resolution' in that term, the fact that the administrative cadre said 'yes' is clear from various interviews held for the research. While a special era of struggle was entered in connection especially with public sector workers and unions in Turkey by the end of 1988, Çelik-İş president Mehmet Kurtulan died in a car crash in 24 October 1988. The name to lead

²³ See <http://referandum.secimsonuclari.com/1987-referandum-sonuclari/zonguldak-referandum-sonuclari-evet-hayir-oranlari.html> / Last access February 11, 2015.

the Strike of 1989 would be Secretary-General Metin Türker who replaced the late Kurtulan²⁴. Türker was in charge of the union's Karabük Branch after the 1977, a district president for AP for a term, a footballer who played in Demir Çelik Karabükspor, and a much loved resident of the city. The nickname of Türker, whose father had also worked in the factory and who was originally from Trabzon Sürmene, was 'Gazof'.

The negotiations with public enterprises, which started in late 1988, did not yield results, and further negotiations held with respect to the collective bargaining of 500 thousand public workers also failed to be fruitful. Especially the fact that the unions connected with Türk-İş would start a series of demonstrations in March 1989 would be the greatest movement in the country following the coup of 1980 (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 103). The enterprises that participated in the demonstration were so large that almost all public corporations took part in the process. Not being a union under Türk-İş, Çelik-İş's struggle developed in connection with this process. Criticising the demonstrations harshly, Prime Minister Özal would say that "the demonstrations [were] organised by unionists who feared they would not be re-elected"²⁵. In the spring of 1989 the front pages of almost all of the national press contained these discussions. The strike which Çelik-İş in Karabük announced would begin on March 22, 1989 was postponed by the government due to the coming elections (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996a: 103). In this process where the government offered workers rises between 100 and 120 percent against the wages that melted down through the years, the

²⁴ See <http://www.celik-is.org/index.php/sendikamiz/tarihcemiz> / Last access February 22, 2015.

²⁵ "Sürpriz Görüşme", 14 April 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 1.

unions were generally demanding a rise of 170 percent²⁶. At the beginning of the negotiations the government's offer was a rise around 40 percent. Against this, the unions could not overlook the pressures from the 'base'. Turkey entered a process during which labour struggles would be the main agenda for months. While the demonstrations continued, local elections were held in Turkey on 27 March 1989, and Özal's ANAP suffered bad results. The social democrat main opposition party SHP achieved considerable success throughout Turkey. These results changed the government's attitude towards the unions. Having previously decided not to negotiate with the unions, the government took a symbolic step and circumvented the 'public employers' unions' to join the negotiations at ministerial level (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996: 103). The negotiations held with Türk-İş on May 18, 1989 yielded results. The unionists representing 600 thousand public workers who achieved a rise about 142 percent would cause Özal to say, 'it was the toughest bargain of my life'²⁷.

The process in Karabük, however, would develop somewhat differently. Workers who were members to the Çelik-İş Union that was authorised in Karabük and İskenderun first displayed a harsh response to the postponement of the strike for 'national security' purposes announced on March 22 (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi, 1996b: 232). There were serious incidents in both İskenderun and Karabük. With respect to Karabük, incidents that were never seen in the history of the factory, the city and the workers were brutally suppressed by the police. Workers witnessing the period attract attention to the workers' movement that developed from the base 'without a special effort by the union'.

²⁶ "Ücret Artışı %100-120", 14 April 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp 8.

²⁷ "En düşük Ücret 400 Bin Lira", 18 May 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp 9.

İlyas Usta, who started working at the factory after 1980 describes the process saying:

...The slogan was 'money for a ton of iron... In any case, my generation did not see much from the factory, I was born in 1966. When I started working at the factory the wages were already low, that is, you do such heavy work and your wages are minimum wages... Let alone the union, we were 'fed up'. Not only us, the tradesmen, the peasants, in other words, the whole region... I've never seen anything like it. For instance, we went to the ANAP building in groups; there were always 5-6 rows of policemen in front of the building. The incidents were not only in the factory, but all around Karabük... Metin Abi was already liked, I used to watch him as a footballer, he was a good president, and he was the president in those days...

While March and April passed with waiting for the court order on the 'postponement of the strike', every day different sorts of creative demonstrations were held. On 14 April the Cabinet Council announced that it itself had repealed the postponement decision. Also, in late March, right after the elections, there was rumour among the public that contractors and businessmen close to ANAP were being sold iron at prices that were not affected by the increase. Sencer İmar, the Director of the time said 'he could not make any comment' on these allegations made against the 'iron' prices that saw a rise of about 600 percent in the last five years²⁸. Daily cost to the factory of the passive demonstrations carried out by the workers was rather high (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi(*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 232). The new and creative types of demonstration found during the term before the strike attracted the attention of the public. The 'beard growing' and 'naked march' demonstrations become among the

²⁸ "Zamsız Demir Kimlere Verildi", March 29, 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 5.

important forms of demonstration that left a mark on the workers' minds²⁹. The demands of the parties were rather different with regard to rises in wages; the difference between the two parties' demands in hourly wages was twice the amount³⁰. The Çelik-İş negotiations were held with MESS³¹, TİSK's union in the metal sector, because public employers' unions were formed and placed under TİSK in 1986.

In the process of the 'postponement' of the first strike decision, Şevket Yılmaz, President of the Türk-İş Confederation indicated that, although Çelik-İş was not under them, 'the struggle of the iron-steel workers was their struggle too' (Türk-İş Magazine, 1989: 14). On May 4, before the official strike date was not announced, a very interesting atmosphere had formed in Karabük. The workers refused to use their service busses and almost every shift beginning and end turned into a march (Çelik-İş, 1989: 117). Many 'meetings for rights' were to be organised in Karabük in April³². Many articles on the economic costs of 'postponing the strike' appeared in the national press during that period, and some articles and comments indicated that a loss twice the amount of the wages demanded by the workers was already suffered³³, while some wrote that a *de facto* strike was underway which, if continued, would cause a 'freeze' in the large third furnace of the factory especially because of the deceleration of production if things continued the way they were³⁴. Also, there were many speculations claiming that a regulation was going to be made on the importation of iron-steel, which would be widely discussed later

²⁹ See <http://portreler.fisek.org.tr/metin-turker/> / Last visited March 12, 2015.

³⁰ "Demir Çelik'te İşler Durdu: En Büyük Grev", May 5, 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 1.

³¹ MESS: Türkiye Metal Sanayicileri Sendikası (Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries.

³² "Karabük'te Hak Mitingi' Yapıldı", April 5, 1989, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, pp. 4.

³³ "Grevi Ertelemek Daha Zararlı Oldu", April 9, 1989, Sabah Gazetesi, pp.6.

³⁴ "Demir Çelik'te Zarar 40 Milyar", April 13, 1989, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, pp. 8.

on. In fact the regulation was made on 27 March; the customs duty on the importation of iron was raised on this date (Çelik-İş, 1989: 178). The passive resistance practices had proved quite effective. The 'beards' of the workers who frequently went on collective medical visits had grown. The 'beard growing demonstration' carried out by the workers in this process would bring with it important jokes that are still told. TRT, the state's television channel, was the only corporation that made television broadcasts in those years. The workers' demonstrations were not covered, which caused an important reaction. In fact, after a report by the German ARD channel that came at the beginning of May, president Türker would frequently refer to this point in criticisms levelled against TRT (Çelik-İş, 1989: 148). The last negotiation before the strike held with MESS on May 3 would be the last straw that broke the camel's back for the workers and the union. As would later be verified time and again by Metin Türker, MESS Vice-President Hulusi Çetinoğlu would curse at the Çelik-İş administrators during the negotiations. During the interview, which was claimed to include expressions such as 'inglorious', 'rascals', 'faggots', the basic thesis of the MESS side depended on an approach such as "we can find many to work for the offered wages, he who does not like can leave"³⁵. The last negotiation was almost a fistfight. As a result of these developments, Çelik-İş, Karabük, İskenderun and subordinate enterprises started a strike on May 4, 1989 at 07:00 (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 233).

The day the strike began, Prime Minister Özal declared that the factories in Karabük and İskenderun were obsolete factories and that "it was not possible to pay the demanded wages" (Türkiye

³⁵ "Toplu İş Sözleşmesi Görüşmesinde Küfür", 3 May 1989, Sabah Gazetesi, pp.1 ; "24 Bin İşçi Greve", 3 May 1989, Günaydın Gazetesi, pp.1.

Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 233). The same day the government announced that the workers working at public enterprises would be paid a holiday advance of 200 thousand lira each, leaving the Karabük and İskenderun workers on strike out³⁶. Before the holidays, hundreds of workers sent members of the government and MESS administrators holiday greeting cards packed with 'reproach' and criticism at their own initiative (Çelik-İş, 1989: 156). During the process, the expressions and attitudes adopted by the spokespeople of the government created a 'tension' on the workers that is remembered to this day. Osman Usta, who started working at the factory in the 1970s remembers the following on the 1989 strike:

...Throughout Turkey the workers came to an agreement, except for us, but many tricks were pulled too... I had voted for Turgut Özal right from the beginning, but after his remarks during those days I never again voted for him... You wouldn't believe what was being said; the factories were obsolete, the workers were being spoilt and what not... But we became more stubborn; there was this holiday premium too, and he virtually said that he would not pay us it... What I mean is, there were many threats...

The agreement of all the workers throughout Turkey mentioned by Osman Usta is Türk-İş having come to an agreement on May 18. The collective bargaining of the independent Çelik-İş Union in Karabük was conducted outside this process. On the first day of the strike a crowded open air meeting was held. Türker asked for the 'beard growing demonstration' to continue until an agreement was reached. Metin Türker was at the İskenderun plant on the first day of the strike. Türker uttered the expression 'they will give to the tradesman what they denied the worker', which would not be

³⁶ "24 bin İşçiye 200 Binlik Ceza", 6 May 1989, Milliyet Gazetesi, pp. 3.

forgotten for years, on the first day of the strike (Çelik-İş, 1989: 165). That the strike would cause the depletion of the iron stock of about 500 thousand tons kept by the stockers and would serve the companies to important iron without 'custom duties' was repeatedly indicated throughout the process. It is possible to hear this assessment from many workers interviewed during the research. However, State Secretary Cemil Çiçek claimed that union leader Metin Türker received 5 billion liras from private sector companies for the strike (Çelik-İş, 1989: 171). In addition to this, the rumour that the 'factories were to be sold' was circulated to affect the workers' morale³⁷. In the meanwhile the workers' beards were growing; almost all workers were continuing the beard demonstration in keeping with the decision that was made. The 'beards' of the workers, almost all of whom were men due to the sector, in a way became the symbol of the strike. The drawing on the cover of the book *Our 137-Day Strike* narrating the process published by Çelik-İş would also include 'workers with beards' (see. Çelik-İş, 1989). At this point, also taking the attention of the public opinion into account, Metin Türker made a call for support from workers abroad and started a 'death fast' on May 18 (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi (*Encyclopedia of Turkish Unionism*), 1996b: 233). The 'orange-green' summer camp tent that was first erected in front of the union's general headquarters in Ankara and then brought inside came to be known as Metin Türker's death fast tent. Frequently falling ill and being hospitalised during the three days of the hunger strike, Türker abandons the death fast at the end of three days upon the workers' insistence³⁸. The president's death fast appears to be rather important within the process both for impressing the public opinion and for increasing the workers' motivation. It can be said that the solidarity and motivation in the

³⁷ "Sakallar Uzuyor", May 17, 1989, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, pp. 11.

³⁸ "Ölüm Orucunu Bırak", 21 May 1989, Günaydın Gazetesi, pp. 3.

workers generally increased after this hunger strike that took place at the beginning of the second week of the strike. The fact that the total loss of production reached 60 billion Liras in the two factories in the first month of the strike coincided with a great difficulty for workers in terms of sustenance. Somehow nothing is done although the process could be shaken at a figure much lower than these costs if action was taken in keeping with the initial demands of the workers. In the high level of the workers' motivation during this term and the solidarity of the Karabük worker community, the economic difficulties experienced recently and probably most important of all, 'economic expectations' had the largest share. The statement of Cafer Ekemen, a worker of 17 years, interviewed by the Günaydın Newspaper at the beginning of the strike is important in shedding light on the mood of the workers of the time³⁹:

My rent takes 25 thousand Liras of my net wages of 80 thousand Liras. I have two children. They both go to school. I am 41 years old and I never bought notebooks or pencils on account until now. Besides, I have not been able to buy new furniture for my house for the last 5 years

Cafer Ekemen's statements are interesting in that they indicate the beginning of a term where 'consumption' would be at the centre as discussed by Bauman at the end of the 1990s. Of course, although the context and framework discussed by Bauman are different (see. Bauman, 1999), a predominant approach, where 'consumption' would be at the centre would affect the minds of millions in time. The period in which Ekemen said he could not buy anything new for his house was an era where 'private television stations' started to be established and where the free market economy, imports and luxury consumption took to the foreground.

³⁹ "Demir Çelik İşçisi Bayrama Grevde Girdi", 6 May 2015, pp.5.

Ekemen, who was forced to 'buy on account for the first time in his life' and who 'could not buy anything new for his house' fails to keep pace with the spirit of the changing times after an era where people worked for relatively high wages in a relatively closed economic framework. As would be seen later on, the workers would enter very colourful and large consumption areas with the high rises they would receive after the strike.

While the strike continued, expressions such as 'the Turkish Walesa'⁴⁰ would start to be used for Metin Türker (Kalyoncu, 2007: 73). In the iron-steel factories the cooling down of the blast furnaces that should always be kept at high temperature caused irreversible and serious difficulties. Therefore the factory's blast furnaces should not cool down. While the workers were on strike, they themselves took precautions against the danger of the blast furnace named as 'Cemile' cooling down (Çelik-İş, 1989: 178). 'Panels' started to be organised in June. In a panel attended by 4 thousand workers, the subject was 'iron-steel and the strike'. The number of those who filled the İstasyon Square in Karabük with their families and who marched to the Atatürk Monument on June 18 was about 10 thousand⁴¹. By the end of June, the issues of the importation of iron, and claims that the strike was being dragged out were to be mentioned by Türker (Çelik-İş, 1989: 207). During this period significant amounts of iron were imported free of customs duty from Bulgaria and Romania. Indicating that the iron mafia who practiced first stockpiling and then import profiteering wished the strike to continue⁴², Türker also wanted the quality of

⁴⁰ Lech Walesa, was a worker leader who was first heard of during the Polish shipyard strikes of 1980 and who was emerging as an important figure in Polish politics during the period of the great strike of Karabük. He later became president of Poland (see Walesa & Rybicki, 1994).

⁴¹ "İşçinin Dayanışma Mitingi", June 18, 1989, Türkiye Gazetesi, pp. 6.

⁴² "Mafya İstiyor, Grev Sürüyor", June 27, 1989, Tercüman Gazetesi, pp. 1.

the imported iron to be investigated, claiming that both billions of liras of undeserved gain was being earned and bad-quality products were being brought to Turkey during this process⁴³. Indeed, this subject would be widely discussed after the İzmit Earthquake of 1999. The iron of the buildings that collapsed easily in the earthquake would be claimed to be imported. This was an opinion that was widely discussed in Karabük and which was considered accurate among almost all workers. Also, this was given place in various press organs at the time⁴⁴. Many workers who made interesting inferences by both evaluating this issue and questioning what was experienced after the strike were interviewed. It was seen that those interviewed generally reminded this issue when the strike was mentioned. Also, setting off from this issue, striking evaluations were made from the issue of unions to the issue of economy. Saffet Usta, a witness of the time, who worked for 13 years at the factory before retiring due to disability after an occupational accident said:

⁴³ "Bulgaristan'dan Çürük Demir İthal Edildi", July 4, 1989, Güneş Gazetesi, pp. 5.

⁴⁴ Author Yalçın Bayer has frequently mentioned this subject. He reminds that the iron used in many of the buildings that collapsed in the Yalova, Gölcük and İzmit earthquakes were imported from Bulgaria and Romania during the strike. He brought to his column an interview he held with Fikret Gökçe, who was a former steel-iron labourer and an administrator of the Turkish Confederation of the Handicapped in the 1990s. Indicating that this was already known at the time when the buildings were being constructed, Fikret Gökçe said ("Depremin bir Suçlusu da Bulgar Demiri", November 27, 1999, Hürriyet Gazetesi, pp. 15):

"I am a former iron-steel labourer. I wish to make a call to the officials; those who created the strike that was staged at the price of condemning tens of thousands of steel workers to hunger and harming the economy are guiltier than Veli Göçer and the others. Those responsible for ensuring importers a profit of 130 Dollars per tonne with the iron brought into the country free of customs duty on the Cabinet Council's decree and causing the buildings built using this iron to become graves to our citizens have not yet been found, and no precautions were taken against a possible earthquake by identifying the buildings using this iron in regions other than the earthquake zone... In fact, the products of Karabük and İskenderun have special properties. They are flexible and resistant to oscillation and vibrations. For this reason in many places there are signposts reading 'here we sell Karabük iron'. However, very bad quality and fragile iron with a high carbon content was imported from Bulgaria and Romania. The hundreds of thousands of tons of iron imported was used in construction throughout the country. These iron bars would break even if you bent them with your hand. In those days some contractors and foremen were saying that the buildings using this iron could collapse any moment."

...Yes, the workers did indeed close ranks, that is true. Well, I didn't even go home, just think... But these are just playacting, that's how I see it... Why? Man, perhaps the unionists took their share too, you wouldn't know... Everything's money in this world, that's all... In this world that is a Valley of Wolves, there are barons... Let me ask you, do you know how imported iron entered the country? Who made a pile by this? Let that go, then we got a rise, the wages increased fivefold, so why didn't they give it at the first place? Just take a look, research it... Unions and all that are good, but we wouldn't know what tricks were played... At the end of the day, it's the man in the street who suffers, what happened in the earthquake? Just research what iron was used in those buildings... This is the way of the world, they fool you and what really happens is quite another story. Well, of course in those days all we could think of was the strike... Anyway...

Some of the ministers of the cabinet put forward different thoughts too in this process. Işın Çelebi, İmren Aykut and Cemil Çiçek were ministers who had different opinions on relations with unions and workers. From time to time their discussions reflected to the press too⁴⁵. In this subject Secretary of State Işın Çelebi, under whom Türkiye Demir Çelik İşletmeleri (TDÇİ) (*Turkey Iron and Steel Plants*) operated was more a critic of MESS. The workers started the *Kurban Bayramı (eid-al-adha)* holiday that started on 14 July on a strike. This way, both holidays were to pass in a strike and struggle context. 1 August 1989 was a special occasion for the Turkish working class. A total of 500 thousand workers would stage a food boycott on 1 August with a large solidarity demonstration that was declared to the public as the first solidarity demonstration after 12 September⁴⁶. A solidarity demonstration on such a scale is very important for the period following 12 September. The boycott was attended by members of the unions under Hak-İş Confederation

⁴⁵ "Üçümüz de Yetkiliyiz", 30 June 1989, Günaydın Gazetesi, pp. 9.

⁴⁶ "500 Bin İşçi Bugün Yemek Boykotu Yapıyor", 1 August 1989, Türkiye, pp.1.

and the Petrol-İş, Deri-İş , Laspetkim-İş , Tursan-İş, Orman-İş unions under Türk-İş Confederation and the independent Otomobil-İş. It must not be forgotten that DİSK had not yet started activities during this process. By the 90th day of the strike, both the workers and the tradesmen of Karabük were experiencing hardship. The union could not make payments to the workers, and as the term of the resistance extended both daily life was affected in Karabük and the workers got into difficulty. On August 4, Yazgülü Aldoğan brought the events in Karabük to her column in the Günaydın Newspaper. She reminded the reader of the members of parliament who were paid 4.5 million monthly at that time, and brought to her column the most 'qualified' worker in an important sector such as iron-steel, even a worker who was 'rewarded' for his contribution to production. At that time the wages of the most qualified worker was 112 thousand liras. From Aldoğan's column, 'qualified worker' Bilal Hüsem would describe daily life in Karabük in August 1989, saying⁴⁷:

Commercial life is at a standstill in Karabük, our colleagues are polishing shoes. A man who finds scales starts weighing people on the street to earn a dime for his children...

Çelik-İş had already made a call for a solidarity campaign covering the whole of Turkey in July. Of course, this campaign did not make a great contribution to ameliorate the difficulties. During this process many articles and comments similar to what Bilal Hüsem had told were to be seen on national press. Along with the workers, the tradesmen too were suffering from the process. Bahattin Yıldız, who worked as a butcher in Kayabaşı, one of Karabük's working class districts and who was found to have died in the early 2000s during the research, comments on the strike process drawing from his own

⁴⁷ "Ekmek Parası İstiyorlar!", Yazgülü Aldoğan, August 4, 1989, Günaydın Gazetesi, pp. 13.

work⁴⁸:

Previously (before the strike) the workers would buy meat by the kilo. It was easy for us too. We took the money in advance. And we gave meat not by the gram, but by the kilo. Now a worker family comes and says 'give me thousand liras worth mincemeat'. A thousand liras buys 165 gram meat. This isn't important. I really get annoyed when they ask for 500 liras worth mincemeat. Because 500 lira buys only 100 grams of meat. While it is difficult enough to get the amount right, one goes really mad when they want to put it on the tab. This is my experience, but what about the workers and their families?

In 1989 the union, in addition to making a call to the unions of the world for monetary and moral support, also considers organising a march to Ankara (Çelik-İş, 1989: 267-269). In August, in response to the union's call for support, various municipalities start direct food aid to the workers. The Ankara Anakent Municipality of SHP provides the workers with considerable food aid (Çelik-İş, 1989: 276). After that, upon Karayalçın's call, many SHP municipalities throughout Turkey start sending food aid to Karabük. In the meanwhile the Türk Metal Union, who could under no circumstances 'unite' with Çelik-İş, applied to court claiming that Çelik-İş did not have enough members to pass the 10 percent sector threshold then existing in Turkey⁴⁹. Türk Metal president Mustafa Özbek, who had said 'none of this would happen if we had Karabük' in the past, attempted this venture that would be discussed for many years while 'flirting' with the government. In late August a 'meeting of solidarity with the iron-steel workers on strike' in Karabük was organised by Çelik-İş (Çelik-İş, 1989: 298). Türk Metal Union was also under Türk-İş, however Türk Metal's

⁴⁸ "Demir-Çelik Grevi Herkesi Perişan Etti", August 4, 1989, Türkiye Gazetesi, pp. 6.

⁴⁹ "Türk Metal'den Çirkin Oyun", August 15, 1989, Sabah Gazetesi, pp. 1.

president Özbek wanted both to become president of Türk-İş, for which reason he was not on good terms with the current Türk-İş administration, and make his competitor in the metal sector stumble whatever the cost. Also, his union had made agreements with MESS at rather low wage increases at enterprises it was authorised. While all of the public workers of the time had agreed to 142 percent on average, Özbek undersigned a rise of 115 percent in an agreement concluded with MESS in a sector like metal (Çelik-İş, 1989: 305). Özbek also made efforts to prevent the İskenderun meeting which would be supported and attended by Türk-İş. The Türk-İş Confederation and certain leaders of the subordinate unions made declarations implying a 'general strike' during this process. In the meanwhile the Ankara 5th Labour Court issued a 'cautionary injunction' order against the strike, which meant the strike had to be ended in 24 hours. The workers clearly indicated that they would not obey the court order. Government officials were to indicate that the order would not be implemented in this process that would break all ties. The situation was a muddle; there was an 'injunction order' but no resolution to discontinue the strike. Jurists could make neither head nor tail of the situation. In early September the government backed up, effectively circumventing MESS. In this process Metin Türker was frequently together with Türk-İş Chairman Şevket Yılmaz at press conferences⁵⁰. In talks held with the union, all power was now held by Chairman Sencer İmer. The strikers were to announce that they would not send their children to school, which was to open on 18 September, if a conclusion was not reached by 11 September⁵¹. Although MESS was cut out, it took *Türkiye Demir ve Çelik İşletmeleri* (TDÇİ) to its own disciplinary board. Interesting events were to take place on the evening of 17 September. The

⁵⁰ "MESS Devre Dışı", 7 September 1989, *Türkiye*, pp. 1.

⁵¹ "Grevci İşçiden Öğrenim Protestosu", 12 September 1989, *Cumhuriyet*, pp. 8.

negotiations held that day had yielded no result. The authorised signatory for the union was Metin Türker and MESS for the employer. On the evening of 17 September the union's Assistant Chairman Abdullah Kuzulu and the Branch Presidents of both cities held a press conference to announce that the strike had ended. But the case involved a dual lack of power (Çelik-İş, 1989: 340). Metin Türker reacted to this process; he said that the concluded agreement was void, but called the workers to their work starting in the morning shift of 18 September claiming that the demanded rise was achieved (Çelik-İş, 1989: 343). The strike had come to a conclusion, the workers had started to shave their beards, and iron prices had started to increase immediately as from Monday. After the strike Metin Türker continued to blame the government, especially Cemil Çiçek, while Secretary of State Işın Çelebi was congratulating the 'workers' meaningful struggle⁵².

Although subject to dispute, the 13th Term Collective Agreement signed following this historic strike would increase the wages five-fold (Çelik-İş, 1989: 365). In addition to the general percentage rise that was obtained, workers in Karabük had the chance to achieve a significant level of income together with the seniority rights. Many workers who were interviewed on this subject indicate that in fact more than the 'price of a ton of iron' demanded before the strike was given. Since production had stopped during the strike, the prices had increased. While many workers emphasized that especially the 'import scoop' had defined the strike, this 137-day process would be the 'most important' event in the history of the Karabük worker's class experience. It is meaningful that the following statement of a striker was included at the end of the book that narrated the strike in detail, published by Çelik-İş immediately

⁵² "Bakan'dan Grevci İşçilere Kutlama", September 20, 1989, Sabah, pp. 1.

after the strike (1989: 366):

I finished primary school in seven years. Then I could not continue with my education. But during these last 137 days I graduated from secondary school, high school and university simultaneously.

The worker who is quoted here most probably did not read F. Engels. Most probably he was not inspired by Engels, but there is a passage by Engels that is much quoted in Marxism, regarding the nature of strike processes as a total school. In this famous passage, Engels writes⁵³:

These strikes, at first skirmishes, sometimes result in weighty struggles; they decide nothing, it is true, but they are the strongest proof that the decisive battle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is approaching. They are the military school of the workingmen in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided....And as schools of war, the Unions are unexcelled.

'Strikes' play an important role in the formation processes of the working class. The issue has more to do with the collective experience rather than phenomena such as the results of the strikes, the rises achieved, the increase in rights and the articles agreed on. There is a large amount of material to be researched and dwelt upon in a long-lasting, 137-day 'steel town strike' like that carried out in Karabük. Exactly 30 years before the strike in Karabük, a large-scale steel workers' strike took place on another continent, in the USA. Jack Metzgar conducted an extensive study on this strike in which his family also took part. The 'most widespread' issues that remained as memories of retired steel

⁵³https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Engles_Condition_of_the_Working_Class_in_England.pdf Last visited 24 February 2015

workers who were interviewed was the 'hardship' of maintaining this long process without paycheques and the feeling of 'how together we all were' (Metzgar, 2000: 159). Many of the workers used the words 'together' instead of 'solidarity'. The most important issue dwelt upon by the US workers after so many years was their surprise and respect they felt towards the emergence of this process (Metzgar, 2000). This exceptional condition attracts attention even after so many years as both an important point of reference and as an important source of the 'class emergence' together with all that remaining in the memories of the workers from the process. It is possible to infer from the narratives of the workers interviewed that the struggle in Karabük had similar results. In the workers' eyes one of the greatest achievements of the 1989 strike was an increase in their interest towards the agenda of both the country and the world and an effort to better understand the world in their 'identity as workers'. The focus group study revealed that the workers experiencing the 'strike process' lay a greater emphasis on 'worker identity' compared to those who did not experience it. Furthermore, the frameworks in which the workers define themselves politically are not very different. First of all, the workers experiencing the strike process have a relatively higher degree of 'daring'. For the workers experiencing the struggle, 'trust' in the 1960s and 1970s regarding the workplace and the work transforms into 'trust' over a worker identity with reference to the effect of the strike and that of the strength that was created during that period. Of course, this is not constant; in spite of the change and transformation within the process in minds, various elements from the struggle process find a place in the workers' minds. Sezai Usta who started working at the factory in the mid 1980s and who experienced the 1989 strike says the following on the process:

...Looking at the strike, you see this great persistence. If there was no persistence, the union and all that could not have achieved a thing... In those days it was the workers who had come from outside the city who had experienced the greatest difficulty. Those who had come from closer villages had better means. I think that a larger part of that persistence came from workers who were from outside... I never again experienced the conditions of those days, in other words, sharing came to the fore. That is, you must trust your friend; you have set out together... Also, when Özal became obstinate, saying provoking things, the workers came closer together... There were those who filled their pockets as a result of the strike; we got quite an increase, but those who did not experience such hardships also earned a lot. Take a look at the iron merchants...

With respect to the 1989 strike the workers widely criticise the decisions of the government that could not be understood and that paved the way to a serious 'corruption'. A larger part of the workers indicate that the process was extended 'on purpose', which gave way to unfair profits with respect to iron imports. It must also be underlined that some workers did not make a distinction between 'the union' and 'the worker'. It is interesting that some workers, while implying that the higher echelons of the 'union' could also be taking a part in these processes, attracted attention to the dynamics and struggles of the workers beyond the concept of 'union'.

5.4. The Karabük Working Class in the 1980s: Ways of Life and Shared Conditions in the Process Leading to Collective Action

The great strike process of 1989 was an important period for the Karabük working class in many respects. Changes in the economic

structure formed the basis among conditions leading to this situation. Also, it is clearly seen that actions such as marches along railroads, growing beards, 'en-masse' exits and naked marches that were among the particular resistance practices starting in the process of 1989 were not practices developed directly by the 'union', but developed as a wave coming directly from the base. In this process the 'union' had to adapt to the Turkish working class movement in 1989 and to the dynamics of the local workers. 1989 had such meanings that it changed the meaning of certain locations in the city of Karabük, creating a considerably effective collective memory after the struggle through various practices. For instance, the 'Haddehane Square' took on an altogether different meaning for the workers after 1989. Metin Türker, Çelik-İş Chairman of the time, expresses the fact that the unions adapted to the dynamics coming from the base during his interview with Mehmet Beşeli (Beşeli, 1989: 376):

The workers used to elect us and bring us here, and we would sit down and take tea here. Now the workers are not asleep like in the old days. In late 1988, with the participation of the workers, active unionism started because of a reaction from the base. Unionists had no option but to adapt to the workers' spontaneous movement.

While the 1989 Spring Demonstrations process mobilised 600 thousand public workers in Turkey, it took its place at the head of Turkey's agenda. The Karabük and İskenderun workers who staged the most sensational and longest strike of this process, however, were among the important actors of the process. Having difficulty in keeping pace with a life centred on the free market economy and consumption in addition to the serious meltdown in wages in the process starting with the coup of 1980, the workers would be

virtually forced to 'change' with the structure of the economic development. Bayat considers the 'advent of liberalization and marketization' in the Middle Eastern countries among which he included the Turkey of the 1980s due to the periodical populist compulsory policies in the 'policies from above' in the Middle Eastern countries as the cause of serious social unease and a disruption of balances (2000: 2-4). In another work Bayat indicates that 'organised public sector workers' were effective after the 1980s in many Middle Eastern and Islamic countries with respect to forcing social change and general political democratisation (Bayat, 2010: 70). Although public sector workers of course had an important impact in Turkey, the preparation and development phases of this process seem rather important too. The general political agenda and political milestones produce various fundamental opportunities with respect to this mobilisation of the working class. For instance, the results of the referendum of 1987 which were different from what the party in power wanted opened an important gap in the power of the government which appeared 'invincible'. The political choices inimical to labour under the economic liberalisation process starting in 1980 constituted in a sense a process starting with the 'military' coup process and relying on the government's power. Therefore, a future change in the apparent power of the government also had the ability to mobilise different sections of society.

The new era starting in the 1980s was a period centred on 'consumption', making 'wealth' more apparent and therefore revealing social inequality more clearly while increasing 'needs' through economic liberalisation. While the unions under which the public workers of the past terms organised had formed their reflexes according to the sharing and consumption models of the import substitution period, these reflexes would lose their function

in the period following 1980. Even the forms of the political paternalism practices would change in the 1980s. The 'high wages' of the public enterprises that were identified in the people's mind as secure and high-paying jobs would melt down; in fact even 'security' would be much different compared to the past terms. The government would also point at these enterprises, in which it made no new investments, as enterprises suffering loss, and would present the workers and organisations of this sector as targets to a larger part of society. An important turning point of this entire situation was the response the public workers gave in the 1989 Spring Demonstrations. This response was in fact a sign of a new era in every sense. Of course what is meant by a new era is not only a struggling and strong working class and organisations. As Metin Türker said, 'unionism' would have to change too, and furthermore, in time even unions having a traditional form would fail to respond to change.

By the late 1980s it was seen both in developed Western countries and in certain rapidly industrialising underdeveloped countries that the working class gave similar responses to the 'wave of liberalisation' of the 1980s. There was no continuity in certain examples while special legacies were left to the coming terms in others. For instance, the struggle between the Thatcher government and the miners in Britain and the on and off struggle of public workers possesses significant parallelisms with Turkey with regard to the government's language and the fact that the 'new policies' were anti-labour⁵⁴. On the other hand, a serious mobilisation in private sector workers was seen in rapidly industrialising countries such as South Korea (see. Koo, 2001). It is

⁵⁴ On this subject the history page of TUC (Trades Union Congress), Britain's main union structure, is very revealing. See [http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1960_2000_Narr_Display_2.php?Where=NarTitle+contains+%27The+1984-85+Miners+Strike%27+ /](http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1960_2000_Narr_Display_2.php?Where=NarTitle+contains+%27The+1984-85+Miners+Strike%27+/) Last visited 22 May 2015.

possible to increase the number of examples in different regions of the world. The late 1980s brought workers of countries with different levels of development closer within the context of their 'main agenda'. The late 1980s would also symbolise the collapse of socialism in practice and would feed various economic and ideological discussions that would generally be against workers in the 1990s.

Through history the long strike experience of Karabük in 1989 attracts attention as the most important process carried out by the 'union', the weight of which would be further felt in the city in the future. It is possible to obtain a general profile of workers who have experienced 1989 from a study conducted on worker families in Karabük in July 1991 in the early 1990s. It is noteworthy that the number of workers over 35 constitutes more than 70 percent of the total number of workers, that the number of workers having worked for ten years or more constitutes 70 percent of the total number and that more than half of the workers have a house (Yazıcı, 1993: 128-149). Although this represents the majority of the workers who have experienced the process of 1989, a limited number of workers who started work after 1980 also had important impacts on the process of resistance. The energy of these workers who did not experience the period before 1980 merged with the experience of the workers who continuously suffered losses of right and who knew the time of 'relative prosperity'. Nevertheless, it is an interesting point that, even during the period after the great strike of 1989 where the union achieved success, 68 percent of the workers said 'no' to the question of whether the unions were structured in keeping with the 'workers' free will' (Yazıcı, 1993: 152).

The 1980s were also years during which private rolling mills grew

and class differences became apparent in Karabük as never before. While the difference between engineers, civil servants and workers attracted attention in the previous terms, now in the 1980 rich rolling mill owners and certain thriving merchants became elements that started to attract attention in daily life. Although many workers did not especially make any comments or evaluations, they point out at this situation that became more apparent in the 1980s. Among the abundant examples is one from Hasan Usta who started work at the factory in 1976:

...The groups we are talking about (*thriving rolling mill owners*) became richer after 1980... 'Feathering the nest', you see... Not only those who earned from the strike and the profiteers, but the face of Karabük changed entirely with luxury houses and cars... Money is always important, but it became ever more important...

This situation made the accustomed workers' city habits difficult in Karabük in addition to rendering the inequality, which was not very apparent during the 'import substitution' era, more apparent in daily life. Upon this, the workers, whose real wages melted down, would evaluate their lives differently. Indeed, this change would also reflect to the occupational structures of those having influence in local party organisations. While a higher number of local political figures emerged from among factory workers before 1980, after 1980 contractors, employers and professionals would start playing more important roles in local political structures, in time becoming the most important determinants. On the other hand the 'union', with its prestige that increased during the strike of 1989, would become more effective in the city as a corporation. After the strike the number of workers wishing to get involved in the union rose. The high wages achieved after the strike would trigger an

altogether different process. The workers whose income increased five-fold in average as a result of rises that exceeded expectations made investments such as summer house cooperatives and buying cars. For example, whereas 3000 vehicles were registered in Karabük in 1989, this figure had jumped to 15,000 three years later (Yıldırım 1997: 573). Around 8-10 housing cooperatives would be founded by workers in various holiday resorts in the Aegean region. Only 3-4 of these would be completed. In terms of consumption models, a larger part of the workers tending towards middle class consumption habits with the rises achieved after the strike of 1989 chose first to buy a car. Also, changes were observed in the behaviour of workers whose purchasing power had increased with respect to other social groups. An interesting example on this subject was given during an interview held under the research by a tradesman who has been dealing in household appliances in Karabük for many years:

...Everyone supported the strike; of course, it was a great event. Well, if you ask me there were other things behind it, but never mind... During that period the workers were not paid, not being paid for 3-4 months isn't easy, and also, the wages were low before that too. We supported them too, we did not collect their debts, but postponed them... During that period I supplied quite a few goods against word, I was almost going bankrupt... Then an unbelievable rise was achieved after the strike, of course it was good for us too, but man, is this human nature, I don't know. The man who barely found a loaf of bread to eat a month ago changed. And is such change possible? Some was kicking the goods while asking their prices, others being outright arrogant... The man who could barely buy a loaf of bread a month ago was pulling a face to models and all that... That was the atmosphere after the rise... Also, those rises bankrupted the factory, which is never told...

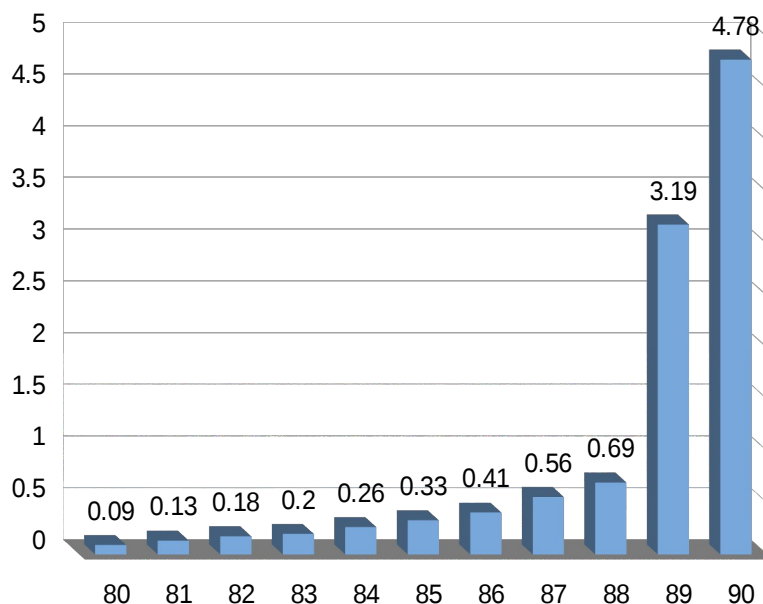


Figure 5.2: Average Workers' Wages from 1980 to 1990 at Karabük

After the strike of 1989 the total employment capacity would continue to reduce. Although a general industry crisis may be mentioned after a drop in the employment level down to 4200 workers in 1995, the year of the privatisation (Bafail & Acar, 2009: 152), on the other hand the need for labour would decrease in the enterprise which became relatively capital intensive through new production techniques in the new term. At this point it is useful to indicate that new investments were not adequately made. During the term following the strike, there would be no end to discussions on imported iron, and along with this, the large infrastructure of various former USSR republics in industry would have an impact on global markets following the collapse of the socialist bloc. During this process the Karabük workers were well-paid workers of a factory that was claimed to be 'steeped in loss' in the early 1990s.

5.5. Conclusion

The period proceeding 1980 caused quite serious financial losses for Karabük Demir Çelik workers as well as all public workers in Turkey. At the end of 1980s, the workers' real income was almost one-third of the one before 1980 after military intervention. 1989 Spring Action and the 137-day strike by workers in Karabük were very important in terms of working-class formation. It has a 'constituent' role in the formation of working class identity in one respect. The workers of Karabük started a new era along with the collective actions. The struggle of the working class in Karabük made 'workers' the greatest power in the city for the first time. In addition, the 137-day strike had a very important role in the history of collective actions. After a successful strike process, the increase in workers' incomes provided them social and economic facilities in the early 1990s as gained in 1960s and even more. Strikes and struggles allowed arising of significant figures in the history of working class in Karabük and dominance of working class in the city. Public spaces used by the workers in the struggle became important symbols for the workers. However, after a relatively short time, Karabük and workers in Karabük confronted a direct existential problem.

CHAPTER 6

KARABÜK AND THE WORKERS IN THE 1990S: PROCESS OF PRIVATISATION AND AFTER

6.1. Introduction

The 137-day strike in 1989 also became an important point of reference for the miners in Zonguldak, the province to which Karabük is attached. 1990 was the year when the end of the ANAP government was approaching, which also witnessed collective bargaining negotiations for certain public sector workers. The dispute regarding demands between the government and General Mine Workers, the union of the miners in Zonguldak was rather intense, and the miners in Zonguldak started strike on 30 November 1990 following various warning demonstrations. The number of workers who joined the strike along the miners in a large district such as Ereğli was considerable. What was more important was that the city demonstrated a serious union with regard to the miners' resistance⁵⁵. The idea of 'marching to Ankara', which would have a special place in the history of labour in Turkey and which was started more or less spontaneously became clear during a speech made by Şemsi Denizler's, president of Genel Maden İş (General Mine Workers), delivered on January 4, 1991. When, a day ago Türk-İş under which Genel Maden-İş operated called for a 'general strike' throughout the country and the governor prevented the busses of the miners preparing to travel to Ankara with a convoy of a thousand busses arriving from Ankara on 4 January, the

⁵⁵ The documentary *They Were 100 Thousand* that relates to Zonguldak miners' struggle and the march on Ankara is an important source on the resistance.

idea of 'walking to Ankara' shaped and was realised between 4-8 January 1991 with excessive attendance. Tens of thousands of workers and worker families would stage a special demonstration under heavy winter conditions. Although ending before arriving in Ankara, the march had a large impact. Actually the idea of 'marching' to Ankara was born during the long strike in Karabük. But the miners of Zonguldak actualised this, creating an important reference for the working class struggle of Turkey.

6.2. General Panorama Before Privatization

The Çelik-İş Union in Karabük was discussing 'merger' after the mid-1990s. The sector threshold that was implemented in those days was a serious problem for Çelik-İş. When the total number of workers registered in the sector in July 1990 exceeded 440 thousand, Çelik-İş, an 'independent' union in a rapidly growing sector such as the metal sector, failed to pass the sector threshold because it could not reach the required number of members of 44 thousand (Babaishak & Köylü, 1991: 14). The metal sector was experiencing an unbelievable growth for that period. Also, an amendment to law no. 2821 made on 2 June 1988, prescribed that unions should all have their members certified by a notary and deliver the lists to the Ministry of Labour (Babaishak & Köylü, 1991: 15). This prevented the 'inflated' memberships frequently resorted to by unions. In fact, the union was not actually losing members. However, since its organisation was not widespread apart from two fixed enterprises, its share within the total number of workers ever increasing in the sector was on a down-trend. According to data belonging to the Ministry of Labour for July 1990, Steel-Workers was two thousand members short of the number required to pass the

threshold. According to statistics published by the Ministry of Labour in July 1990, the unions that managed to remain above the sector threshold were Türk Metal operating under Türk-İş, the independent Otomobil-İş that benefited from the legacy of the former effective union Türkiye Maden-İş under DİSK that was still closed, and Özdemir-İş under the Hak-İş Confederation (Çalışma Bakanlığı (*Ministry of Labor*), 1990). Özdemir-İş attracts attention as a 'favoured' union with the help of a wing of the party during the ANAP government. Kept alive by being merged with different unions for many years under the Islamist Hak-İş Confederation, Özdemir-İş had added the members of Çelik-Sen under MİSK when this union effectively disappeared in 1988. Able to barely pass the threshold even after its merger with Çelik-Sen, the Özdemir-İş Union was organised at private enterprises especially of Islamist entrepreneurs. Certain scholars indicate that the process of Çelik-Sen's participation was open to debate (Babaishak & Köylü, 1991). The union had branches in regions such as Erzurum, Kayseri, Şanlıurfa, Ankara and İskenderun. After this dangerous 'threshold' threat, Çelik-İş passed a resolution in favour of merging with the Özdemir-İş Union. The process was recorded in a protocol during the last meeting held on 23 January 1991. According to this protocol the two unions would unite under 'equal conditions', the new union's name would be the Özçelik-İş Union, and it would be a member of the Hak-İş Confederation. At its general assembly convened on 22 February 1991, Çelik-İş would pass a resolution in favour of terminating and joining Özdemir-İş (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi, 1996a: 230). The 1990 July Ministry of Labour data give the number of Özdemir-İş members as around 46 thousand and of Steel-Workers members as around 42 thousand (Çalışma Bakanlığı (*Ministry of Labor*), 1990). These developments would in fact be critical both for the workers of Karabük and for their union.

The stance of being 'independent from confederations' seen generally in the workers of Karabük and defended by the leading cadres they put forward had come to an end. The reaction against Türk Metal that took a rather negative stance during the strike and that started an aggressive search for members both in Karabük and in İskenderun had a great share in the emergence of Özçelik-İş that was under the Hak-İş Confederation. Also, Otomobil-İş that rose above the legacy of DİSK being effective in Karabük was not very possible due to the general worker profile. Merging with Özdemir-İş was some kind of necessity for Çelik-İş. While Mehmet Aras chaired the new union, the new secretary-general would be Metin Türker⁵⁶. The unions became mobilised after August 1991 both in Karabük and in İskenderun due to a new collective bargaining term. For instance, in early August around 20 thousand employees in Karabük and İskenderun would stage a collective medical visit demonstration. It is noteworthy that declarations were made by secretary-general Metin Türker during this term⁵⁷.

Metin Türker attempted to run for office as MP (Member of Parliament) at the elections of 20 October 1991. Coming from a centre-right political past, Metin Türker applied as an MP candidate before the 1991 elections for DSP (*Demokratik Sol Parti - Democratic Left Party*), Bülent Ecevit's party that failed to pass the threshold in 1987⁵⁸. Expected to head the list for DSP for the second region of Zonguldak, which included Karabük, Türker interestingly was not nominated by DSP⁵⁹. He is known to have told those close to him that this had been one of the greatest sorrows of his life, which was approaching its end in 1991. The Özçelik-İş Union organised its 7th General Assembly between 9-11 October

⁵⁶ "Metal Sektöründe İki Sendika Birleşti", Milliyet, February 25, 1991, pp 5.

⁵⁷ "20 Bin Çelik İşçisi Hastalandı", Milliyet, August 2, 1991, pp 16.

⁵⁸ "DSP'nin Adayları", Cumhuriyet, September 13, 1991, pp 6.

⁵⁹ "Partilerde Liste Sancısı", Milliyet, September 25, 1991, pp 19.

1992; while Metin Türker was elected as Chairman, the list supported by him formed the management⁶⁰. Özdemir-İş, with which Çelik-İş had merged, did not have any serious organisation in any case. For that reason it was considered natural that a team from Karabük should take over the administration a year after the union was founded. After these elections Recai Başkan, who would later frequently be mentioned as a union chairman and who acted as the chairman for the Karabük Branch in the 1991-1992 periods would enter the board of directors for the first time.

Leaving 1990 behind, after the collapse of USSR serious changes in iron and steel market in the world came into the question. This situation affecting both national and global markets was considerably related with the changes on production in the former Soviet republics. For example, in the following 5 years after 1991 when Ukraine that was a major country in iron and steel production gained its independence, the production volume for iron and steel drops to 60 percent (Mykhnenko, 2004: 13). In fact, despite this drop in volume, the former USSR products increased input in global market unexpectedly in the same period. The most important reason for this was based on the fact that the former economy that depended on division of tasks of fifteen republics and their own domestic markets was integrated, along with the great change, with the global market. The situation for international iron and steel market was fairly unstable (volatile) at the beginning of 1990 (Mykhnenko, 2004: 53). Besides, in the former USSR countries in some specific examples like Ukraine a rapid privatization process was experienced and as the system settles in time, global market structure underwent a serious change again. Despite the relatively high wages with a raise in 1989, Karabük workers confronted 1990s

⁶⁰ See <http://www.celik-is.org.tr/index.php/sendikamiz/tarihcemiz> / Last visited May 11, 2015.

in the unstable and unbalanced iron and steel market.

In the general elections held in 1991, the ANAP (Anavatan Partisi - The Motherland Party) was no longer in power, and Demirel who was a potential politician in pre-1980 and his political party the DYP (Doğru Yol Partisi - The True Path Party) was the winner. However, the DYP that lacked of power in terms of the number of chairs in parliament ended up setting up a coalition with the social democrats the SHP (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti - The Social Democratic Populist Party) and forming the 49th government under the presidency of Süleyman Demirel on 30 November 1991. In this election, the DYP owned all deputies in second district with the weight of votes in Karabük located in second electoral district. On strike in progress, the tension between the ANAP and Karabük workers had effects on the election as well. The city, which had already been rooted in AP, took the side of DYP completely in this election. In this election, not nominating the union's effective leader Metin Turker as a candidate in the DSP not only influenced the results of the election, but also perhaps the potential opportunity to change the balance of right and left wings in Karabük had not also been put into practice to a certain extent. As Boratav indicated, the period after 1989 Spring Actions had also been quite different for the ANAP. Boratav phrased that the return of populism used to persuade especially 'the working class' was spesifically within the years after 1989 (2012: 175). For the ANAP that lost its power in local elections in 1989 too, the defeat in 1991 was an obvious situation indeed. To Boratav, SOE (State-Owned Enterprises) policies in 1991 and 1992 of new DYP-SHP coalition government and differences in orientation in this area were quite important to understand the period. First, the new government which mainly desired to improve the SOE system brought the SOEs

into privatized state for implementation instead of privatization (Boratav, 2012: 176). The works of the board of World Bank at this time were effective for the good of discussions in privatization. During the following period of 1989, along with the rapid rising 'public deficits', public sector borrowing requirement went up from 5 percent to 12 percent of GDP between 1988 and 1993 (Boratav, 2012: 177). In fact, the ANAP set the groundwork for privatization earlier. For example, the Law no. 2983 which was enacted in 1984 and enabled state-owned enterprises (SOE) and regarding establishments to be able to partner the natural and legal persons or transfer the operating rights of establishments for a spesific time through issue of stocks was quite significant in this respect (Hiç, 1988: 32). By the Law no. 3291 enacted in 1986, the principles regarding taking the organizations which operated as completely governmental and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) into the scope of privatization and carrying out the implementations were determined (Doğan, 2012: 14). These two regulations were considerably important. Even though the ANAP set the groundwork for privatization process, since legal structure could not actually be established until 1994 because of the political reasons, the implementations for privatization carried out till 1994 could unable to go beyond the sale of some minority stakes in public (Şehirlioğlu, 2001: 44). In the 1980s when the discussions for privatization became more common in public opinion, the statement 'privatization with the aim of being more efficient' turned into the statement 'privatization with the aim of reducing the public deficits' along with increasing public deficits in the early 1990 (Boratav, 2012: 176). While this statement was especially being offered to the public opinion by mainstream media, particularly public unions and high-paid workers in state enterprises were targeted. In the early 1990, similar news fled all

over the mainstream media, and the public sector workers in particular were accused of being responsible for the growing public deficits. The news such as Şemsi Denizler, who was the head of Genel Maden-İş, getting a Jaguar⁶¹ unproductive public institutions with high wages, and the workers of these institutions grabbed the papers as though all the news were parts of a big campaign in those years. Tansu Çiller who became the Minister of State for Economic Affairs in the DYP-SHP coalition government formed in 1991 went through more clearly in time that she had clear-cut attitude towards developing the liberal economy and 'privatization'. In mid-1993 after Süleyman Demirel became the President, Tansu Çiller who became the Prime Minister by being elected as the DYP Chairperson was also the architecture of the radical adjustment program in 1994. In 1993 becoming the Prime Minister, Çiller's biggest problem was the growing public deficits. While forty-three pounds per hundred liras of income tax went to national debt capital and interest payments in 1986, this amount increased to sixty liras in 1991 and to hundred and three liras in 1993 (Koç, 2010b: 387). This rate that exceeded the tax revenue returned as hyperinflation and the major crisis in 1994. The Government claimed that increase in worker costs in a great extent and not taking precautions resulted in facing recession with hyperinflation (Koç, 2010b: 388). Between 1989 and 1994, the situation that was temporarily regulated in favor of workers turned into the crisis in 1994, and it reverted back after the 5 April decisions. Boratav stated that if qualitative changes did not come into existence in reflections of balances between classes, it was a common situation that apportionment relations would be in the direction of a turnaround in the period following the crisis (2012: 190). The period after the 5 April decisions in 1994, officially known

⁶¹ "Şemsi'ye Jaguar Fazla", Milliyet, 16 July 1993, pp. 5.

as the Economic Measures Implementation Plan, was actually like the most radical implementation announcement of regulations adopted on January 24th 1980. One week before the decisions were announced, on March 27th 1994 the local elections were held in Turkey and while RP (Refah Partisi - Welfare Party) got the control over the big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, the DYP and SHP, which formed the coalition government parties, experienced great losses. The candidate of Islamic RP won in Karabük municipal election too. As RP candidate outnumbered the DYP mayor by about four thousand votes and won the election, after the union in Karabük joining Islamic Hak-Is, the city also voted for an Islamic party⁶², Karabük organization of the DYP in power before the election uttered that they would be able to protect the factory whose closure was said to be on the following agenda of stabilization program solely on their own 'local government'. However, this did not work, and Enver Tümen, the candidate of RP, who was local representative of the Turkish Electricity Corporation (TEK) and a conservative engineer from Eskipazar, Çankiri won the election.

Before the 5 April decisions in 1994 were announced, the rumors about possible regulations to make had begun to spread beforehand. For example, the rumors on closing the mines in Zonguldak and factory in Karabük started to cause a serious trigger action on the early days of April. Despite the rumors, there were press releases⁶³.

On April 5, 1994, the Economic Measures Implementation Plan, which Çiller and Murat Karayalçın, Deputy Prime Minister, who became Chairman of the SHP, announced in the Hall of general

⁶² "Refahlı Karabük'ü Kapatmak Zor", Milliyet, 2 April 1994, pp.8.

⁶³ "Zonguldak'ta İşsizlik Gerginliği", Cumhuriyet, 2 April 1994, pp. 3.

directorate of Turkish Electricity Corporation, created serious reactions in the country. The decisions the people were waiting for a while were postponed until the end of elections on purpose. Because privatization and decisions of closing down regarding some public corporations in the plan, which meant retrenchment for the large social groups with great affect would get strong reactions. Even Mesut Yılmaz, the leader of the ANAP, who was trying to put the 24 January decisions in 1980 into practice in the period after 1983 stated that the decisions 'torturing the workers' just like the 24 January decisions and he would not support it⁶⁴.

The 5 April plan included status directly regarding Karabük. There were several more drastic decisions regarding many enterprises taken into privatization scope like SOE's. Karabük and the factory were summarized in three articles.

Hereof (Kalyoncu, 2007: 140);

- a. KDCI (Karabük Iron and Steel Works) has completed its mission, expired in terms of economic and technological life, and lost its competitiveness because of the old technology. The damage in 1994 is estimated to be 5 trillion liras.
- b. Unless an opportunity to privatize KDCI could exist, the production will be stopped. If the workers want to, they could take over the enterprise until the end of the year.
- c. Legal rights and compensations of all the workers who are retired or dismissed will be taken care of over time...

The government evaluation of Karabük and the factory consisted of closedown if not privatized. When the statements were considered 'real', there was no way private sector could take over such an

⁶⁴ "Yılmaz: Paket Kötü Bir Kopya", Milliyet, 6 April 1994, pp. 13.

enterprise in any case. This situation had been on the public agenda for a while, and it was now officially announced. Ömer Usta who witnessed the period and entered the factory in 1979 made the following remarks on the process:

What do you mean shutting Karabük down? So you are ordering everyone to die! The factory means everything to Karabük, and if you close it down, you close down the city. They said it but then they stepped back too, and at the time the economy was bad and the country is in trouble, so they made nonsense decisions. They swallowed their words...the DYP did the same then took it back but they were affected considerably... Everyone had to gather at the time. Would you imagine protest march every day? By gosh, it happened! All the entrances and exits to the city were blocked, and trucks and TIRs (Transports Internationaux Routiers) blocked the roads. However, Turkey witnessed what Karabük experienced and who the people are in Karabük in those days.

Before the decision was announced, Karabük workers had reacted the debates on the factory's closure by unfurling a banner and shouting slogans at the football match between Beşiktaş and DÇ Karabükspor which got promoted to the Turkish First League in 1993-1994 season, and this became a serious issue on the public agenda back then⁶⁵. Türker, the union chairman, spoke to the workers that were marching from factory to the city center after the shift that day in his speech that 'they would never let them closedown the factory'⁶⁶. There were also serious reactions against the closure of some mines in Zonguldak and regulations concerning TTK (*Türkiye Taş Kömürü Kurumu - Turkish Hard Coal Authority*). On 6 April 1994, a large public demonstration took place in Karabük. Not only workers in unions and their families but also around 20

⁶⁵ "İşçiler Maçta Gösteri Yaptı", Cumhuriyet, 4 April 1994, pp. 17.

⁶⁶ "Zonguldak ve Karabük Gergin", Cumhuriyet, 6 April 1994, pp.18.

thousand people joined the demonstration which the whole city kept a close watch on, and while Türker invited everyone to wear black ribbon, he indicated that they would give the government hard time with the great Ankara march within a month⁶⁷. The interviewee of this research Veysel Usta who was one of the workers hired after privatization was just 10 years old back then, and explained his impression of that day as follows:

I went there with my father, and there was a demonstration and everyone was going anyway...I was so small, but the demonstration was all over even in primary school. It was obvious that when the factory in Karabük was closed down, Karabük would be over. It was the first great act I have remembered. I asked to myself "Are there so many people in Karabük?" I have not seen such a crowd before... Everyone was angry of course, and nervous...I was badly affected.

Great demonstrations were also held in Zonguldak where similar problems were experienced. Denizler, General President of Genel Maden-İş, resigned the SHP of which he was a member when the party signed the 5 April decisions by stating that in 1991 they used to struggle for a bigger bread, but today they have to 'struggle for saving the bread'⁶⁸. Within a week when the decision was announced, about six hundred workers submitted their retirement letters in Karabük⁶⁹. Metin Türker indicated that the whole city would come together for the factory and not give up no matter what, and he expressed that the reasons of the damages announced were interest, and duty losses and the factory was put in a hard position on purpose by the government⁷⁰. Meanwhile, the Confederation of Hak-İs along with the RP municipality was setting

⁶⁷ "Karabüklüler Tek Vücut Oldu: Kapattırmayız", 7 April 1994, pp. 18.

⁶⁸ "Zonguldak'ta Sessiz Bekleyiş", 11 April 1994, pp. 3.

⁶⁹ "Karabük'te 600 İşçi Emekliliğini İstedi", Cumhuriyet, 13 April 1994, pp. 5.

⁷⁰ "Karabük Gerçeği", Işık Kansu, Cumhuriyet, 16 April 1994, pp. 11.

a different political environment in Karabük. However, the DYP Zonguldak deputies were also not very happy with the decisions as well. The deputies who got great reaction were quite confused in a way. The indignation in Zonguldak and Karabük reached such a point that Demirel, the President of the period and former DYP leader, were warning the government to 'avoid offending people' while implementing the decisions regarding Zonguldak and Karabük⁷¹. The situation in Karabük was actually different than the strike in 1989. Regarding this matter, Yüksel Usta who is one of the interviewees in this research that worked in the factory in 1980s made very interesting evaluations:

...I saw 1989 and the works for closedown, we had it all, my brother. Now brother look! In 1994 the rich would have protected the tradesmen. Why? I could be retired or things happen. Well, so what are you going to do? Lets say you own 3 apartments, 5 inns, and 10 lands in Karabük... What if you owned a factory? Well, what if the factory were closed down, what would happen to them? Do you think there will be still life around? What would your properties cost then? I said the same thing back then...Yes, the workers always suffer, but I said it at the time that they cannot close it down.

The condition of the factory truly concerned all the social classes and groups Karabük. Besides, the main products produced in Karabük and İskenderun factories are generally of a kind that was utilized in construction, in the production of large pipes, and railway. It was quite different than products that were the input for white goods and automotive industry in Ereğli in this respect. The factories in Karabük and Ereğli differed in terms of both total value added and market needs. The fate of the factory in Karabük was not looking good for this reason as well.

⁷¹ "İncitmeyin", Milliyet, 10 April 1994, pp. 1.

While "city council" founded in the city was trying to bring up the situation in Karabük to agenda of Turkey, an official "Review Board" was established for Karabük with the private attempts of the SHP. The board that conducted its first meeting on April 25 presented a report about two hundred pages to the Prime Ministry at the beginning of the month (Kalyoncu, 2007: 141). The report mentioned that various negative conditions increased the costs from the day it was established, the technology investments were not chosen properly at the time, the business suffered more after over-employment and high raise in wages, and the administrators were trying to meet the deficits with high-interest loans for years (Kalyoncu, 2007: 141). The proposals to be considered in the process were listed as the establishment of an incorporated company, accrued debt settlement, and government's undertaking the workers' accumulated severance pays. The approach that offered 'sustaining' instead of closing also gave birth to a situation, which would be then remembered as 'the Karabük Model' in privatization processes in a way (Kalyoncu, 2007: 142). The report highlighted that since the factory carried social importance, it should be rehabilitated and continued to operate (Şehirlioğlu, 2001: 62). When these discussions were in progress, the search for legislative framework to establish comprehensive privatizations in Turkey was still going on. On November 8, Karabük made a demonstration called 'stop the life' and the life was truly stopped (Ersöz, Özdemir vd., 2004: 48). After long discussions, the Law no. 4046 'Concerning Arrangements For The Implementation Of Privatization And Amending Certain Laws And Decrees' which was in force today and the basis of privatization was published in the Official Gazette dated 27 November 1994 and entered into force (Doğan, 2012: 14). Meanwhile, a way to compromise was being

built in accordance with the report of the Review Board for Karabük. City Council which included almost all kinds of people became the major base for the process (Ersöz, Özdemir vd., 2004: 47).

6.3. Karabük Model for Privatization: 'Are the workers becoming the boss?'

In accordance with the impressive actions and the report of Review Board 'a model' concerning future of the factory was developed being inspired by the models implemented in the world too. Özcelik-İs Union stated that they were actually against privatization but they employed such a method to prevent the factory from shutting down (Atatekin, Kosif vd., 2002:64). An Entrepreneur Committee was established for the factory. The committee that consists of millman Kamil Güleç, the president of Karabük Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Mutullah Yolbulan, the president of Union Rolling Mill as well as Metin Turker, the union leader, and Feridun Tankut, Mustafa Atlı, Taner Canyurt, Ruhi Ayhan, Nuri Bal, members of general board of union submitted the text which contains the conditions of takeover to Çiller who was the Prime Minister in force at the time and Yalım Erez who was the president of TOBB (Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges) (Kalyoncu, 2007: 142-143). According to some researchers' evaluations, it had come to this far as a result of the government's approach depicted as 'to show death in order to persuade one to settle for malaria' (Ersöz, Özdemir vd., 2004: 49). During this period, a private sector entrepreneur could not be found directly for the enterprises and the business as expected. TOBB and Hak-İş Confederation became initiator and mediator in Karabük. Discussions lasted until the last days of 1994. The business was

included in the privatization scope and became an independent Directorate-General. This process would lead Kardemir AŞ. to take over the business with the method of 'block stock sales' on 30 March 1995.

The factory workers of Kardemir AŞ. are a foundation by Karabük society, tradesmen, and industrialists. Led by labor union, Kardemir AŞ. that consisted of different groups of the society in Karabük took over the business for a nominal wage of 1 Lira (Ersöz, 2003: 7). About 1 trillion Liras proper credit was provided to Kardemir's working capital and compromised on transition of all lands and assets to the company, and the government undertook serious responsibilities for the payments like retirement and severance pay. Kardemir AŞ., which was buying out KDCİ, was titled as Kardemir Karabük Iron and Steel Industry and Trade Inc. (Kalyoncu, 2007: 145). The estimated stocks in Kardemir AŞ. were 35% for enterprise employees, 30% for local chambers of commerce and industry, 10% for local chambers of tradesmen, and 25% local people and the retired (Ersöz, Özdemir, vd, 2004: 51).

The stocks of each stockholder group were different. Accordingly, there are A, B, C and D types of stocks (Bafoil & Acar, 2009: 158). A group was for workers, B group was for chambers of commerce and industry, C was for chambers of tradesmen, and D was for local people and the retired. However, stock distribution was not going to conclude as planned. The stock of employees rose to 51.8 % in a short time (Atatekin, Kosif vd. 2002: 64). The company's capital actually reached about 8.5 trillion lira with transferred chattels and real estates. Kardemir AŞ. took it over for 1 Lira. By completing the transfer, the capital which was 400 million rose to 408 billion lira by public offering (Kalyoncu, 2007: 148). The workers bought Kardemir

stocks with about 45 million lira of their severance and notice pay, which they received for contract of employment. There were 118000 people who had stocks in Kardemir AŞ. at the time. The distribution of the stocks to groups and amount of stocks are as follows (Kalyoncu, 2007: 148)⁷²:

Table 6.1. : The Distribution of The Stocks to Groups and Amount of Stocks

GROUP	NUMBER OF PERSON	AMOUNT OF STOCK (TL)	SUMS OF STOCK (TL)
A	4807	211.447.000	211.447.000.000
B	398	98.987.000	98.987.000.000
C	293	5.104.000	5.104.000.000
D	6302	92.462.000	92.462.000.000
TOTAL	11.800	408.000.000	408.000.000.000

Kardemir AŞ interests local employees the most, yet there is a kind of obligation here, and mainly the retired locals. Especially the tradesmen had limited interest, and the anticipated sale for the members of chambers of commerce and industry did not take place. The table below shows the anticipated and actual participation of Kardemir stock partners (Kalyoncu, 2007: 149; Çevik, 2003: 71):

⁷² Data was detailed and re-formed.

Table 6.2. : Anticipated and Actual Participation of Kardemir Stock Partners

Groups - type of stock	Anticipated	Actual
Enterprise employees	% 35	% 51.8
Chamber of Commerce and industry	% 30	% 24.2
Members of the tradesmen unions	% 10	% 1.3
Locals and the retired	% 25	% 22.7
Total	% 100	% 100

In April 1995, the workers who got their stocks were the group holding the maximum stock of the factory. In the process, the contracts were cancelled as of March 30, 1995, and nearly all of the workers were directed to buy stocks with a certain cut from their severance and notice pay, except for the ones who did not want to continue working. Thus with a limited input, the workers who became partners of a much larger capital after a while ensured that unionists became four of the seven board members of the company as the representatives of the employees' shares since they held the majority of the factory stocks. They set the condition that the stocks must not change hands among groups for 3 years. While the quota of board for 4 used to be represented by professionals like Sencer İmer, former general manager, in the first period of privatization, in time trade union officials would occupy the quota instead.

'Zero wage increase' in 1995 seemed to be a significant requirement for the business for that period after all. Despite various reactions regarding this condition, in May, Türker, the Chairman of Union, explained that the company is privatized to the industrialists, public, and workers, so rules in private sector will be

applied to the company⁷³. Sencer İmer, who is in board of directors on behalf of workers, requested that the government should help if "zero wage increase" is required at the end of April⁷⁴. Kardemir directors lowered the number of "officials" one-third of the pre-privatization period in the first place⁷⁵, and also since the retired and workers who did not buy stocks left, about 2 hundred workers were no longer working at the factory. Towards the end of 1995 Özçelik-İş Union in Karabük signed the contract with 'zero wage increase'. Türker stated that it might be the end of business to give a significant raise to workers within 2 years, and agreed to sign the contract⁷⁶. Prof. Ruşen Gezici, chairman of the Board of Directors of Kardemir AŞ., stated that this was an example agreement, and a reasonable raise could be given considering the profitability ratios⁷⁷.

1995 brought other good news for Karabük too. Karabük, Kilis and Yalova was announced as new provinces in Turkey with the Decree Law no. 22305 published in Official Gazette on June 6 1995⁷⁸. The districts of Zonguldak province, Safranbolu, Yenice, and Eflani and the districts of Cankiri province Eskipazar and Ovacik joined Karabük. Karabük, with license plate code 78, wrote the story of a village in the district becoming a province eventually.

The earlier rumors of Karabük becoming a province started before the 1991 elections, but there was no firm improvement until 1995 when privatization launched. After Karabük became a province, people got to choose their own deputies for the first time. The

⁷³ "Müdüre Var Da İşçiye Yok Mu?", Milliyet, 22 May 1995, pp. 7.

⁷⁴ "Karabük Devletten Kopamıyor", Milliyet, 13 April 1995, pp. 7.

⁷⁵ "Kardemir'e Özelleştirme Yaradı", Milliyet, 1 August 1995, pp. 9.

⁷⁶ "Kardemir'de Sendika 0 Zamma 'Evet' Dedi", Milliyet, 4 November 1995, pp. 7.

⁷⁷ "Kardemir'de Örnek Anlaşma", Cumhuriyet, 11 December 1995, pp. 9.

⁷⁸ See <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/22305.pdf&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/22305.pdf> / Last visited 11 May 2015.

attempts, however, seemed like a move to make their voices heard in advance for 'early election'. On December 24, 1995 Turkey's general election took place. 3 deputies from Karabük represented the city in TBMM (The Parliament) for the first time. As Islamist Refah Partisi (Welfare Party) came in first around Turkey, the ANAP became second, and the DYP took the third place. Social democrat SHP accepted the name of the CHP (Republican People's Party), which it unified in February, 1995, and it could only receive about 10 percent of votes which is already threshold to yield a seat in the parliament after coalition processes. The major left party became Ecevit's DSP with 14 percent of the votes in the election. Karabük with its 152 thousand voters distributed 3 deputies to three different political parties in its first election. RP and DYP got one deputy each as expected while the biggest surprise came from the DSP. By the decrease of votes for CHP/SHP, the DSP, which got the whole potential behind, sent Erol Karan, a beloved doctor in Yenice district, to the parliament from Karabük with the high rate of votes especially received from Yenice and Safranbolu districts⁷⁹. In the election, Metin Türker headed to "center-right" as usual and applied to be a candidate of the ANAP in power at the time of '1989 resistance', which he fought against once. Türker was put in the first place of the ANAP Karabük candidate list⁸⁰, but Türker, who received 2000 votes less than the DSP's candidate, could not enter the parliament that time.

6.4. Global examples of the privatization model in Karabük

Although the privatization process implemented has its unique sides, it resembles the other models implemented in different

⁷⁹ "Seçim 95 Sonuçları", Milliyet, 26 December 1995, pp. 13.

⁸⁰ "50 BBP'li ANAP'tan Aday Oldu", Cumhuriyet, 28 November 1995, pp. 4.

regions of the world considerably. Particularly the USA model that allows 'workers to become stock partners' has privatization implementations in common as well as the similarities to the former socialist bloc countries. While a sense of responsibility for workers was being created as a part of an approach generally known as employee stock ownership plan- ESOP in literature, resources were provided to operate the business in the meantime. (Şehirlioğlu, 2001: 47). Ersoz et al. laid emphasis on ESOP as follows (2002: 3):

While this method (ESOP) is applied in some developed countries and especially in the USA both in businesses facing a danger of closedown and in healthy businesses mostly as a method of providing financial resources and tax exemption, in developing countries and transition economies it is applied in the privatization of public institutions since it has the effect on reducing the social impact of privatization and thus opposition against privatization.

Zweig states that ESOP was employed by over 10 thousand companies which include 8 million employees in the United States in 1997 (2000: 14). In many instances, this model is applied in the period when the company is in trouble, and when it is targeted to take workers' responsibility into consideration within the model (ESOP), significant advantages in favor of capital are concerned. First of all, workers and workers' organizations are obliged to accept the logic of "private sector." In Karabük, similar cases were experienced way too much. Besides, this system includes numerous advantages when the example systems in literature were studied in general concerning overcoming financial difficulties (see Ersöz, Özdemir vd. 2004: 22-27). While the model actually provides to control workers' demands by so called responsibility, it reminds workers that they are 'together' in this business.

Besides, even though Karabük model has similarities with ESOP in a way, it also has much in common particularly with the privatizations carried out in former socialist countries after the changes. Former socialist countries privatized particularly 'the troubled businesses for market' in a similar way and sold it to 'their own workers'. Bafoil and Acar highlighted the following points by stating that the businesses sold to the workers could encounter some problems such as emergence of various 'interest groups' and corruption (2009: 159):

The businesses sold to the workers (...), was exposed to strong criticism since they support no changes, and on the contrary they stimulate interest groups leading the factories to liquidation. These interest groups are among the former directors of unions. In Eastern Europe, as well as in Turkey, workers' self-management (also known as labor management or autogestión) was depicted by the worst words ever.

Stojanov (2002: 6-9) working on privatization in Bosnia and Herzegovina and highlights that workers' involvement or in some cases workers' partial ownerships of stocks had never led the ideal results. The 1980s and 1990s were already the years of privatization all over the world. For 'profitable' state enterprises direct block sales to 'the capital' are quite common in almost all countries. An unfavourable model was carried out in South Africa for the huge ISCOR in terms of workers and workers' conditions indeed (Mohammed, 2008: 3). This business was transferred directly to the capital. Moreover, the privatizations of 1990s brought up great speculations of corruption especially in underdeveloped countries of the world. Mohammed (2008: 8) indicates that this situation reached a peak in the privatization of

iron and steel enterprises in Nigeria. In each different case in each country creating stocks for workers will be considered if the business gets into trouble. Organizations such as World Bank and IMF focused on novel and unique privatization models and encouraged some models. This situation that is sometimes considered for legitimacy of the privatization process too comes out in Chile example. S.Kikeri who does researches for World Bank remarks the following about employees' shares in Chile within the framework of 'labor capitalism' as he depicted (1997: 23):

As part of its "labor capitalism" approach in the second phase of privatization, the Chilean government sold 5-10 percent of the stocks of its enterprises being privatized directly to workers who could get an advance on their severance pay to buy stocks. Here, government offered employees 50 percent of severance payments in advance on the condition that they invested 80 percent of the sum in stocks in their enterprises. Workers were guaranteed by the state that the value of their stocks would not fall below their entitled severance payments at the time of retirement. Another way to finance sales was to give bonuses in stocks rather than money, an agreement reached in the collective labor agreement process. Corfo, the privatization agency, also encouraged the organization of workers' associations, which used the financial system to obtain stocks that remained with the banks as security until the debt expired. Finally, in a few cases, installment payments have been allowed; in the case of electricity, payments were made over four to six years. As a result of these financing schemes in many divested enterprises over 80 percent of employees elected to participate.

When Weirton Steel Factory in the United States came to a point of closing in the 1980s because of the steel crisis of the 1970s, the workers had owned 100% of the business stocks with ESOP method. Weirton example is one of the world's most important

examples in this respect. At the very beginning of the 21st century the company bankrupted, and Mittal, global steel giant bought the company. Conducting an independent discussion of capitalism is very difficult in this type of instance. Stock sales to workers that may usually result in the stock of social and economic burden and even laying burden on workers at the times of crisis progress to a different direction in accordance with the basic capitalism rules after a while. Goldstein who studies on the subject talks about Weirton example as follows (2009: 8):

What happened in Weirton can be seen as the playing out of the shifting, uneven geographical distribution of capital accumulation in steel as Dave Houston described it 25 years ago. The once-powerful regional steel industry that had been left behind by the early 1980s has now been fully re-incorporated as a bit player within a consolidated and fully globalized industry. Financially driven corporate restructuring in steel and other basic industries contributed to the decimation of industrial unions and working class communities. Are there no alternatives consistent with well-paid, unionized steel jobs and healthy working class communities? In terms of capitalism at its most general level, the answer seems to be, 'no'.

If the privatization implementations were applied in a different way, it would bring dramatic changes in terms of working-class culture. Strangleman who evaluates the privatization of worker-centered 'railways' in the United Kingdom emphasizes 'changing culture' as a result of the privatization of British Railways in 1997. Accordingly, Strangleman states that it destroys many things that belong to the nature of 'collective' production above all. Strangleman indicates the tension that working class and the whole sector encounter in new period as follows (2004: 153-154):

Essentially this formality is a consequence of viewing labor as an individualized set of competencies rather than seeing skills and knowledge as collective property...Rather 'railway sense' was transmitted through workplace culture and built up over a career. For management this had both positive and negative features. On the one hand, the industry's training costs were relatively low as formal training was kept to a minimum, but on the other hand, this gave workers autonomy and power. In essence this knowledge about work and the way it is transmitted became an integral part of railway culture. The fragmentation of the industry coupled with the removal of a large proportion of more experienced workers damaged this unacknowledged system.

In Karabük sample, much more than just culture change of working class was experienced after 'standard' privatization. As such a 'transfer to workers' in Karabük never happened in Turkey, Karabük example was also rather different than a similar example of privatization in Teletaş (Şehirlioğlu, 2001: 51). Besides, while the developments in terms of ownership of stocks, which took place in Karabük, made the workers the 'owner' of the business, this was the case in theory; however, it forced the 'labour union' to develop a different manner in practice. At the end of 1995, developments in Karabük appeared on national press as 'Kardemir workers have already been billionaires'⁸¹, and 'workers give one and take ten'⁸² in 1996 and so on.

6.5. Conclusion

Taking the decision to close the factory and announcing it to the public in the mid 1990s was noted as a direct existential problem for the city and workers. Especially workers' struggle and the

⁸¹ "Kardemir işçisi artık milyarder", Milliyet, 25 December 1995, pp. 9.

⁸² "İşçi bir koydu, on bir aldı", Milliyet, 16 October 1996, pp. 9.

support they received by all circles in Karabük led to the beginning of an important struggle as a process. As a result of this struggle, the factory was saved to stand, and a state-run factory transferred to the workers and locals for the first time in Turkey. However, this distinctive 'privatization' experience of Karabük disturbed the social and economic balance. In this difficult period of privatization, the factory workers and the retired gave what they had been saving for years and gave up on what factory owed them for the factory to stand. The distribution of the shares of factory changed and the share of the workers of the factory and the retired increased unlike expected. However, this distinctive 'privatization' experience turned into a different case after a certain time.

CHAPTER 7

KARABÜK AND WORKING CLASS AFTER 1995: CAPITALISM RULES, UNION 'THE BOSS', AND UNSECURED WORKERS

7.1. Introduction

It is considered that the first year financial figures of the factory were quite favourable after privatization. This interesting model in which 4 of the seven members of the board of directors were workers drew considerable attention. It was August 1995 when Şükran Soner, a columnist in Cumhuriyet, stated that 'the success' statements about Karabük on papers were only an ideological approach, and it was for justification of 'privatization', furthermore; that the union was not the legal but acting manager and that 'the unionists' were entitled to be the acting manager would hold developments against the workers in the future⁸³ Karabük workers were 'forced' to the privatization employed in Turkey in a way. Privatization was not already very well received since the beginning. Ömer Usta, who were employed in the factory in 1979 and went through those years, described his own view of privatization then and now as follows:

...Of course, we were against the privatization then... Well, private sector is nothing like state sector. You can handle things somehow in state sector, one way or another...Private sector has no pity on people, what is said is to be done; no initiative... was it any different here? Yes, here was a bit different, of course it would be better to remain as state sector. Here is our only option now...

Karabük workers were announced as 'successful' in their own

⁸³ "Karabük Nasıl Kurtuldu?", Cumhuriyet, Şükran Soner (İşçinin Evreninden), 26 August 1995, pp. 7.

management by the press too, yet in new period after privatization no workers could get wage raise for the first year. While there were serious cutback of bonuses, Metin Türker who is the union leader that fought against the closing the factory may have been paying for this uncertain situation by losing the December 1995 election as he was top candidate in the ANAP's list. Karabük workers who did not send the union leaders Turkey knew to TBMM since 1989 may have tried to explain uncertainty of 1995 from their perspective. In early 1996 Karabük model became an example model that was demanded by unionists in some state enterprises such as ORÜS and Çay-Kur⁸⁴. Türker continued where he left off after being a deputy candidate. In 1996 the union's mission was to preserve the successful implementations carried on for a while by not letting the stocks change hands⁸⁵. Metin Türker, union leader, began to receive lung cancer treatment at the end of 1996. Türker, who went to the USA for treatment in 1996⁸⁶, struggled with health problems till December 1997, the time he passed. In this process there was dramatic political instability. 1997 was quite active with unsustainable coalitions, and Islamist RP leader Erbakan whose party was in power with a coalition was forced to resign by MGK (*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu - the National Security Council*). Eventually the ANAP and DSP formed coalition with the DTP, which left the DYP. In this process, the most crucial developments in Karabük were that unionists substituted 'professionals' which company board of directors appointed in first period. Paternalist and clientelist relations began to be maintained over 'unionists' more. Changes in traditional political paternalism affected both the relations between union and workers in a different way and it turned out to be a rare situation. In fact, 'paternalism' was a way of

⁸⁴ "Çay-Kur'a Karabük Modeli", Cumhuriyet, 20 March 1996, pp. 9.

⁸⁵ "Kardemir'de Tekel'e İzin Yok", Milliyet, 12 August 1996, pp. 7.

⁸⁶ "Kardemir'in Sendikacısı Tedavide", Milliyet, 16 December 1996, pp. 9.

binding which offered complicated results. The concept that also contained tough and unfavorable relations was just carried out through 'Union, The Boss'. Strangleman depicts different aspects of 'paternalism' in terms of working class as follows (2004: 24):

Paternalism, however, had a darker side. If job security and good prospects were one side of the coin, the other face was an autocratic management style and a dependent workforce, whose members could be dismissed for relatively minor offences.

7.2. Contrary Position of Trade Union and Workers' Situation After 1995

Unfavorable working conditions began to be seen more clearly in Karabük since 1996. In August 1996, some news and statements in press were very informative about the nature and extent of the situation. Prof. Tevfik Ertüzün who was recommended by the union then was the workers' representative as a member of board of directors, yet he resigned by stating that the factory turned into an organization where there is cheap labor, there is no peace at work, and there is no justice. He expressed his opinion as follows⁸⁷:

Karabük was no longer a model open to the public. There is cheap labour. There is non-unionization where there is union. If this is the way things are going, several millmen will run the factory. One of the two workers working at the same department and doing the same job gets 40 million whereas the other gets 10 million and works without insurance... I was asked to sign the files worth trillions in an hour. When I said I was not going to sign without examining the papers, they gave me trouble.

Ruşen Gezici, chairman of the Board of Directors of Kardemir Inc.

⁸⁷ "Kardemir Halkın Olmakta Zorlanıyor", Cumhuriyet, 29 July 1996, pp. 8.

(AŞ.), agreed with Ertüzün's some statements and confessed that the business had to take advantage of cheap labour and claimed that this was their professional 'trader' approach. The union also gave contradictory statements in this respect. 'Sub-contracting' was actually carried out by the union, which was 'the boss'. Besides, allegations regarding irregularities were significant. Within the same month, it was claimed that Mutullah Yolbulan, a millman, went over the upper limit of 1% by collecting stocks through different companies. Enver Tümen, RP Mayor, also stated that the board of directors created people with fortune. A quite different hierarchical structure that has never been experienced among workers emerged in the factory. Actually 'the difference in actual severance' among KDÇİ workers by the year the workers were employed had existed in workers' daily life until then. However, after privatization there was a clear-cut difference between contract workers employed by the factory and permanent employees of the factory. Erdoğan Usta, who started as a contract worker in the first place and then had the chance to be a permanent employee, commented on those days at the factory:

...We were looking for a job then, and sub-contractor got me a job. Some acquaintances from the union helped me out,...,with minimum wage of course...Yes, we did the same job surely. We were all hoping and waiting to be a permanent employee someday. Fortunately, I had the chance...The employee shuttle, dining hall, the food and everything were separated back then. However, there was insurance anyway...As far as I know, the majority of the workers in the union were like us...

In 1990 the working class experienced similar challenges all around Turkey. When Güler talked about the state of working class in Çan, Çanakkale in 1990s, he stated that permanent employees were

sometimes transferred to subcontracted labours as well. In ceramic factory in Çan that belongs to private sector, almost all workers were transferred to contract workers except for administrative affairs (Güler, 2014: 170). Both people in Çan and the workers had to accept this situation. Since the town depended so much on the factory, dismissals and even decreased production gave rise to a chaotic environment in Çan (Güler, 2014: 176). Güler said that these developments were parallel with the agenda of working class in the country and the world. Industrial labour profile based on full employment of the labour market could turn to 'seasonal labour' profile again.

Özge Berber, who did a research on class culture with the workers of Seydişehir Aluminum Factory in the early 2000s, emphasized the clear difference between contract workers and permanent employees in state sector by conducting a survey between two groups. For example, there are different approaches regarding the expectations about life and job (Berber, 2003: 76), job satisfaction (2003: 77), considerations of union life (2003: 81) and almost all topics. The authorized union in Seydişehir became Özçelik-İş Union with its attempts between 1996 and 1997. The union that became 'permanent' employees' organization in the factory in Seydişehir was not organized among 'contract workers'. There were not any unionized contract workers interviewed by Berber in his research (2003: 75). This cannot be just a coincidence, or it is not possible to explain this only with 'fear of dismissal'. In such examples, the union 'itself' does not accept the contract workers. What was experienced in Karabük was more bizarre than Seydişehir. The Union dominating Kardemir Inc., which was also the owner of the business, not only registered contract workers but also enabled them to be employed in those years.

1998 was a quite active and interesting year for both the factory and the workers. Since Metin Türker could not sustain his 'actual physical function' as a result of illness and then died on December 24, 1997, Recai Başkan was inducted as Özçelik-İş Labor Union Leader by distributing tasks at the board of directors meeting held on December 24, 1997⁸⁸. Recai Başkan did good job in Karabük Branch Chairperson, and he was a beloved and active character. Başkan who is from Kurşunlu, Çankırı, about 100 kilometers far from Karabük⁸⁹, started his first job in Ereğli Demir-Çelik (Ereğli Iron-Steel Works), yet he was fired when he had 'his first personal struggle for personal rights for which he was involved with the superiors' with his own words. After he graduated from electric department of vocational high school in Karabük, he got his first job in Ereğli Demir-Çelik. However, it lasted a short time there, and he entered a public enterprise first, and then went to İstanbul. The family because of personal reasons took Başkan, who got into university in İstanbul, away from the university. He worked at the Hilton Hotel in İstanbul for a while. That was 'his first union experience' with his own words. However, that experience was not about being a union member. He was hired as a 'strike-breaker'. Başkan realized why he was hired in time, and it made him pretty uncomfortable, hence he was able to work there only 15 days. Başkan, who stated that this experience was a milestone for him and determined his future principles of the union struggle, began to work in KDÇİ in 1976. In fact, his being from Çankırı also helped him get the job. However, he was not an 'right-wing' like Gider who was the union leader then, and he also had interest in 'left' in his youth. He was interested in the union as soon he got into job, and

⁸⁸ "Özçelik-İş'te Seçim", Cumhuriyet, 25 Aralık 1997, pp. 4.

⁸⁹ In this research, two important interview was realized with Recai Başkan. First interview's date was 30 May 2012, second was 21 November 2013.

he became 'delegate' in 1977. Başkan, who worked in the electrical maintenance department, became the Branch Director for the first time during the period when Mehmet Kurtalan was the Branch Chairperson. Başkan who shined out in 1989 Strike and 1995 struggles, he took care of 'block stock of workers' as he also planned with Metin Türker as soon as he took the office. The purpose here is to prevent the stocks that would begin to trade in February 1998 from changing hands and maintain the Union's dominance over the factory. In the summer of 1998, 'Stock Market Foundation of Group A Stockholders' was established. Başkan exclaimed that the purpose was to avoid Group A employees' shares to change hands⁹⁰.

Kardemir stocks were delayed for public offering because of the Gulf Crisis and the economic crisis in the Far East and began to trade on the stock market in June 1998⁹¹. In April 1998, Kardemir became a partner of cement manufacturing facilities called KarçimSa with Sabancı Holding⁹². In 1998 when stocks began to trade in stock market and Kardemir also performed different investments, iron-steel crisis was about to arrive on the scene in the world. An important reason lying behind 1998 'steel crisis' was 'oversupply', yet it was actually the process of establishing the market again. Iron and steel industry that played a critical role generally in 'closed' economy countries along with the globalization process created 'global' production and pricing position in the process. However, this was usually not an easy process for workers at all. The crisis of the late 1970s in the United States thousands of workers have been unemployed, zone of 'industrialization' were noted. In the late 1990s this crisis also concerned a number of

⁹⁰ "Kardemir Hissedarı Vakıf Kurdu", Milliyet, 26 July 1998, pp. 10.

⁹¹ "İşçi Şirketi Sermaye Piyasasında", Milliyet, 23 May 1998, pp. 9.

⁹² "Karabük'te Coşku", Milliyet, 19 April, pp. 19.

countries and their workers that were more attached to global economy. The import substitution period had no longer been 'protective' for both internal market and the workers. Even 'protectionism' was seen as a problematic situation by capital holders, which were not accord with the period, and caused many problems (Lindsey, Grinwold, vd. 1999). The reason for oversupply was actually the increase in production in 'underdeveloped and developing countries'. Eventually this situation put pressure on unit price of iron and steel on a global basis and lowered the price. Fenton characterized the process as follows⁹³:

As oversupply dominates the global market, the downward pressure on prices will continue and steel production and ferrous scrap demand throughout the world will decline during 1999. A survey of the period from 1997 to 2000 by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe revealed that the Asian financial crisis will benefit the world steel industry. As a result of postponement or cancellation of major steel projects, capacity increases during these years will be 56 million tons, about 37% less than had been forecast for the period from 1996 to 1999.

In the early 1999, Kardemir went through this much more distinctively. Esat Özalp, general manager, stated that the crisis had severely affected the iron and steel sector and the prices went down drastically from \$ 230 to \$ 114 in a very short time. At the beginning of 1999 the sales were below the production cost in this respect according to Ozalp⁹⁴. Iron and steel industry had already gone through serious shocks worldwide within the 'globalization' process since 1970. Global effects could cause serious problems in terms of workers and employment particularly they reduce the

⁹³ "Iron and Steel", M. Fenton, (1998), http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/commodity/iron_&_steel/350498.pdf Last visited 22 April 2015.

⁹⁴ "Kriz Demiri Eritti", Milliyet, 22 January 1999, pp. 7.

need for 'labour' with the help of technological advances. In a book DİSK Birleşik Metal Union prepared, global crisis and the contraction in employment in the sector were exemplified as below (2003: 10):

...The crisis of world iron and steel production lasted in 1980s and 90s. Europe had the greatest job losses. The employment rates in the steel industry in the European Union during the period 1975-1995 decreased 65% (from 991 000 persons to 326 000). While production in France and England decreased by 16% and 14% respectively, there was a decline of 75% and 80% in employment as well. Job losses in the US and Japan became 51% and 48%, yet the decline in production was limited to 10% and 1%...

In the early 2000, the crisis of iron and steel industry had led to major urban challenges in many countries at the same time. The closing down the large scale factories or reducing the number of workers due to the technological renovation brought great social crisis too. Gardiner et al whose study included the workers who had to leave the sector in Wales between 2001 and 2003 proved the dimensions of this process. In those years about 3000 workers lost their jobs in that area, and the researchers who interviewed 125 of the workers highlighted that what this process created could go beyond just 'unemployment', and the workers who left the sector had to 'start a new career from scratch' as well as it resulted in local and regional collapse, hence the researchers emphasized the need for a comprehensive social policy (Gardiner, Stuart et al., 2009: 737-741). As the metal workers all over the world experienced hard times, Karabük workers also wondered what the factory that they are 'partners' of would do for global crisis in this period. After full privatization a great deal of investments were made for modernization of the factory, and modernization works

including the investments for continuous mill and oxygen plant cost tens of millions of dollars⁹⁵. While Kardemir made a profit of around 6 trillion in 1997, 1998 was the year that Kardemir lost around 1.4 trillion⁹⁶. At the end of 1998 Kardemir's loss was all around stock market pages⁹⁷.

On April 18, 1999 when Turkey had general elections once more, the possibility closing of factory and growing losses were on Karabük's agenda on those days. General Director called out that the government should decrease the scrap import, and as Kardemir had hard times to pay the wages, the union was discussing marching to Ankara and April 18th election⁹⁸. In 1997 when KDC Karabükspor, the city's football team, played in Premier League again between 1997 and 1999, the team tried to mold public opinion by unfurling a banner "Let's preserve our national iron industry" at the time⁹⁹. Before the general election in Turkey 9th Extraordinary General Assembly was held between 5th and 7th March of 1999, and Recai Başkan was assigned as president by the approval of delegates for the first time (Atatekin, Kosif et al, 2002: 57). In the previous period he was assigned after division of tasks in board of directors.

In 1999, April 18 election Ecevit in DSP was Turkey-wide winner of the election while the former winner RP was not involved in this election since it was closed. However, Fazilet Partisi (Fazilet Partisi - The Virtue Party) formed instead of RP could not get what was expected in this election. Karabük voters distributed 3 deputies to three different political parties as like in the 1995 election. MHP

⁹⁵ <https://skyturkvngenc.wordpress.com/2010/06/25/karabukun-dokusu-ve-dengeleri/>

⁹⁶ "Karanlıkta Alev Yağmuru", Sabah, 6 May 1999, pp. 9.

⁹⁷ "2 Milyon Dolarlık Zarar", Milliyet, 27 December 1998, pp. 7.

⁹⁸ "Bir Şehir Ayakta", Milliyet, 5 March 1999, pp. 9.

⁹⁹ "Bir Şehir Ayakta", Milliyet, 5 March 1999, pp. 9.

was the citywide winner of the election. On the same day Enver Tümen, former mayor who transferred to the DYP after RP was closed, won the municipal elections. 1999 and the following years were for the social and economic crisis. Immediately after the elections the DSP, MHP and ANAP coalition was formed as the 57th Turkish Government under the President of Ecevit. Ecevit, by a direct attempt for Kardemir's debt, appointed his bureaucrats to provide Kardemir 24 trillion TL loan in Şekerbank and Halkbank in June. Some bureaucrats were extremely opposed to this loan and they claimed that this money would no longer be received by the workers whose shareholder structure had changed and it would just become available to the use of public banks¹⁰⁰. Boratav defined the years between 1998 and 2008 as 'continuous' IMF supervision and crisis' in terms of economy (2012: 197). 'Structural reform' was commonly discussed then. Furthermore, 'public expenditure' was also in serious trouble. According to Boratav, in the period IMF and World Bank controlling the process, the most significant point for Turkey was to get rid of the bases that comprised of legal, institutional, and financial units of 'populism'. Kardemir and Özçelik-İş Union got into trouble at the 4th period of collective labor agreement negotiations in May 1999. There was also intense pressure to the union from the base. The workers had been considering that the union needed to make a good contract to eliminate the problems. However, Kardemir Inc. claimed in the notice to IMKB (Istanbul Stock Exchange) about 'conflicts' that 'strike' and similar cases would not occur, in order to reassure its investors with the following statements¹⁰¹:

...We believe that there will be no strike at this stage since our company is of a labor organization...

¹⁰⁰ "Ecevit'ten Kardemir'e 60 Milyon Dolar", Milliyet, 27 June 1999, pp. 11.

¹⁰¹ "THY ve Kardemir Grev Beklemiyor", Milliyet, 11 May 1999, pp. 8.

The professionals used to manage the union since then, however, it was left to the union's practices in time. The unionists who disapproved of some workers and also Recai Başkan pointed out this situation. In 1997 in the process called 'union interventions' there were also contract workers who then became permanent employees in the factory. These interventions overlapped the steel crisis and it was an interesting situation. After 2010 Türk Metal and Çelik-İş had 'separatist' debates in Karabük, and Recai Başkan took the side of Türk Metal. Sezai who felt close to Başkan in this regard was one of the workers who started to work in 1997. He explained the process in Karabük with his own observations as follows:

...Yes, there were subcontractor for sure, yet it was ambiguous. However, Recai Başkan wiped off the subcontractors. Whatever...The union serves for workers to keep the factory, but this disturbed the capital. Isn't it obvious?...There were those who talked over recruitment from time to time. My grandfather worked here with blast furnace and died from cancer, and my father lost his foot here. I am going to have a job here. Is it too much to ask?...Long story short, when it is now in crisis, it is the workers', but when it is in money, is it the employers'? Do you understand?

In August 1999, a new era had started in foundation discussions, and Başkan and his team established Kardemir Worker Foundation. This was actually a more extended version of foundation attempts in 1998. Ersoz et al. stated that a certain amount of Kardemir Group A share could be provided by registering all the workers to the union (2004: 57). After the shares traded on the stock market, in the middle of 1998, the share of Kardemir workers decreased quite much in share distribution by the end of 2000. At the end of 2000 Kardemir had around thirty thousand partners in total. Since Group C shares had not got the expected attention from the

beginning, it was combined with Group B stocks, and after the trade on stock market Group D stocks received a significant increase in terms of total stocks. Some capital holders also performed picking the stocks over these Group D stocks. Stock structure of Kardemir and 'stock groups' changes from 1995 to 2000 are presented below (see. Ersöz, Özdemir, et al. 2004: 57; Kardemir Faaliyet Raporları 1996-2001):

Table 7.1. : Stock structure of Kardemir and 'stock groups' changes from 1995 to 2000

Group	31.12. 1995	31.12. 1996	31.12. 1997	31.12. 1998	31.12. 1999	31.12. 2000
A	51.8	51.8	51.8	49.19	32.8	24.59
B	24.2	24.6	24.6	24.46	16.3	12.23
C	1.3	1.1	1.2			
D	22.7	22.5	22.4	26.35	50.9	63.18

In 2000 Karabük 'model' did no longer set an example for other unions or public opinion. The workers sometimes 'sacrificed' their own wage increase for the sake of 'capital increases' for the business. In March 2000 when selling Tüpraş stocks to the workers was considered, Mustafa Öztaşkın, the president of the company's authorized union Petrol-İş, objected to this process and asked for scrutinizing 'hidden side of Kardemir'. Öztaşkın claimed that they would also go through the same process as Kardemir, and added that the stocks would remain in the hands of major capital groups with stock market tricks and various mechanisms¹⁰². Kardemir model began to turn to a 'different' model within 5 years. Recai Başkan, who was the union leader at the time, proclaimed in an

¹⁰² "İşçi Suça Ortak Olmayacak", Cumhuriyet, 22 March 2000, pp. 13.

interview later that in this exact period the capital groups started to practice a great liquidation plan for their own good. Başkan said that Feridun Tankut, who had been working in board of directors for years and originally from Iskenderun branch, was quite effective in this process. He indicated that Kamil Güleç and Mutullah Yolbulan, the rich of Karabük, had rather different views since 1995. He also added that these people who have actually owned the factory today had been aiming at taking it over since 1995. Başkan was the closest to Metin Türker at work as he stated, and it was important to revise his will before his death to understand Türker's period. Başkan explained it as below;

...He was director of Karabükspor... First of all, he wanted us to take care of Karabükspor, be a good director for it, and make the team champion eventually...Secondly he warned us about Güleç and Yolbulan that they would try to take over the factory, and he wanted us not to let that happen...He also told me to watch out Feridun then...I also told him that no one among us would betray us...

After a while, Başkan claimed that Kardemir General Assembly could perform with the weight of the foundation, yet this disturbed Gulen and Yolbulan back then. He was on the 'liquidation' process, and as a starter of major change Kardemir would undergo, Gulec and Yolbulan invited him Esentepe Hotel in Gerede, Bolu as he stated as follows;

...Güleç and Yolbulan invited me to Esentepe Hotel in Gerede. They insisted that I should come 'alone'...I did not go there alone. Two friends from Karabük Branch were with me. Nuri Bal and a friend called Veli. They did not like that I went there with company, and even said it to my face...They had 3 offers for me. First one was to give workers unpaid leave; secondly to lower the workers' wage, and thirdly they mentioned 'zero wage increase' if necessary..., and the like...I refused them

all...They told me to go bankrupt if I turned all the offers down...And I said 'I am not an economist,..., but I know what going bankrupt means. I asked them if that was the case...There were rumors in Karabük that Gulec and Yolbulan were thinking of taking advantage of the bankrupt...They told me to take what I want in return...After that, 3 people quit. They quit...

Those who resigned were Güleç and Yolbulan. Their aim is to bring down the board, but their first try did not work out as Başkan said. New people were assigned to the board. At this point politicians were also included in time Başkan pointed out. According to Başkan, the point was to liquidate himself. Meanwhile, it seemed that Kardemir's debt was growing. Turkey was on the way to a great economic crisis as well as political crisis was around the corner. Başkan stated that a group of people with whom they were working in the board was making an insidious plan. On December 4 and 5 in 2000, Extraordinary General Assembly of Özçelik-İş was held. Recai Başkan was assigned as chairman again (Atatekin, Kosif, et al. 2002: 57). However, he said he did not understand then, yet later he figured that the general secretary of the union who was close to him was liquidated in this General Assembly. In the interview Başkan emphasized that he was 'rushing around', so he could not understand the insidious plan for a while. Şenel Oğuz, the former Istanbul Branch Chairperson, became the 'general secretary' in this Assembly. In the following process Oğuz played a significant role in Başkan's liquidation. Since the union expanded in Turkey in this period, it was going through an intensive process as well. In June 2001, Kardemir informed the stock market about the collective labor agreement with Özçelik-İş Union. For the second period of 2001, that is after June, 33 % wage increase and for both periods of 2002 10 % wage increase was reported to the stock

market¹⁰³. This is the agreement known as '42 % wage increase', which the workers would constantly mention in the following years. When claiming the wage increase, they made a statement in 'Mill Square' (*Haddane Meydanı*). Recai Başkan thought that this increase is symbolically important, and he, himself, made it real. Turkey was in a critical crisis since February 2001. In May Kemal Derviş's explanations on 'Turkey's Transition Program' led to debates on the country's political agenda, and millions of people had economically hard times ahead.

Şenel Oğuz spoke harshly to Recai Başkan in a board meeting held in July 2001. He stated that he figured 'the set-up' that day. The Board of Directors had a 'bargain'. The majority of the board of directors proposed Başkan, who recommended going to the General Assembly, to carry out his duty in Hak-İş Confederation. He was proposed to leave Özçelik-İş and begin to work in Hak-İş 'professionally'. Başkan claimed that he had to admit this since it was a 'grand plan'. He resigned on August 14th. However, he was set up. When he carried out his duty as the professional secretary-general, board meeting was never held. Başkan who had to resign from his job in Hak-İş, lost his significant position interestingly. However, the papers put this resignation in a very different way. There were different expressions about Başkan's 'resignation' on 14th August alongside his. There were allegations about Başkan that he had 'unfair profit', and he was considered the reason for Kardemir's loss, and he was bossing around. Some national press accused him of allegations of corruption and highlighted that he made about 8 thousand TL a month, which was an astronomic wage at the time, becoming a member of board of directors in Kardemir's each company¹⁰⁴. In Sabah, his statement about the

¹⁰³ "Kardemir'de Toplu İş Görüşmeleri Sonuçlandı", *Hürriyet*, 5 June 2001, pp. 7.

¹⁰⁴ "Kardemir Koltuktan Etti", *Sabah*, 15 August 2001, pp. 1.

resignation at the time were indicated with no details as follows¹⁰⁵

There were conflicts in the board. Since I realized that this division in the current organization would harm the union, I thought that resigning was the right thing to do. I wanted to be an example to people in Turkey.

A unionist interviewed, who became the union's branch director in the following period, was criticizing Başkan and the division in the board by stating that the current board were in favor of unionism whereas Başkan focused too much on Kardemir company, thus it led to conflicts within the the board. He also said that Başkan's leaving quietly confirmed the accusations, and Başkan was also aware of the serious allegations. According to this interviewee, the Board of Directors saved itself in a way, and the board did it for the 'union'. To this evaluation Başkan made numerous bad decisions in Kardemir and increased the loss of the factory. In fact, the workers' wages were not paid in Kardemir in August 2001. That the business had gone bad and major investors had debt caused a global 'iron and steel' crisis, and Kandemir's bad business gave hard times to the senior directors, who were more active in the company lately. This may be considered to play a role in Recai Başkan's forced resignation. Until 2001 there were around 1200 workers transferring from subcontractors to be permanent employees by Başkan's personal attempts. However, it should be noted that these transferred employees had significantly different wages from the workers at the factory (Ersöz, Erdemir, et al. 2004: 76). Besides, while it was said that 531 workers were fired just in 2001, the union stated that these were supposed to be 'retired' as a defense¹⁰⁶. During the crisis, while the employees' shares had been

¹⁰⁵ "Kardemir Koltuktan Etti", Sabah, 15 August 2001, pp. 1.

¹⁰⁶ "Yoğurda Karşılık Demir", Sabah, 6 April 2001, pp.8.

melting up, the company who preferred short-term debt two years ago got into real trouble. Yıldırım stated that about this issue (1997: 571):

...All new recruits are registered with the union and are obliged to sign the following statement: 'I agree that I may be called upon to perform any task within the limits of my ability in any part of the production without my consent.' This is aimed at achieving flexibility. One of the assistant general managers noted that it was almost impossible to send a worker from one unit to another in the past without the latter's consent. Rigidity has increasingly become a vestige of the past. An appraisal system has been developed, embodying a multiple choice test, an interview and an on-the-job demonstration...

A bigger crisis did not take place at the time of Yıldırım's study between 1996 and 1997. However, only 31% of the workers wanted their children work at the factory (1997: 575). Since the first year of privatization in Kardemir there had been 'negative' consequences for the workers. 'Productivity growth' which was often highlighted in the analysis of capital-based industrial relations actually meant more challenging working conditions and collective labor agreement periods without wage increase for workers. Yıldırım pointed out the following about 'productivity' relating the periods when Karabük model seemed 'more promising' (1997: 576):

...Employee share ownership is generally supposed to generate substantial internal pressure for efficiency. Employee ownership at Karabük steel mill has resulted in rapid rises in labor productivity and enhanced job security. Despite the cut in staffing levels, productivity increased...

Yıldırım's same study stated that he did not believe the workers purchased such a large amount as 66% of the business between 1996 and 1997 (1997: 577). 'Productivity' and 'evaluation of workers' seemed to be relevant to the question asked and what you were 'looking for'. Atasoy emphasized, 'in a doctoral thesis in Business Department', that 'workers' purchasing stocks' of the business increased the 'productivity' in Karabük while evaluating the period years later (Atasoy, 2009: 160):

...At the beginning of the process for buying the stocks, workers, in order to assist the company, agreed to give up many additional advantages and wage freeze. With the help of the union and board, workers tried to maintain the business and it led them work harder than ever. Employee stock purchase increased the productivity and job security. Kardemir Inc. began to keep the lowest production cost of Turkey's iron and steel sector. Workers' owning the stocks initially resulted in increase of the production level per capita...

'Keeping the lowest production costs' was actually a situation that could result differently according to what position it would be situated. Atasoy highlighted in the following parts of the study that employee stock purchase could actually play an important role in 'overcoming the opposition against privatization of employees and trade unions' (2009: 288). In the evaluation of developments in Karabük, it also pointed out which society group's problems to focus on. The workers'' problems about wages, social rights and daily life that actually started in 1980 stopped in 1989 Strike for a while, yet it continued after the emergence of privatization process worse than before.

A study about Karabük conducted in 2000 based on 'social areas'

stated that workers mentioned 'good old days', based on a different angle. These 'good old days' were in import substitution period with relatively high living standard for workers. Bafoil and Acer (2009: 160) are noted the following:

...The dissatisfaction between workers and the people was due to losing 'the social areas', once the factory owned and then private organizations hired after the privatization. As stressed by many people in Karabük, the city had its golden age that the workers could benefit from higher standard social facilities in 1950s and 60s than many other places. However, it is clearly seen, when we compare today with the old days that many concerts, competitions and other social activities were carried out for a more joyful social life, that there was an obvious decline in social standards, and most of the workers longed for those days...

'The golden age' Bafoil and Acar reminded of was a reasonable reminder in parallel with many workers' statements, who were interviewed for the research. Besides, in addition to 1950s and 60s, the workers remembered especially 1970s as golden age. In the following parts of Bafoil and Acar's article, they also made a different emphasis than this reminder, such as putting the blame on 'the union' for the crisis of business in 2001(2009: 160), and they reminded of the union's 'inspection and negotiation duties', therefore, this revealed in what aspects the researchers really thought of 'the social areas'. They had to mention quite different approaches in the following sentences. After the privatization, that the union gave 'unpaid leave' when the factory suffered or led up 'flexible manufacturing' was considered important, and since the workers owned more than 50% of the stocks, it may have been considered as troublesome by the writers (2009: 161):

...This is an important union since it is the first to provide flexible working hours and unpaid leave during the crisis. This is because here

exist a significant labor culture and the workers think the factory as their home. The privatization here is unique in the history of Turkey and even in the world for this reason. After privatization, the workers owned more than 50% of the stocks, and this meant the employees became their own employers as well. This led some problems and unproductivity in production, so the factory faced a serious crisis...

Bafoil and Acar talked about the same period. That is, it was the time when the workers' owned most of the stocks and some practices were carried out to 'increase productivity' 'in care of the union'. What was clear here was that capitalist values and existing economic systems were regarded on a conservative base. Accordingly, 'workers will know their place', and if the union helps to 'increase the productivity' and inspects and negotiates, it will result positively. The crisis in 2001 and 'global crisis' in the case of factory did not take place in this evaluation. The studies about Karabük after 1995 were actually quite similar to the social science studies of 1960s in many ways. In the studies of 1960s, though Karabük was regarded as 'an example', it was hard to find a worker-centered model. Furthermore, in the studies after 1995, that the workers and union became became 'adaptable' to accept the privatization values was thought 'important'. In both periods, 'the good Karabük example' did not provide a worker-centered or employee-center approach.

7. 3. Working Class in Karabük after 2000s: Workers' resistance to 'The union, Unsecured Workers

In August 2001, after Başkan's resignation, Hikmet Feridun Tankut was elected for holding the office by 'a majority vote' by Board of

Directors on August 15, 2001 (Atatekin, Kosif, et al. 2002: 57). Tankut's being the chairman in the union ended in serious problems in the following years. In 2001, unpaid leave was brought up then. Meanwhile, wage increase, which would be applied 'within the second period of the year', was postponed by the Chairman Recai Başkan to a future time. In September 2001, Özçelik-İş underlined the features of new period stating that the new era just started, the union was not going to intervene in management of the business, and the director of union would no longer take part in company management directly. The new board defined the role of the union as protection of workers' rights and interests, the valuation of shares the workers hold, and managing the business by the experts with correct decisions, by continuing to supervise (Özçelik-İş Sendikası, 2001: 8-9). The workers and union greeted the end of 2001 in trouble. The union that was held responsible for the crisis just came to a new era. Recai Başkan stated in an interview that the decisions and implementations made after him explained the reason of his 'liquidation'. Therefore, Başkan's primary objective was to make the group that did not allow the factory to close down have a voice as well. This was at least how he thought of this group of people.

At the end of 2001, since the factory went through a bad patch, it triggered interesting discussions in the city too. Towards the end of December, 2001 while the Chairman of Karabük Chamber of Commerce and Industry asked people to give 'alms' (zekat) to the factory in order to provide significant resource for the business, Karabük Provincial Mufti Hanif Burun stated that it was not 'permissible by religion' and alms could not be given to organizations and institutions¹⁰⁷. Such discussions seemed

¹⁰⁷ "Zordaki Kardemir'in İşi Fitre ve Zekata Kaldı", Milliyet, 24 November 2001, pp. 10.

important to reflect the daily life and negotiations of the period. Kemal Usta, in an interviewee, also had these discussions on his mind. Kemal Usta who started to work at the factory after 1980 talked about the period:

...In 2001 the union got mixed up...At the time there were many people getting retired, and I would also have wanted to if I had been eligible to retire...For quite some time people talked about giving alms to the factory, Mufti mentioned it, and it was brought up in mosque on Friday too...That is, the grand factory that built many factories once needed alms (charity) from people...Well, in 2001 and 2002, God forbid, 'unpaid leave' except for the compulsory departments...There was nothing to do...poor management, corruption, I don't know...I don't want to accuse anyone, but whoever did it, either the union or the others, I hope they will perish...Thank God, the factory stands, and we are retired...

In fact, after Recai Başkan, 'the union' did 'self-criticism' in a way. In this period and then, the key actors in Özçelik-İş and the workers who were close to them generally put this thesis forward. At the end of 2001, there was another interesting news. Chairman of the Board of Directors Sencer İmer, who was the former General Manager of the factory, resigned. Assigned by the union, İmer, who included in the board on behalf of the workers, gave up his seat, and Şinasi Altınar, who was the DYP's deputy in Zonguldak and Karabük for a long time, became the new general manager. What was interesting here was that Altınar, during the period he was the DYP's deputy, was the one who advocated closing the factory by exclaiming 'I don't care if you set me on fire, Kardemir will close down'¹⁰⁸. He was front page news of Milliyet on December 7 2001; 'Turkish Style Politician'¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ "Şinasi Bey Çark Etti", Milliyet, 7 December 2001, pp. 19.

¹⁰⁹ "Attı, Tuttu; Gitti, Geldi", Milliyet, 7 December 2001, pp.1.

During this time, 'field research' part of the studies of Ersoz et al. on privatization process and workers was performed. The survey with 51 workers hired before the privatization and 55 after it was said to be conducted in their 'working environments', and intense anxiety was observed among 'the workers' (Ersöz, Özdemir, et al. 2004: 79). It did not seem possible that this anxiety would not affect the answers for the survey. However, quite interesting data were obtained in this study carried out with the support of new chairman. For example, while the workers in both categories answered the question regarding the job satisfaction in Kardemir as 80% 'Yes', 20% could say partially, and it was extremely interesting that there were no one who said 'No' (2004: 77).

The reason for that could be considered to get on the workers in their 'working environment', which the survey was conducted, along with organizational ties in the period of depression. Otherwise, the results did not seem to be 'real'. In a period with unpaid leave and uncertain future, it could be normal not to obtain any different results from surveys conducted in working environment with 'official assistance'. In total, about 70 % of the workers were the ones who started working after privatization at the end of 2001 (Özçelik-İş, 2001). In Ersöz's study, in the analysis of the answers to the question regarding the role of the union in business after privatization, 'managing the business' was not preferred at all by the workers employed before privatization while the rate was just 3 % with the workers after privatization (2004: 83). Almost all workers made the choice of 'union's official statement', 'supervision' that the researchers also highlighted and providing 'the representation of members' (2004: 83). We must indicate that the data in the study of Ersoz et al. revealing the picture of the period was completely different than the results in

this thesis. On the one hand, it could be claimed that 'the young workers' comprising of 70 % who were employed in post-privatization period had different choices. On the other hand, in the study of Ersöz et al. there were not 'great statistical differences' in responses of the two groups (see. 2004: 72-97). However, these new workers, which comprised of the majority, started 'union protests' on Karabük streets about a year later¹¹⁰. Çetin Yılmaz, considering Aliğa Petkim's sample, claimed that growing struggle against it in 'privatization process' caused a different consciousness for workers, and thus there existed a clearly different 'consciousness' between employees struggling against privatization and the workers employed after privatization (2014: 157-169). The struggle against 'privatization', the strike, and the long process of struggle truly influenced 'worker consciousness' in a positive sense. However, the central union structure in Turkey did not generally satisfy the workers. In privatization process of Ereğli cloth factory owned by Nurol and his study on workers, 'organized workers' tried to stand against the privatization by pushing the union leadership, yet almost all interviewees thought that the union (Türk-İş/Teksif) did not defend workers' rights decently as Nurol emphasized (2007: 98). Nurol highlighted that in post-privatization process the factory did not lose 'productivity', and almost all workers considered their 'wages' before privatization more satisfying (2007: 102). Katznelson, in his book *Marxism and the City*, had the expression "capitalism is lived in particular locations at particular times" (1993: 204), workers' meeting capitalism and originality were highlighted. Privatization and strike periods stood out making this process 'simple'. Besides, public sector workers' rights from the past actually followed a similar path with Thompson's definition of 'moral economy of English crowd'

¹¹⁰ "Kardemir Çalışanları Sıkıntılı", *Radikal*, 10 June 2003, pp. 6.

defined by Thompson (see. 1991: 185-259). In England labours' first movement started as a result of taking their past rights away with the market conditions accordingly. In fact, there was not a possible 'way back', yet a 'working class' that fought for the rights came into existence in this way. Their struggle over public sector workers' rights from the previous import substitution period may also be considered such an important historical event. However, the most important problem of the end of 20th century and beginning of 21st was that these struggles were very much 'local'. The union did not succeed to create a collective, widespread, and effective front. There have been many struggles against privatization in Turkey. Perhaps Ankara struggle of TEKEL workers at the end of 2009 was both the end of an era and also a symbol as the beginning of another period according to many researchers (see. Bürkev, 2009; Özüğurlu, 2009). Özüğurlu stated that the new inside the traditional had been discovered in TEKEL struggle, and it was 'the beginning of the end' (2009: 48). This should not be considered as 'an instant consciousness' and a different level for certain. What is called process as a way of measurement is actually beyond 'the class consciousness' debates. In another article about TEKEL workers, a significant discussion over 'consciousness' took place as well. Bulut emphasized the following point by stating the 'consciousness' debates should be saved from yes/no axis (2009: 120):

...As the deviation of (yes/no) axis, there exists a tendency to measure the class consciousness. It should be noted that there is not a 'fixed range' of the class-consciousness. Ceteris paribus, working class consciousness is not a measurable value...

Leaving class-consciousness debates aside, in this period of special struggle, the unions' developing large collectives was also very

significant in terms of workers. However, here have been serious problems in this regard in Turkey. It was possible to state that the unions that represented the workers were quite insufficient. Many struggles started by forcing the unions and with direct intervention of 'grassroots' workers. Koç indicated that the unions failed to develop large collectives, and the resistance got stuck in 'locals', and he also considered that 'some intellectuals' legal attempts' slowed down the privatization process (2005: 3). Ankara resistance fulfilled by TEKEL workers led by Tek Gıda-İş Union took place after many other privatization implementations. Although it received attention by public, sugar plant workers who had experienced similar problems left out of the resistance.

Problems of unionism in Turkey are not just as a result of weak efficiency of 'public worker unions'. In Suğur and Nichols' effective study on working class in Turkey, it was observed that the metal sector workers' biggest complaint in private sector was the unions of which they were 'sort of' forced to be a member and which always protected the employers (2005: 209-214). In this study, the union that the workers complained was the Türk Metal Union attached to Türk-İş. In the period after 2003, this union got into a fight that was actually against its principles in Karabük.

2000s was really forcing the working class and the unions in 'underdeveloped' countries to new types of resistance. Sen and Lee introduced two types of struggles occurred in 'developing countries' within growing influence of globalization in the 1990s. Sen and Lee, referring Silver (2003), stated that one of them was 'Marxian-type struggles' which was spreading particularly in China, and the other one which was common in other countries was 'Polanyian-type struggle' that was against unbridled 'market' forces

with different social forces, generally referring to struggle against 'commodification' (Sen & Lee, 2015: 41). Sen and Lee, generally referring to Polanyi's 'double movement' concept. Polanyi defines 'double movement' in his influential book *The Great Transformation* (2001:130):

For a century the dynamics of modern society was governed by a double movement: the market expanded continuously but this movement was met by a countermovement checking the expansion in definite directions. Vital though such a countermovement was for the protection of society, in the last analysis it was incompatible with the self-regulation of the market, and thus with the market system itself.

For Sen and Lee this discussion indicated the importance of 'Polanyian-type struggles' for underdeveloped world since modern history proved that workers' 'stand-alone struggle' could not stop unbridled "market" forces as well as the balance of corporatist relation between 'the worker' and 'the state' in underdeveloped countries was quite a problem, and added the followings regarding boundaries of corporatist regime (Sen & Lee, 2015: 41):

It is also evidence that the political co-optation of union leaders alone does not guarantee the stability of corporatist arrangements. The tragic massacre of striking mine workers at Marikana in South Africa in August 2012 exposed the limits of a "corporatist regime" when it lacks a truly representational foundation. It was indeed quite revealing that an independent workers' committee, rather than a traditional union linked to the ruling political class, led the way...

Zonguldak mine workers' march in Gerede in 1991 really witnessed a similar example. The unionists of the time especially emphasized

on the risks of the process. However, compare to many countries of underdeveloped world, in Turkey, it is also quite common 'corporatism' stretches. For example, transferring the employees to municipality¹¹¹ when closing down SEKA state-owned paper mill, which took part on the public agenda for a while, and workers' 'transfer' so easily in TEKEL resistance and such cases were not 'rare'. Following Karabük's closure, the 'handover' was also evaluated in the same manner. As phrased in English 'smoothing the things over' was actually what Turkish unions were accustomed to, and it was also the case which Turkish unions would prefer when getting into a bind. Here 'political tensions' and gaps were occasionally advantageous in terms of workers. At this point, these regulations were in the last phase in 2000s with 'relatively simple form of capitalism'. What happened in the process also proved the same for Karabük workers. Though the impossibilities in this case could give birth to different possibilities and opportunities.

Although Kardemir's financial position was pretty bad during the 2002 election, to the end of their governance the DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition, in crisis, had a regulation on Kardemir's debt in care of state, which comprised of paying off the debt in 10 years with 3 years grace period¹¹² On the way to the election, neither Karabük workers nor Turkish voters would count this to parties' credit after great political and economic crisis in the country. The AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - Justice and Development Party), which would be in power in 2002, abandoned the closed RP-FP's view, held 'a more positive attitude towards capitalism' and declared to maintain conservative democracy, made use of a major advantage by ensuring the implementation of this regulation in following years. After Özçelik-İş Union's change management in the summer of

¹¹¹ "SEKA'da İş Tatlıya Bağlandı", Radikal, 11 March 2005, pp.1.

¹¹² "Kardemir Yanlış Hesaptan Döndü", Milliyet, 17 September 2002, pp. 8.

2001, Yaşar Turan, who was assigned to the chairman of Kardemir Board of Directors, had good relations with businessmen from Karabük. Meanwhile, in the summer of 2002 in pre-election period Kardemir stocks had fluctuated in the market. The reason for fluctuations was the regulations of debt, but it was not announced to the stock market yet. However, this information was assumed to be 'leaked' to some circles anyway. The news that 'Deniz Yatırım'¹¹³ bought a great amount of Kardemir stocks, which had a major peak in stock market on 4th of July 2002, was on the papers as 'spy suspect'¹¹⁴ At the beginning of August both Meral Tamer¹¹⁵ and Ece Temelkuran¹¹⁶ announced, in Milliyet columnists' Karabük visit with 'election bus', that AKP seemed to have the highest chance in Karabük, and Kardemir kept the complete agenda in Karabük. While AKP won the election with 34 % of the votes in Turkey, CHP was the second with around 19 %. Nevertheless, since the other parties that could not pass the election threshold, beside forming the 'bipartisan' parliament, AKP's 34 % provided 363 deputies, which made a great number in parliament. In Karabük election, AKP owned all 3 deputies with 45 % of the votes, which was about 10 % over the average in turkey. After AKP in power, regulations about Kardemir's debt suspension and restructuring began to be more effective. In addition, the crisis in the global steel market was about to finish. After AKP in power, Kardemir stocks had a significant increase. For example, the increase started in December 2002, and at the end of January 2003 it reached an incredible rate of 450 % of the total stock value¹¹⁷. Vice prime minister Abdullatif Şener stated that they were interested in the future of Kardemir as well as Mehmet Ali Şahin, an important figure in AKP were closely related

¹¹³ In this period Deniz Yatırım and DenizBank was affiliated with Zorlu Holding. Zorlu Holding's board chairman was Ahmet Nazif Zorlu.

¹¹⁴ "Kardemir'de Köstebek Mi Var?", 5 July 2002, pp. 9.

¹¹⁵ "Kardemir'i Çöz Kazan", Milliyet, 3 August 2002, pp. 18.

¹¹⁶ "Hayat mı ? O da Ne Demek ?", Milliyet, 3 August 2002, pp. 18.

¹¹⁷ "Kardemir Borsa'da Uçuyor", Milliyet, 30 January 2003, pp. 10.

to Kardemir¹¹⁸. Mehmet Ali Şahin was an important person among AKP's constituents, who entered the parliament (TBMM) as Refah Partisi İstanbul Deputy in 1995. Even though he spent his education years and political career in İstanbul, he was originally from Ovacik, which had been a district of Çankiri before Karabük became a province, and became a district of Karabük then. Şahin who served in important positions as Head of the Parliament and Vice Prime Minister maintained significant studies on Karabük and Kardemir in the period of AKP government. Besides, in the post-2001 period Şahin who was among the prevailing de facto power of the factory in this process claimed that Mutullah Yolbulan, Abdullah Gül's compatriot derived significant profit. Gül was the Prime Minister at the time. Since the beginning of 2003, while preparations and preliminary attempts on Kardemir's debt restructuring were continuing, debt repayment arrangement of 24.1 trillion Lira was made with Foundations Bank (*Vakıflar Bankası*) in September 2003¹¹⁹. The owner of the companies, Yolbulan, who was penalized for not declaring Kardemir's transactions to the stock market many times by SPK (*Sermaye Piyasaları Kurulu - Capital Markets Board*), was relieved after AKP was in power. It was alleged about him and his kins' companies that he sold the rising stocks out of 'speculation' at the beginning of 2003, and when the debt pay plan was defined, he had a profitable stock purchase again. The financial news in Sabah dated September 3 2003 had the following statements in Kardemir's private file¹²⁰:

As a result of the purchases Yolbulan and his people made in January 2003, they owned 6% of the company. The team soon became the dealer and their share went down to 4% until June. In July the time they made purchases again, Kardemir's price had went up from 1.500 to

¹¹⁸ "Kardemir Borsa'da Uçuyor", Milliyet, 30 January 2003, pp. 10.

¹¹⁹ "Kardemir Vakıfbank'la Anlaştı", Milliyet, 17 September 2003, pp. 6.

¹²⁰ "Yolbulan, Kardemir'in Yol Haritasını Çizdi", Sabah, 3 September 2003, pp. 11.

1.700. On August 19, Mutullah Yolbulan announced that he parted ways with 3 of his people.

This time Yolbulan began to increase Özlem Yolbulan and Zuhâl Güneş's share of companies. The second team announced that they owned 4.3% of Kardemir on September 5. Mutullah Yolbulan started to collect Kardemir stocks since August 22 with Yolbulan International trade, Özlem Yolbulan and Zuhâl Güneş. He purchased net 70 million units by the price range of 1.720 and 1.740 just between September 1 and 5. Thus Yolbulan gained over 20% in a day by the release of the news on debt restructuring...

Within the following years, Yolbulan family in particular and some other families of Kardemir stocks remained unsold. Since February 2003 AKP's obvious influence was observed on Kardemir's administrative structure. Kardemir entered a different era by restructuring Kardemir's public debt with an advantageous agreement via the Bank of Foundations.

7.4. Working Class Struggle in Karabük in 2000s: Kardemir's 'Heritage' and New Generation Workers

During what Kardemir was going through lately, there were not better improvements in workers' wages and working conditions. Till the end of 2003 Kardemir decided to pay 'accumulated debt to the employees' by stocks¹²¹. Kardemir stocks that the workers held had already melted away because of 'unpaid leaves' when they were not paid. The structural change of the union after 2001 revealed relatively 'more passive' union ground. In 2001, the approach which emphasized to deal with the 'unionism and not the business' had the conflicts in itself on 'unionism' as well. The name of the union

¹²¹ "Borcunu Hisseyle Ödeyecek", Milliyet, 3 November 2003, pp. 10.

was changed again to "Workers Union of Iron, Steel, Metal & Metal Products," shortly called Çelik-İş again after 10th Ordinary Congress was held in December 2002¹²². After Çelik-İş had negotiations over Kardemir workers' wage increase for two years of time in July 2003, the workers received 30 % wage increase in total. However, this agreement was not very satisfactory for most of the workers. The press revealed that AKP deputies had attempts to get the increase up to 30 %, which was actually expected to be lower¹²³. This increase did not completely correspond the years 'without increase' and 'sacrifices' in terms of workers. Nevertheless, on the one hand, AKP made them believe that they hold 'pro-labour' attitude locally, and the workers would get a lower rise if it was not for them. On the other hand, AKP controlled the structural change. After getting a rise, the lowest wage in Kardemir became 450 million Lira (*the currency of time*). Meanwhile, the lowest wage in İsdemir in İskenderun was 600, whereas it was between 800 and 1 billion Lira in Erdemir¹²⁴. During this period, workers carried out a demonstration in the city against their union, Çelik-İş. It took 3 days approximately in the summer of 2003, and AKP local authorities and deputies had great attempts to calm down the workers. Meanwhile, the former secretary general Mustafa Atlı, who originally held the national vision, was liquidated in the process of domestic struggle with the union, and began working in the Türk Metal Union. Since 2003, Türk Metal and Çelik-İş started a struggle against each other in Karabük. Umut Usta, who started in 1999 at the factory and became 'permanent employee' in 2001, depicted the situation in summer of 2003 as follows:

...Here was always like this, and I had already started with worse conditions but,...,the agreement in 2003 did not satisfy the workers

¹²² See <http://celik-is.org/index.php/sendikamiz/tarihcemiz>

¹²³ "Masanın Karşısına Geçti Fedakarlıktan Vazgeçti", Sabah, 18 July 2003, pp. 9.

¹²⁴ "Masanın Karşısına Geçti Fedakarlıktan Vazgeçti", Sabah, 18 July 2003, pp. 9.

surely...You were working for almost free for a while, and then you don't speak over unpaid leaves...I swear the union would accept a lower rise if it was not for AKP...We were supporting AKP, so we heard it somehow, and I knew it, it was said outspokenly... It would be better if there were no union. We had a rise, but let me tell you, we only got half of what Eregli workers were paid...

On the one hand, workers' dissatisfaction led Türk Metal Union to be more active; on the other hand, the disturbance among workers tarnished the reputation of Çelik-İş. Hikmet Feridun Tankut, the chairman of the union in the post-2001 period, was the first chairman of joint union in Karabük and İskenderun, who was originally in charge of Iskenderun factory. Although all former chairmen were originally from Karabük factory, Tankut started a new era in this regard. In the period after Tankut, originally from Adıyaman, it was alleged that Yolbulan, Güleç and Yücel families had a great control over the union. There were many allegations about Tankut, who was the director of Kardemir DÇ Karabükspor for many years. He was accused of leading the union a weak position against rich families in Karabük. Many workers and unionists interviewed highlighted the same point. Following the first reactions and the Türk Metal Union activity in 2003, after an attempt led by Mehmet Atılı who did not have close relations in Karabük, Recai Başkan, among the former general director of the union, was assigned to General Director Consultancy of the Türk Metal Union upon Mustafa Özbek's special request, who was the general director of the union at the time. Once was the director of Özçelik-İş Union, Başkan then began to work as General Director Consultant of the Türk Metal Union. He insistently stated in the interviews that he made this decision considering Karabük workers' interests. In his time hundreds of workers had the chance to be

permanent employees. In addition, that he had old relations in the city and due to his impact relatively more on Çankırı workers, and his position in the Türk Metal Union made the most important point of workers' great rebel against Çelik-İş in 2010. After the union, Recai Başkan earned his living by a business he took up on 'Istanbul Highway' in Ankara. After the consultancy in the Turkish Metal Union, he also compered a program in ART TV, which was one of the partners of the union¹²⁵.

The main agenda of Karabük workers and one of the years-long debates was that Recai Baskan in his last period and the union had signed the contract of '42 %' wage increase which was promised to workers, yet they were not paid, and the signed contract was not even put into force. 42 % turned to be a 'slogan' of workers for years. Besides, Yolbulan, Güleç and Yücel families who controlled the factory in the AKP's governance were able to establish various relations between the city and factory, following a profitable period for the business. For example, gas station that belonged to Güleç family met the needs for the gas of the vehicles, and the business Kardemir took on with a 'service contract' was generally via these families' companies. After a while, Kardemir Board of Directors included only these three family members. Until 2015 there were many complaints including 'unfair competition'¹²⁶. The SPK had a lot of complaints about the issue until 2010, and these complaints are still on till the summer of 2015. Due to 'concealed capital transfer' allegations, it is known that SPK intervened in the issue many times¹²⁷. The most important allegation was that Yolbulan and Güleç families were claimed to sell Kardemir products to their own

¹²⁵ See <http://ozellestirme.net/ozbek-durumu-basbakan-ve-calisma-bakanina-iletecegim> / Last visited 10 June 2015

¹²⁶ See <http://www.karabuknethaber.com/kardemir-yonetimi-mahkemede-10004.html> /Last visited 13 June 2015.

¹²⁷ "İki Ailenin Eline Geçti", Vatan, 28 March 2010, pp. 10.

'iron and steel' companies with lower prices, and the products were put into market through these companies¹²⁸. In fact, the families mentioned both strengthen their power on company stocks and meet Kardemir's needs through their companies, and also availed of Kardemir products through sales of these products over their companies.

In 2007 election while AKP's votes reached a record of 54%, the party owned all 3 deputies of the province once again¹²⁹. 'Saving' Kardemir when AKP in power seemed to be the most important reason of winning the election in the city in terms of AKP. AKP's votes in Karabük were over the average by 8% in Turkey. Besides, resolution regarding establishing Karabük University in Karabük was adapted in May 2007, two months before the July 2007 election¹³⁰. Opening a university in Karabük was another important indicator of success AKP achieved in the election. In 2007, suggesting 'rail tender' between Kardemir and TCDD and negotiations for purchase of the rails from Kardemir on the TCDD's new investments in the AKP's period that focused on particularly 'high-speed train' through the TCDD and Kardemir's winning the tender by TCDD were remarkably significant improvements in terms of Karabük. One of the most significant issues in the pre-election agenda was actually this 'rail tender'¹³¹. Karabük which had actually lived on 'railways' and rails in the first place opened a new door into a different era for the business due to 'rails' back. TCDD became the major client of Kardemir in a short time. The factory that did not used to produce 'rail' submitted approximately 120 thousand ton rail until 2010. Moreover, Yolbulan and the other

¹²⁸ "İki Ailenin Eline Geçti", Vatan, 28 March 2010, pp. 10.

¹²⁹ See <http://www.secimsonuclariturkiye.com/2007/karabuk-secim-sonuclari-3.html> /Last visited 11 June 2015.

¹³⁰ See <http://www.karabuk.edu.tr/aday/tarihce.html> / Last Visited 12 April 2015.

¹³¹ "TCDD Ray İhtiyacını Kardemir'den Karşılacak", Zaman, 8 April 2007, pp.10.

families now began to share clearer information publicly about their 'ownership' of Kardemir. As taken place in various investment companies' agenda, the members of these families clearly stated that although Kardemir was owned by multiple partners, 51% of group A and B stocks in particular were collected by these 3 families¹³². According to the news on Steel Orbis website that focused on steel market, Kardemir's profit in 2008 increased by 106% particularly due to the agreement with TCDD¹³³. The profitability of the factory after 2003 was an obvious fact, including particularly 'the rail agreement' with TCDD in 2007, and thus the factory entered a new era.

Besides these processes taken place in terms of business, the workers hired in post-privatization period in Karabük established a worker profile that unarguably dominated the factory. 2000s workers seemed to be quite different than the ones in previous period. Change and transformation were already inevitable. However, the transformation of working class in 2000s and the process revealing the tensions because of 'union competition' in 2010 occurred in parallel with the great social, spatial, and economic changes. Mikkelsen discussed changing structure of capitalism referring 'socio-spatial networks' in literature, and mentioned that each new period included organization and 'collective action' (Mikkelsen,1996: 42). As observed in the interviews and the short surveys conducted with the new generation workers, 'business esteem' in the first place and thus 'being proud of one's own doing' and such attitudes among new generation workers were at lower level comparing with the

¹³² See <http://www.tebyatirim.com.tr/haberdetay.asp?haberid=1379505> /Last Visited 22 April 2015.

¹³³ "Kardemir'in Net Karı 2008 Yılında %106 Arttı", see <http://www.steelorbis.com.tr/celik-haberleri/guncel-haberler/kardemirin-net-kari-2008-yilinda-106-artti-462854.htm> /Last Visited 12 April 2015.

previous workers. This surely depended on some specific features of the market as well. Nevertheless, 'corrosion of character' in the new period of capitalism that Sennett came up with was also significantly parallel with the new global situation defined in terms of 'workers' of the new period (Sennett, 2003). While Sennett was focusing on how the character had changed for labors in the new global capitalism from a wide perspective, he stated that the feeling of 'insecure' that the workers were more exposed prevented them from developing an anticipated 'moral attitude' towards the job (Sennett, 2003). Doogan talking about the transition to the new capitalism mentioned the significant reasons in formation of this new process such as technological variables (2009: 43-63) and globalization (2009: 64-68), and then indicated that 'tenuous' was actually a basic concept during this 'new capitalism' period (Doogan, 2009: 209):

...New employment relations are said to evolve from a more tenuous connection between workers and employers that emerges with globalization. The looser attachment between capital and labor is seen as a consequence of the increased capital mobility and the growing importance of transnational corporations...

In the Karabük's example, both global and local relations and financial and industrial capital relations were intensively developed. Workers had to encounter the whole process in a presumably short period for settled working class culture and structure change. Apart from the similar examples in the country and the world, the process in Karabük gave significant opportunities to comprehend the intensity and speed of changes, and the working class facing with the process. In the studies on working class, numerous categories were suggested both

periodically and within some defined features. Besides Wright's categorization (see. Wright, 1997), which focused on 'contradictory class locations', Mann's categorizations concerning 'class identity', 'class opposition', 'class totality' and 'conception of an alternative society' (see. Mann, 1973) on working class-consciousness were widely known. In the discussions, class creating itself and growing another 'focus' and such points were on the table. While E.O. Wright's argument generally focused on the 'situational', Mann's claimed to be more historical and generalizable. One of the most widely known categorization of working class arguments belongs to Lockwood. The article he wrote in the mid-1960s is a significant source of reference for these arguments. Although the article received too many critics, it still aroused much interest. Lockwood described three categories within some sociological aspects and 'historical' aspects: 'traditional worker', '(traditional) deferential worker' and 'privatized worker' (1966: 250). Lockwood's categorization was generally based on 'social consciousness' argument. Accordingly 'traditional worker' which was at the highest level corresponds to idealized 'proletariat'. Lockwood (1966: 250-251), who defined this category as 'proleterian worker', stated that this group of workers was with the highest consciousness. The second category known as 'deferential worker' defined a labor typology based on social hierarchies, obedience, and social status (1966: 252-253). 'Privatized worker' is the one who generally thinks his work life separated from his identity, is relatively isolated and defines his bond with job as 'cash-nexus' (1966: 258). At the center of these arguments existed a significant 'middle class' argument. Mann criticized Lockwood's approach of addressing the category 'new to' 1960s described as lack of organization. Mann, who referred to rates of unionization in this regard, stated that 'privatized' category was actually rather troubled to understand the

period (Mann, 1995: 20). 'Privatized worker' was depicted as an example worker offered by the system that was apt to and close to thinking patterns of middle class. However unlike the discussion of all the mid 20th century, in working class discussions of today 'precarity' and 'lower social strata' terms were referred mostly. As Aynur Özüğurlu emphasized that 'The Children Of Sanchez' and proletariat of Manifesto now resembled one another even more (2005: 120-121), today 'class' discussion had older roots in underdeveloped countries whereas it came to lights in a different form which referred to 'a lower social strata' in developed countries as counted. For example, today 'precariat' (see. Standing, 2011; Standing 2014) and "precarious worker '(see. Munck, 2013) discussions make a good example. Previous discussions are actually discussions of 'welfare' period for 'the West' and 'North'. In addition, 'welfare' (society) concept which was not very developed in underdeveloped regions had given its place to 'workfare' in developed countries for quite some time as Peck noted (1999: 66-67). 'Any job is a good job' mentality dominated the new 'workfare society' then (1999: 75). However, the reality for the 'worker' will surely be different. Lockwood's 'privatized worker' affected by 'middle class' and its dominant ideology based on his analysis of comprehending the 'social reality' and self-regulation accordingly and 'precariat' or 'precarious worker' highlighted more in the discussions in recent years were quite different from each other. Significant generational differences in perceptions and attitudes of the past period workers and the latest period workers in Karabük were concerned. The differences were more clearly seen in 'attachment to one's job' and 'business esteem'. However, these features referred to 'precarity' of the workers rather than 'privatized worker'. 65% of the latest generation workers stated that they would change their jobs if possible. It is possible to

mention technological change, change of worker's business structure 'in the metal sector,' fragmentation of work, job satisfaction as variables behind this high rate of will of changing job. Arif Usta, one of the last generation workers, talked about the work at the factory and the following points;

...Here the most important thing is insurance. It is for me and for everybody...If you are saying the work means the factory, it does not anymore I suppose...I used to work at the shuttle; I was the driver. I came here to work for a settled life...Of course if I could get a promising job with insurance, I would not want to work here...It could be security, or desk job, I don't know...

Another last generation worker Onur Usta compared today's work and the work in the past as follows:

...The workers have to work harder now; hard work is not really the actual work. Everyone from Karabük knows the factory, from family or here and there...Everything is now modernized. Which jobs can we count mostly: for example, machine check and maintenance... or housekeeping...

Though the working conditions of workers in Karabük varied considerably in comparison with 1970s and the rise received after 1989 strike melted away overly, the insurance and relatively regular job still held. For a city whose biggest job opportunity was still the factory like Karabük this was even more true. Besides, many of the latest generation workers longed for the jobs 'outside of the factory'. İsmail Usta who worked at the factory as a contract

worker since 2005 and got to be a permanent employee during union struggle in 2010 gave an interesting example:

Starting at the factory was actually upon my father's request...I worked in Istanbul and here (Karabük) in the bazaar too...Trading and marketing...This is my real talent, but when i started here at the factory, my income decreased...I was dealing with the sales at the store, white goods especially..Well, I got less than I used to earn, but if you are asking whether it is the job I love, I mean of course I would like to do sales marketing.... But look! Workplace is a different story surely; one is at the factory namely manual labor and the other is the store. One would choose the store I suppose, right?

As apparently seen in the assessment regarding the sense of belonging to job, last generation workers considered 'heavy industry jobs' comparable with the other jobs. In the focus group study participated by different generation workers, this data was clearly seen. Previous workers' narrations about 'the importance of work' and 'the factory' just sounded, as the phrase goes, 'nostalgic'. In this case, the works done by last generation workers at the factory may be thought as relatively out off direct production. Technological developments have led to this result in time. In Table 7.2., the answers to two questions of the short survey applied to last generation workers were presented:

Table 7.2. : Last Generation Workers' Opinions on Their Jobs

Do you want to change your job? (n:109)	Yes: % 66.9 (n: 73)	No: % 22 (n: 24)	Unanswered:%11 (n: 12)
Do you think your job provides you a serious career opportunity?	Yes: % 28.4 (n: 31)	No:% 59.6 (n: 65)	Unanswered %11.9 (n: 13)

The tension between unions in the period the survey was conducted played a significant part in the reason for a high rate of 'yes' to the question regarding 'job change'. Each process of the study reflected the tension clearly observed on the workers. As mentioned before, workers' resistance not to keep records during the interviews, avoiding the interview in the first place, tendency of not giving the real thoughts until trust was provided were the problems mostly encountered. The factory in Karabük was preferred by necessity in terms of new workers whose families were mostly 'factory labourer' originally. It was noticeable that the last generation workers were quite unpretentious about 'quality', 'job', and 'craft' as well. 'invention stories', taking part in innovations contributing directly to the production, talking about their former work excitedly and such points were almost never experienced by the new generation as in old workers. Although the former generation workers emphasized that craft and labour were gone, the last generation workers' 'working life' narrations were rather limited and shaped more around the social relations.

It must be noted that Bourdieu's 'field' and 'habitus' concepts were quite successful to discuss structure and subject and make these two 'conceptualizations' more efficient. The 'field' concept had a

special part in comprehending the effect of different social areas in the process of setting up a substructure for structural reasons of the change between generations of the working class in Karabük. According to Bourdieu, the concept 'field' which would be summarized as 'network' and used to comprehend the relation between 'agent' and 'structure' was depicted as follows (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992: 97):

In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)...

'Precarious work' and its impacts on the overall structure of the working class was one of the most important research topics in recent years. Some thinkers like Standing even mentioned a 'new class' on the basis of 'precariat' concept by pointing these precariats quite assertively and in a bit provocative way. This concept was used similarly before Standing as well. Standing referred various names, Bourdieu in particular as a matter of fact. The 'precariat' was used to describe particularly seasonal workers and temporary workers by French sociologists in 1980. Besides those who put forward the concept or used it to point out 'insecurity' tended to consider 'precariat' mostly as a part of 'working class'. However, Standing said assertively " 'precariat' was not a part of working class" (2011: 6). Precariat refers to the strata

that does not own work-based identity and non-occupational identity, and whose antecedents could date back to 'banausoi' in ancient Greece, that is, those who have the whole work load yet have no chance of vertical mobility amid social classes, and could be counted as 'semi-citizen' in terms of the rights (2011: 9-13). In addition, precariat should never be considered 'homogeneous'. That they labour to 'live' and they are rather 'opportunistic' and insecure are in common. Standing describes 4 basic groups of precariat comprising of workers in temporary jobs, workers in part-time jobs, call center workers and contract workers (2011: 15-16). Millions of workers who had no chance of promising career and did not have socially desirable identity, and were forced to precarious labouring originated this category. Standing included 'proletarianisation' in his argument just as in Marx's 'proletarian' and 'proletarianisation'. His process created a general situation affecting all strata. Besides, precariat with its anger, anxiety, and fear oriented mental structure was short term thinking centered in terms of 'time', and Standing emphasized that this could turn into lack of long term thinking (2011: 19). A harsh critique of Standing's approach and assertive definition came from Ronaldo Munck. Munck states that there was no explanation for evaluating precariat as a separated 'class' above all and there was a serious problem at this point, and he also discussed that Standing's ILO on which he was studying for long years was quite 'western-centered' (2013: 756-758). Munck frequently stated that conceptualizing precariat was generally practiced with a 'North-centered' approach. The North referred to developed countries and the whole northern hemisphere of the world. It must be noted that the north could consist of undeveloped countries and the south developed countries, too. According to Munck, within a south-centered perspective, the job had always been precarious, and it 'still' is

today. However, north-centered approach highlighted that welfare capitalism never existed in the south (2013: 752). By giving his examples Munck stated that the 'ideal citizen' definition had already been quite different for the south and it represented a more limited part of society. A type of job defined as 'precarious' and 'lack of security' by ILO always existed as a 'norm' in the south, as in ILO's reports. Munck indicated that another important missing part of Standing's approach was that he marginalized the power and existence of labour unions. Munck emphasized on the existence of working class and its organizations, which were underrated for being 'old' (2013: 760). Standing's approach criticized as Eurocentric left some points in the historical development of the European working class unanswered by separating precariats from working class. For example, profiles of the members and founders of today's working class organizations were very different. There had been significant changes and 'conflicting continuities' in terms of qualified and unqualified workers in the historical process. From the point of Munck it is advantageous to evaluate "precarious working class", namely precariat, within the working class in general to understand. It was certainly noticed that Munck suggested the term 'precarious proleteriat' for developing working class of the new period. As emphasized by Seymour, Charlie Post also stated today that the reality was hidden in the slogan "We're all precarious now", and added the problem is of the entire working class today¹³⁴:

...deunionization, the neoliberal offensive means that all working people face precarious conditions of one sort or another...

¹³⁴ "We're All Precarious Now", Jacobin Mag
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/04/precarious-labor-strategies-union-precariat-standing/> /Last access 12 July 2015.

Considering the conditions of contemporary capitalism, 'welfare' for the Western world seemed to be exceptional. Munck made the following statements about the 'welfare' period being exceptional for the West and the reality prevailing in the South all along constantly (2013: 752):

It is simply assumed as the center and the norm which will apply everywhere. There is little cognizance that the type of work described by the term 'precarity' has always been the norm in the global South. In fact, it is Fordism and the welfare state, which is the exception to the rule from global perspective. Decent work, to call it that even though it is a rather dubious term, has never been the norm in the postcolonial world. Rather, super-exploitation, accumulation through dispossession and what might be called 'permanent primitive accumulation' have by and large prevailed...

The worldwide notion of the iron and steel industry was to decrease the average employment. The general decrease in employment in Karabük or Turkey was in parallel with the global improvements in the sector. In Stroud and Fairbrother's report of their comprehensive research on European steel industry, it was clearly seen that at the beginning of 2000s total employment figures of steel industry in Europe was one third of the 1974 figures, which was used as a base. This ratio could come down to one-fifth of the 1974 figures in such examples as Luxembourg and the UK (2007: 5-6). It has been attempted to put 'large-scale redundancy programs' including social and economic dimensions against the serious 'unemployment' in Europe deriving from this situation and regional social collapse, with significant resources, into practice. Meier and Promberger who carried out a study in Nuremberg, Germany stated that working class culture underwent serious changes in the area

widely known as an industrial zone in the past, and the impact of the programs developed against unemployment and regional transformation in particular was quite limited (2012: 50-51). Studies on working class identity change revealed significant differences in terms of today's 'identity' described as a new era. Aguiar discussed the crisis of working class identity in the Western world by improving Benjamin's 'aestheticization of politics' definition in fascism concept as working class-centered 'aestheticization of everyday life' (AEL). According to Aguiar, this was a general procedure, and it could not simply be explained by economical and cultural reduction (Aguiar, 2011: 624):

Besides their political engagement, class language was a decisive factor for those laborer communities too until recently. But concurrently with new transformations in class and economic structures, in the last decades a powerful cultural and symbolic device - the AEL - detonated and imploded that central feature of popular and working-class culture. In this sense, we argue that the AEL can penetrate as a device of restating ideological and symbolic frameworks. At this moment, we can bridge these two processes - the AEL and the retraction of the working-classes - documenting how some relevant vectors of the AEL project themselves in the dynamics of de-classicization.

Compared to previous generations, last generation workers in Karabük were significantly different in feeling belonging to 'part of the class' as observed when both they met different generations in focus group interviews and in responses of the simple questionnaire applied, and also in interviews done thoroughly. It was possible to observe the situation in even in a large-scale metal industry business and premises. Although Munck's 'precarious proletariat' concept seemed important to describe the new period, Sennett and Standing's arguments relating 'workers' mental world

directly' which was considered a bit more daring seemed quite meaningful. The most important reason for these arguments to be meaningful was that they provided the opportunity to scrutinize the new period better. One of the new generation workers Firat Usta who started in 2008 at the factory through a subcontractor and became 'permanent employee' in 2011, talked about the working class, himself, the factory, and politics as follows:

...Money talks, that is, whoever owns the money, owns the power. Do the workers look out for one another then? No way. Everyone is in the struggle one way or another. We know those who say it's for the workers perfectly well, yet they all look after themselves...If I had a chance, I wouldn't want to be a part of working class surely, I mean why don't I have my own business? Who wouldn't want to? My primary reason to get this job is the insurance, an important opportunity after all. Besides, in union's fights no one would actually care about the workers or so. They made us permanent employees not just for love, the others also have their own interest...Actually so called 'union' means a cutback for me...

A worker profile that was not very hopeful for the future and with relatively little sense of belonging to working class, and that was interested in global agenda yet prefers to look on local problems locally or finds it possible and despite supporting 'right' politically in general, states occasionally that it is not their 'certain' political ideology was concerned in the survey interviews of the last generation workers in Karabük. Table 7.3. gives the average rate of agreement by the workers about various statements below in survey interview, underlying the part of 'the level of agreement with the statements':

Table 7.3. : Last Generation Workers' Some Statements

Statements	The average agreement (1 to 5)
“One worker of a business cannot have sympathy for a worker of another business, to each his own.”	3.6
“The rich and the poor are only equal in the presence of Allah; and equality cannot exist in social life.”	3.3
“Even if the strong is wrong, you should hold a candle to the devil.”	2.8
“I think nowadays workers seek their rights more in general in our country.”	2.1
“I think everything will be better in terms of workers in Karabük in the future. “	1.9
“I think everything will be better in terms of workers in Turkey in the future. “	2.4
“Nothing concerns me except for my own interest and family.”	2.6

In the survey conducted these statements have not been constructed as a 'holistic' scale. Each statement is intended to be examined in itself. One of the most important reasons for this is because a simple 'categorization' has serious limitations. Also it is considered that the primary data of the study should be the data obtained from qualitative interviews. Besides, the content of the assessment that measures 'agreeing with the statements' used in 'quantitative' studies may be quite different. A worker who agrees with a statement could also take a 'criticizing' stand towards the statement though he may claim he agrees since the statement 'reflects the reality'. The ratio of the contract workers in total has increased in Kardemir over time in the post-2002 period. Moreover, these contract workers were not allowed to enroll the Çelik-İş Union

for a time. After the union competition between Çelik-İş and Türk Metal in 2010, Çelik-İş that faced with losing of authorization due to company directors' trigger enrolled thousands of contract workers and employees who were left out of the scope of organization to the union. There were quite significant differences between contract workers and permanent employees/unionized workers in terms of wages and social rights. In Bilgin's study comparing the contract workers and unionized workers in Railcar Factory of TÜVASAŞ in Sakarya, almost all the contract workers stated that they suffered from 'discrimination' (2010: 117), and their wage was half of the permanent /unionized workers' (2010: 118). While Bilgin was working on his study, he asked the both group about TEKEL workers' resistance, and 73 percent of the unionized workers supported it whereas this rate remained 25 percent with the contract workers interestingly (2010: 123). In fact, more than 40 percent of the contract workers stated that they did not think TEKEL workers were 'right' (2010: 123). As an interesting example for working class strata with worse conditions approaching 'working class struggles' relatively 'negatively', it could also be observed from the workers' attitudes towards 'privatization', who were working at woodwork and furniture in a small industry in Sitaler, Ankara. According to a study conducted in 2005, while more than 75 percent of the workers there supported the privatization implementations, more than 80 percent of the same workers stated that they wanted to become 'a worker in 'a state-owned enterprise' (see. Aydın, 2005: 136-151).

'Insurance' was a significant opportunity for almost all last generation workers interviewed in Kardemir. It was notable that 'the family subsidies' were also substantial for many workers. Changing the city was also among the dreams of many last

generation workers. It was observed that the new generation workers were more willing to use urban public than the old generation workers. However, 'inequalities' based on the social status of groups in the past became directly related to 'income' and money today. Although this may not indicate distinctive 'class' positions directly, it points to a clear picture of directly money-oriented social construct. 'Politics' stand out as an important reference for last generation workers. It is not only important in terms of availing the current political situations in 'protesting' processes, but also for daily relations directly. Political paternalism patterns in the past have continued to exist differently in neo-liberal era. In the interviews it was said that even local political channels were very important for contract workers who had temporary jobs and limited opportunities.

In 2009 the local elections held in Karabük, the AKP that had dominated the city since 2002 lost the mayoral election to the MHP with a little difference as around five hundred votes, and the backstory of this loss may be the reactions originated since 'the economic development' in Kardemir did not serve neither for the city nor the workers in general. It should be claimed that especially after 2007 the company with increasing profitability rates did not improve the city and the workers' conditions sufficiently, which was widely accepted. Also the conflicts in the AKP's provincial organization led to this result in a way. When the MHP candidate Rafet Vergili, who was originally from Araç, Kastamonu yet had been living in Karabük since his childhood, won the mayoral race, it was actually a big surprise. This process also provided an unexpected opportunity to reveal the reactions growing among the workers for long years. The emergence of a local power not necessarily against the close relations of Capital groups dominating

Kardemir after the 2001-2002 period with the AKP but not directly dependent on it either provided an interesting possibility as well. However, it was emphasized by many workers that the MHP municipalities did not act much out of the control of AKP, Çelik-İş and dominated groups of Kardemir in local administration.

7.5. The Great Division in 2010 and the process until 2015: Who is in charge? Çelik-İş or Turk Metal? What is the result of divisions in working class?

The tension between Çelik-İş and Türk Metal in 2010 caused the greatest division the city had ever faced. This situation affecting each stage of the research continued for considerably long time, and the effects can even be observed now in 2015. That Recai Başkan whom the union liquidated somehow in 2001 struggled and tried to carry out organizational works among workers resulted in a movement at the end of 2009, and it brought an incredible conflict and division in the summer of 2010. In fact, the first significant movement began in 2008, according to statements by the president. The great reactions by the workers were kept unrevealed because of actual repressions occasionally and mostly the attitude between employers and Çelik-İş as Başkan stated. The director of Çelik-İş originally in charge of İskenderun factory was known to get reactions from the grassroots, and it was not an easy job to create alternatives against the capital groups who not only dominated the factory but also many areas of the city in a relatively small city like Karabük. Türk Metal was designated as the alternative for Çelik-İş upon the former general director Recai Başkan's choice. The union of which Başkan was the General Director Consultant for years became the largest union in the metal sector in Turkey with a great difference since 2010. Başkan started a fight against Çelik-İş by the help of Türk Metal's economic and social power. Türk metal has

always had rather limited presence in Karabük since old times. Besides, the union may seem sympathetic to Karabük workers in terms of 'political' attitude. The nationalist union's biggest handicap was directly about its 'nature'. It has been nearly impossible to witness a 'struggle' centered approach neither in Türk Metal Union's historical practices nor in its management structure. Suğur and Nichols' study (2005) Türk Metal described as a union 'favoring employers' in 'metal sector' was subjected to a great 'collective rebel' by workers directly against the union in big centers such as Bursa, Kocaeli, and İstanbul in the spring of 2015, unlike any other rebels in Turkey, and it manifested a union structure that chose to struggle directly against the workers¹³⁵. However, Türk Metal had a quite different representation in Karabük. It must be noted that Türk Metal representation was shaped by former general director of Özçelik-İş Recai Başkan's impact, independent from general profile in Turkey. Furthermore, it was claimed that reactions of small and medium sized enterprises against three large capital groups controlling Kardemir and Karabük in deed underlied the tension between Türk Metal and Çelik-İş in 2010. Türk Metal that was in charge of Ereğli Iron and Steel Plants near Karabük for years had long been vying with Birleşik Metal Union affiliated to DİSK (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu - Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) in Ereğli for long years¹³⁶.

Recai Başkan and his team who stayed in Çelik Palas Hotel in Safranbolu for about 6 months in early 2010 stated that they transferred around 2100 of 2600 workers to Türk Metal until June 2010. While a team Recai Başkan relied on carried out the process of organizing, some meetings were held, attended by many people

¹³⁵ "Bursa'da İşçiden Türk Metal'e Sözleşme Öfkesi", Evrensel, 17 April 2015, pp. 5.

¹³⁶ About DİSK and Birleşik Metal, see. Şafak, 2015.

sometimes and by very few people other times. In this period the workers were organized with 'dervish mentality' as stated by a worker. The workers employed to be 'permanent' in Başkan's period during the organization process, mostly from Çankiri and its districts originally, stated the workers engaged in the MHP were usually active and predominant. Besides, it was observed in the interviews in Karabük that a few 'leftist' retired workers and current workers involved in the process. The works Başkan carried out with his immediate surroundings between 2003 and 2008 have become highly effective in 2010. Rıza Usta who started at the factory in 1996 and assumed the leading role for Türk Metal in the process stated that:

...The workers brought the factory into a certain state. They made it alive. We worked overtime, and occasionally without wage...There were few tradesmen with us, one or two radio, and our families...But now rowdies and bullies of each neighborhood are here with us...What happened here is kind of the same with TEKEL in fact...Well, who was against us? Everyone; the capital, the media...No one could ever say what we said, yet everyone knew it...

From June 8 to June 13 2010 around 2100 Kardemir workers transferred to Türk Metal whereas Çelik-İş had serious concerns about it. Alpaslan Başıoğlu who was a local writer of websites broadcasting for Karabük and of his own blog wrote down that the number of the workers who transferred to Türk Metal had reached 2155 till June 13, yet in 5 days this number dropped to 1544 till June 18 since Çelik-İş forced around 600 workers to return¹³⁷. It was a really 'tough June' for Feridun Tankut, Director of Karabükspor, who involved in May Day celebrations in Taksim with the football

¹³⁷ "Ya Kartal Olacaksınız, Ya Böcek Kalacaksınız", http://alparslanbasegmez.blogspot.com.tr/2010_12_01_archive.html /Last Visited 12 July 2015.

players¹³⁸ within the same year. After his claim of mass union change, he was alleged to state the followings in a live broadcast on a local TV channel¹³⁹ :

I wrote my letter of resignation after nearly all Kardemir workers' mass union change and declared to Karabük branch that I resigned. I even called my nephew in Karabük to pack up my personal belongings there. However, Kardemir chairman of the board Mutullah Yolbulan and Vice Chairman Kamil Gulec called me to demand a meeting. We met in a hotel in Bolu. They discourage me from my decision to resign.

The employer was determined to step in, and intervened in the process between Türk Metal and Çelik-İş with mutual acceptance. Until June 18 the pressure by Çelik-İş and employer turned out to be effective in a way, some workers returned to Çelik-İş. On June 18, 29 workers, the majority of whom were business representative of Türk Metal, were dismissed. On June 19, about 700 workers met in Türk Metal's branch in Karabük city center, marched to the factory, and demanded to enter the factory. There upon over dozens of workers were injured in clash, and the police used tear gas and baton. Kenan Şahin, one of the member of Türk Metal, had attempted suicide by climbing to the top of the high-voltage transmission line, about a hundred meters high¹⁴⁰. By the beginning of July tension increased and also the news on the national media came to the fore. General Director of Türk Metal Pevrul Kavlak stated that the members of union were forced to transfer to Çelik-İş by employers, and indicated that a 'document' was published due to a special agreement between Çelik-İş and Kardemir regarding the workers who were the members of Çelik-İş being paid extra 350

¹³⁸ "İşçi Bedel Ödenen Yerdeydi", Cumhuriyet, 2 May 2010, pp. 6.

¹³⁹ "Kardemir Bugünlere Nasıl Geldi?", <http://www.emekdunyasi.net/ed/ed/10246-kardemir-bugunlere-nasil-geldi> /Last visited 11 July 2015.

¹⁴⁰ "İşten Atılan İşçilere Biber Gazı", Cumhuriyet, 19 June 2010, pp. 5.

Liras a month, which was not on the table before for Kardemir authorities. Kavlak stating that they earned the authority unarguably whereas the pressure reached an incredible level indicated that the 'jammers' were placed at the workplace in order to block his phone calls with the members¹⁴¹. Engin Ünsal, who published an article named 'Self-Government and Kardemir Example' in Cumhuriyet on July 16, indicated that when millmen were appointed for the management by the authorized union, which was an important experience of self-government in Turkey, the business was nearly destroyed in their hands and people should be sensitive to this process¹⁴². On August 4 2010, there was a great demonstration in Karabük. The workers, members of Türk Metal, and their families protested in front of the union building¹⁴³. Furthermore, two different words 'Metalci' (*Metalsmith*) and 'Çelikçi' (*Stellmaker*) derived in daily language reference to unions, which made the people in the city feel quite divided and isolated. Çelik-İş Union firstly got some of the workers who transferred to Turk Metal earlier back by the help of employers, and then enrolled the contract workers and 'the new workers employed' in this period of crisis. In July 2010, Kardemir Inc. had an interesting press release. Kardemir company summarized the process by indicating that they were going to hire new workers in order to increase productivity and the workers' education level, and they terminated and would continue to terminate the employment contract of some of those who were not eligible for the employment policy and those who were with efficiency and discipline problems as a part of modernization at the factory¹⁴⁴. At the end of the process that was quite active in summer, even the primary school aged children ended up in separated schools according to their fathers' union.

¹⁴¹ "İşçilere Hak-İş Baskısı", Cumhuriyet, 5 July 2010, pp. 5.

¹⁴² "Özyönetim ve Kardemir Örneği", Engin Ünsal, Cumhuriyet, 16 July 2010, pp. 2.

¹⁴³ "Kardemir İşçisinden Protesto", Cumhuriyet, 5 August 2010, pp. 7.

¹⁴⁴ "Kardemir Ne Diyor? : İşten Çıkarmalar Sürececek", Cumhuriyet, 9 October 2010, pp. 6.

The activities and fights among workers affecting their daily lives drew much attention as the biggest dissolution period among the workers that Karabük has ever experienced. Started at the factory in 2004, İbrahim Usta who stayed in Çelik-İş Union in this discussion period and evaluated the process, stated his impressions as follows:

...It looks better recently (*July 2012*), but it still exists...Even the children at school fought over this matter... we didn't want anyone to get fire, why would we? They (the members of Turk Metal) got overexcited...How dare you to mess around with employer for god's sake? So you expect the union in Ankara would really save you? But when you say so, then you become the bad guy... I'd say no one gets fired, but the business must go on anyway, and how could it be if the employer does not want them?...

While Kardemir board continued to fire the workers who were still members of Türk Metal in summer and autumn, they used 'workers' distrained houses', credit debts, or sometimes workers' collective walk not to take the buses and not eating the meal sort of activities as excuses to put on their dismissal documents¹⁴⁵. Besides, about 1200 new workers were employed starting from July and the Çelik-İş enrolled them in the union. The authorities of Çelik-İş Union in charge then stated that the workers were dismissed since they broke the peace at work, and they were fired 'due to their distrained houses' and in fact many of the workers wanted to be 'dismissed' to receive compensation. The number of the dismissed workers passed over 350 until the end of 2010. Meanwhile, the dismissed workers' hunger strike became as effective as Ankara march. Moreover, they started a 'smoking action' at the gas station on Atatürk Boulevard affiliated to the Shell fuel company that

¹⁴⁵ "Sudan Sebeplerle Atıldılar", Cumhuriyet, 9 October 2015, pp. 6.

belonged to one of the families dominating Kardemir, Gulec family¹⁴⁶. After this interesting and dangerous action many workers were taken into custody. The authority struggle between Çelik-İş and Türk Metal resulted in favor of Çelik-İş with the decision of the Ministry of Labor on October 23. Accordingly, Çelik-İş Union kept 2568 members and Türk Metal 1394. Hak-İş attended a demonstration carried out by Çelik-İş on October 28 at the level of general director¹⁴⁷. Many workers due to these implementations during this time sued Kardemir. The lawsuits were not only about 'return to work'. There were various lawsuits at the time. Since it was stated that the workers who were the members of Çelik-İş were paid extra 350 liras a month in 2010 whereas Türk Metal members were not, and this was union discrimination against around 1100 workers in Kardemir, it was adjudged by the decision of Civil Department no. 7 of the Supreme Court in 2014 to pay compensation to each worker in Kardemir in amount of a year-gross salary at least¹⁴⁸.

The union competitions and dismissals were very often in the fall of 2010, and in the constitution referendum on September 12, the ruling party AKP's choice 'yes' was supported by 64 percent of Karabük voters overall. In 2010, a fast and tense year for Karabük, Feridun Tankut and his team were elected again by a single list in 12th Ordinary Congress of Çelik-İş on November 30 and 31¹⁴⁹. In 2011 election, the number of deputies in Karabük decreased to 2 from 3 based on the rates of total number of voters in Turkey. In the elections while the AKP had both deputies by nearly 60 percent of

¹⁴⁶ "Akaryakıt İstasyonunda Sigaralı Eylem Yaptılar", Milliyet, 14 October 2010, pp. 9.

¹⁴⁷ "Kardemir'in Mücadeleci İşçilerini Destekleyelim", <http://gercekgazetesi.net/emek-dunyasi/kardemirin-mucadeleci-iscilerini-destekleyelim> /Last Visited 10 July 2015.

¹⁴⁸ "Kardemir İşçisine Yüksek Tazminat Ödeyecek", 11 April 2014 <http://www.karabuknethaber.com/kardemir-iscisine-yuksektazminat-odeyecek-12702.html> / Last Visited 21 July 2015.

¹⁴⁹ See <http://www.celik-is.org.tr/index.php/sendikamiz/tarihcemiz> /Last Visited 11 July 2015.

the votes, the effects of nominating an important name as Mehmet Ali Şahin in his hometown for the first time seemed highly significant in terms of results.

In the period after 2010, upon Türk Metal's objection to the decision of the Ministry, the decision of Zonguldak Labor Court no 1 resulted in 'lack of venue' in Kardemir in terms of the unions. As it began in Karabük in 2011 election, Çelik-İş Union had a great shock in the summer of 2012. Feridun Tankut and Secretary General Şenel Oğuz from his immediate team in the board, Education Secretary Ruhi Ayhan and Financial Secretary Ali Kemal Can resigned¹⁵⁰. Not many claims about resignations were released in the first place. Alpaslan Başeğmez, a local columnist, stated that behind the scene it was about the poor policies of the 'team' and allegations of corruption¹⁵¹. At the Extraordinary Congress held in Ankara Başkent Öğretmenevi on September 1 - 2 2012, Ali Cengiz Gül, originally from Iskenderun factory, and his team who were involved in the former board as well took over the management in the election by a single list. At the end of this ongoing process, Çelik-İş ended up keeping the venue in Kardemir after the court. The new chairman of the board in the union Ali Cengiz Gül, who made his name in 1989 Strike, was a unionist that grew up in Iskenderun factory and he called attention to beginning of 'a new period'. At the same Extraordinary Congress, Feridun Tankuter was appointed as honorary chairman of the union. In fact, this change was because Çelik-İş was forced from the grassroots and the legitimacy of the union underwent serious damage over the years though eventually Çelik-İş kept the venue 'officially'. A young worker Talat Usta who

¹⁵⁰ "Çelik-İş Sendikası'nda Müthiş Deprem", http://medya7.blogspot.com.tr/2012/08/celik-is-sendikasin-da-muthis-deprem_7.htmlpart 3.docx /Last Visited 18 July 2015.

¹⁵¹ "Ya Diz Çökecekler, Ya Bırakıp Kaçacaklar Dememiş Miydik?", <http://www.karabukoncuhaber.com/ya-diz-cokecekler-ya-birakip-kacacaklar-dememismiydik/>part 3.docx Last Visited 17 July 2015.

started at the factory in 2010 explained his impression about the process of change as follows:

...We were enrolled to Çelik-İş when we were employed. But for people like us, it was never about one union or the other. We got lucky to have a job eventually; in fact, employing us was due to this union struggle...This is something everyone knows; those who involved in union get into various relations. Well, it is the nature of this business...Everyone knows about all those properties; everyone knows yet never tells a word. The former team (board) was to go. I don't know the details, but I wouldn't say the workers were upset...I do not care at all; I just mind my own business. The union business is too complicated...

In the spring of 2013 when the 2-year-lack of venue process ended, Çelik-İş and Kardemir had negotiations of collective bargaining. There were conflicts and even a decision to go on 'strike' in the first place, but then this process resulted in an agreement, especially with the AKP politicians' involvement. The interesting point here was that Ali Cengiz Gül defined the 'red line' of the union as '42 %' increase.¹⁵² The biggest criticism Çelik-İş has got since Recai Başkan's liquidation in 2001 was about cancellation of this increase 'rate' by union authorities after collective bargaining in 2001. It was considered quite an important development in this respect. Ali Cengiz Gül explained this agreement in a meeting that workers attended in front of the factory, which never happened for years.¹⁵³ This could be actually seen as a symbolic criticism of the attitude of Çelik-İş since 2001. Along with Ali Cengiz Gül period, the union structure in Kardemir seemed to get back to 'relatively normal', though the workers could not get the advantages they had had at the beginning of the privatization process for sure.

¹⁵² "Kardemir'de Anlaşmaya Doğru", Cumhuriyet, 12 May 2013, pp. 11.

¹⁵³ "İşçiye Yüzde 42 Zam", Hürriyet, 17 May 2013, pp.10.

One of the most important problems among the last generation workers was their credit card and credit debt. As thinkers such as Hardt and Negri stated that 'indebtness' (Hardt & Negri, 2012) which was one of the most important issues on crisis for the whole world in 21st century; the poor, in their words for the multitude, was also an issue for Karabük workers as well. The biggest crisis for workers in case of not being paid at work would be not being able to pay their debts. Besides, in terms of 'political identity' the last generation workers in Kardemir defined themselves as mainly 'conservative' and 'nationalist'. As for the rates, almost 60 percent of the workers considered themselves involved in this definition while % 15 left the question unanswered. The identification research of DİSK Birleşik Metal-İş Union in 2008 13 percent of workers who are the members of Birleşik Metal defined themselves as Islamist while about 43 % called themselves nationalist and conservative (Birleşik Metal, 2008a: 56). That even the members of Birleşik Metal Union had these political identities was in parallel to the general political structure of Turkey. As Karabük was historically inclined to the right, these rates should not be considered too high. However, in the interviews it was noted that the workers' political identities were not too rigid in deed and were open to 'flexibility' and 'new discussions'. Many young workers reminded that the left-right paradigm no longer existed, which in fact meant they gave implicit approval to open up a debate over their political position. The new generation had a 'looser' attitude on 'bonds' in every aspect than the old generation. It did not include commitment to the business and family relations only; it was also possible to mention relatively loose 'bonds' in terms of political identification. However, the influence of the dominant political atmosphere and the political environment historically inclined to the right in Karabük led to the political options among the workers such as

'conservative', 'nationalist', or 'İslamist'. It was noted that the last generation used such practices of secret resistance as lying, pretending to obey etc., highlighted in Scott's approach, against not only the employer but also 'the union' unusually. In fact, it began in an instant in the workplaces dominated by Türk Metal in Bursa in the spring of 2015 and appeared in the struggle against 'the union' as well. The situations drawing 'quite little public reactions' earlier turned into public reactions all of a sudden. For example, the former board of Çelik-İş decided to stay out of the process suddenly in 2012, and it was actually the result of the reactions secretly growing but not coming out publicly. As Scott stated 'gossip was a kind of major weapon for 'lower classes' and it damaged the union structure and leaders seriously whether the allegations were true or not. Scott highlighted the followings about 'gossip' and reactions of large mass as the practices of secret resistance (1990: 142):

Gossip is perhaps the most familiar and elementary form of disguised popular aggression. Though its use is hardly confined to attacks by subordinates on their superiors, it represents a relatively safe social sanction. Gossip, almost by definition, has no identifiable author, but scores of eager retailers who can claim they are just passing on the news. Should the gossip-and here I have in mind malicious gossip-be challenged, everyone can disavow responsibility for having originated it. The Malay term for gossip and rumour, *khabar angin* (news on the wind), captures the diffuse quality of responsibility that makes such aggression possible.

A working class that has extremely strong the perception of 'inequality and injustice' but does not express 'injustice' with the class terms (2005: 226) had been introduced in Özuğurlu's study on textile workers in Denizli, and it was also very similar to the last

generation workers in Karabük. For example, the statement regarding 'inequality and injustice' -'everyone should have a right to free health and education'- was supported by majority of the workers in the survey conducted. In a scale of 1 to 5, the average of workers' total answers was a high rate as 4.1 in the survey. However, there was almost no interest in the statements regarding politics or their representations. As Özüğurlu emphasized through his study on workers in Denizli, "knowing that they are a different social group due to their interests, they are open to be corporatist and paternalist" (2005: 226), which was also true for last generation workers in Karabük. Though corporatist and paternalist channels were able to keep up with the changes, it was no longer effective as it did before. Furthermore, benefiting from these channels and the expectations were also quite different in the new period. It was more difficult to 'involve the workers in such channels easily' in the new consumption era and at this level of satisfaction in this era. Though the effect of the paternalistic and corporatist bonds continued, it was really hard to 'satisfy' the workers in the scope of the features of the new era. Talat Usta, a young worker, laid emphasis on interesting issues in this regard:

...Well, nobody does something for nothing, not that kind of a thing for the common good, never in business. For example, why were we employed as permanent workers? Because Yolbulan got stuck, and the company and the union too...But the wage is still low...Though no one would ask to sacrifice for ever just because they got you a job or something...Those who got to be permanent started to work, and showed humility, but would these fellows not want to lead a better life? This is not a matter of accepting or objecting. I also do not believe that the workers would gather for the struggle; it just happens at the eleventh hour since everyone just minds their own business... The older generations used to get some sugar, flour, and butter; a shirt and a jacket for a lifetime...Now my son would not accept if I offered those to

him. Money goes so fast, unlike old times. You can't convince a 4-year-old child for some things...

Today, the workers' 'reference' points have been going through very big changes. The tension between expectations and 'real life' has not been easy for the system to eliminate in the new consumption era. Considering precarity surrounding the workers, there is a completely confusing issue. There are still non-union contract workers in Kardemir by 2015. After overcoming the crisis of venue in Çelik-İş, the contract workers began to work as in old times again. precarity is not only quite common in 'service industry' but also in metal industry, which is considered one of the most significant industrial sectors. The research of International Metalworkers Federation with 52 affiliated unions worldwide specified that it was believed precarity increased by 91 percent in metal sector. 91 percent of authorities of 52 unions said yes in reply to the question "Do the workers in your county feel less secure because of changing employment relationships?" (Birleşik Metal, 2008b: 12).

It is possible to see various results of precarity that exist among not only the contract workers but also the permanent employees in Karabük today. The transforming power of the factory is no longer a major matter highlighted by the workers. Quitting working in the sector and even considering leaving the city was fairly common among the last generation workers. In fact, these and other features are the situations that trigger changes in the post-2012 Çelik-İş Union. Sustaining 'the union circle' only seems possible with an approach that takes the workers' problems into consideration and becoming relatively independent from the employer. The tradition of workers 'response' for looking after the

political process continues. It was noted that the workers discussed a local issue associating the national political areas in many meetings.

7.6. Conclusion

The distinctive privatization led to a 'union' employing 'precarious' workers and workers who owned the shares of factory but could not get their wages. After experiencing the distinctive privatization, during the developments, the workers who engaged in serious sacrifices in the most troubled period of factory lost their total weight on the business. The situation of workers who had to sell out their shares during the economic crisis and various conflicts and tensions arising in the union caused the mentioned situation. 'Precarious' workers seemed to have become a serious reality for the factory in the 2000s. Various political connections over time caused the factory to become de facto property of three families, as the general logic of capitalism functions, and working relations after 2000s became quite disadvantageous for the workers in Turkey as well as the workers around the world. Along with the result of the problems and tensions in 2001, the process of authority struggles between the two unions in 2010 simply divided not only the workers of the factory but also the city into two.

The power struggle between the unions of the Karabük Demir Çelik factory, which became institutionalized in the 2000s embodying 'precarious' workers as well, caused some 'precarious' workers to be employed permanently while many others were dismissed. Strike of 1989 was another turning point for Karabük working class for the power struggle between the unions in Karabük in 2010 after the resistance against privatization in 1994-1995.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The thesis attempted to study both the factory and the daily 'life' with a worker-centered approach through different generation workers working at a factory from the beginning. As the period after the opening of the factory in 1939 laid the foundations of Karabük. This new city became the cradle for the workers of Turkey's first investment in heavy industry. The 'entrapped' status as Berkes (2003: 429) specifically stated while discussing the modernization of Turkey and 'depressions' happened to be the case in Karabük in particular. Whereas the city and the working class were becoming the product of 'radical modernization' and this approach also became a structure where tension rose for the city and the class. This setting included important developments in terms of working-class identity and the politics. The factory and the city established 'forcedly' on the basis of military reasons also received a working class that came into existence 'forcedly'.

Table 8 : Generations and Specialities

Generations	Period	Specialities	Time/Space/Sensation
First Generation	Statist, founder	First generation, non-stable, semi-enforcement	L o c a l
Second Generation	Import substitute industrialization	Stable, public worker	National
Third Generation	Export-based	Precarious	International

Karabük and Iron and Steel Works are actually a phenomenon that draws Turkey's attention from the beginning. First of all, the business that was Turkey's first investment in heavy industry and the process of formation of almost a new city has an important symbolic value for the Republic. Especially an increasing number of studies in the early 1960s that belong to social sciences based on Karabük are quite remarkable. However, these studies are based on 'the business'. There were quite few studies based on the working class in the history of the factory that was referred once more in the fields of social sciences after the privatization process in 1995 and in the development process of the city. Getting to know the working life and the factory with the approach of National Factory Regime, the first generation workers' 'learning' has gone to Union's 'owning' the factory for a period of time during the process. There is a whole story with lots of elements including tension of Turkey's modernization, politics, stock market, and capitalism in this process. As considered 'Germany of Turkey' from 1960s to 1980s, Karabük and factory-based social life in the city, 'when going down' in 1980s, perhaps seemed 'temporary' for many workers in those days. The story of Karabük workers contains a long historical process in the background including the National Factory of the Regime, import substitutions, the social impacts of public investments in Turkey on Anatolian cities and towns, export-led economic model, privatization and globalization (the stock market that is always the 'center' foundation of capitalism). It definitely includes unionization, its development process, and its limitations in Turkey's case as well. 'Politics' for both working class and social change in Karabük example occupy a remarkable place for almost all historical periods. In fact, that the military and political choices replaced 'economic rationality' since the

establishment of factory was a reality, which emerged in almost every critical period. DP's coming into power in 1950 was actually a fundamental matter in order to form a union in the factory. While 1960 military intervention was losing its effect, ensured by AP in power, the union in Karabük left Türkiye Maden-İş. The end of the privatization process was accomplished with the formula defined in the 'political' field. When the union in Karabük chose to become a part of Hak-İş Confederation in 1991, there were, in fact, different political power matters and underlying concerns. Studying the historical bases from a working class based perspective in all these processes and great story seems quite necessary and so difficult.

The data mainly discussed in this study resulted from the interviews with three generations of factory workers who worked there since its formation. In the meantime, these processes revealed significant advantages for the flow of the study for establishing cause and effect relationship in the historical development process. While examining a historical period or 'social reality', the frozen 'moments' just like a 'snapshot' actually contain serious limitations. To continue the metaphor, it can be stated that 'video camera' instead of snapshot and the approaches aiming at focusing on the emergence of 'the moment' would be relatively more effective. The study aimed at evaluating the formation process of working class in Karabük and multi-dimensional interactions of a multi-input process within the effects of 'politics' in particular.

If any contribution, though just limited, of this thesis to theoretical scope is concerned, it can be said that this contribution comes along through the attempts to unite some approaches in literature. When discussing historical approach in the formation of the

working class E. P. Thompson claimed as an important input, the emphasis on 'originality' in terms of studied period, geography, or space as he stated (1991; 1963) in many cases was taken into consideration. The different layers derived from Katznelson's (1986) attempts to put Thompson's approach into a more applicable and comparable form in terms of social sciences are considered quite significant for this study. For example, the construct in regard to the interviews that make up the field data of the study and composing the chapters of the study was tried to be developed within the mentioned 'layers'.

It also reveals the realities with very different level of development and underdevelopment. In Turkey's case, the process of 'modernization' itself and even the effects of politics are very important. Although some 'universal' tendencies and directions emerged in terms of formation of working class identity and development, it should not be ignored that they reveal different results in different geographies. Katznelson (1986) and et al highlighted this point and the approach was mainly shaped by social structures of developed Western or Northern countries. Bayat's discussions regarding characteristics of non-Western' social opposition seem quite valuable. It is considered to be quite important to employ Bourdieu's approach that tries to overcome 'subject' and 'structure' matter and provides noteworthy opportunities for researchers to evaluate the field data during the study concerning all these discussions. In fact, the 'subject' and 'structure' is a matter that occupies a major place in all social science discussions. Therefore, it is crucial to come up with theoretical instruments that are neither too macro nor too micro with unnecessary details, but 'moderate' instruments in this regard. Bourdieu's 'habitus', multi-dimensional 'capital' and 'field'

conceptualizations especially are very valuable in this regard. Moreover, Scott's (1990) hidden transcripts in which he focuses on relationship between 'power' and 'the oppressed' have been utilized in the study. While studying the processes in Karabük solely through 'official resistance' would mean to lead serious limitations, that the 'resistance' which would become public eventually has been rising in different forms for a long while as Scott's approach reminded seems very important.

The study also aims at minding a methodological approach in parallel with the general theoretical approach. Accordingly, while the interviews made with different generations workers become comparable in a similar manner, it is attempted to develop instruments that reveal the workers' specific conditions from each period. For example, a survey was conducted to understand particularly last generation workers' tendencies in general whereas in-depth interviews conducted with the first generation workers showed similar characteristics to 'oral history' approach. When it was aimed to 'compare' different generations in focus group study, the differences between the different generations could be observed more clearly thanks to the focus group study. As the first generations workers become 'the victims' in every aspect, which would be the heritage for the future generations, the working life becoming relatively more systematic in 1963 revealed a different reality for the middle generation workers. The advantages and disadvantages during the formation of class identity determine the opportunities and potentials for the next period. In 1989 the workers who organized a 137-day strike were able to force the political power into an alternative privatization option in 1995 to stand out the decision of closing the factory through their experiences. All these led to a 'union' that owned the business at the end of the 1990s, and then the rules and reality of 'capitalism'

brought a period to an end. While last generation workers' 'job-esteem' and 'self-confidence' were similar to the first generation workers in terms of some limitations, they also seem quite specific in many respects.

It could be considered as a serious handicap for the study that the studies which tried to deal with the city, the factory, and the class identity in a working class-centered manner were not quite widespread in Turkey. It is exciting to see that the number of the studies done in this field in the last decade is increasing though. These studies also seem to employ a more dynamic approach than in the past. As Geniş said, although the studies of the earlier period were limited to union movement and event compilation, mostly chronological (2006: 232), today the present approach is quite diversified and becomes dynamic. This could be considered as a must in a way. For example, when history of the working class in Karabük was examined only in terms of history of official union or developments, the data obtained would be quite limited. Besides, it is not an easy process to hear the workers' 'voices' or to reveal their mental maps at all. Discussion lasts in literature for more advanced studies on this subject. It is a matter of limitation for this thesis in this regard as well. In addition, since the time period of the study is quite long, it is possible to mention various limitations caused by this period.

Furthermore, it could be possible to develop this study within the framework of 'grounded theory' as Kasapoğlu recently pointed out in Turkey. Constructing of field study in advance with 'grounded theory' (Kasapoğlu, 2015: 16) that is for 'carrying out the data collection and analysis process together', 'induction' of the collected field data, and developing a 'theory' as a result of this

process could be noted to offer serious opportunities for the study. It could have been considered to utilize this approach that provides different possibilities from standard qualitative research for this study as well. However, the field study part of this research has been strengthened relatively with some 'ethnographic' features and by trying to diversify the research methods.

The fear-based 'obedience' of the first generation workers in Karabük and limited opportunities to improve their position pointed out a potential working class that forms the 'strong' union on the surface that does not actually have that strong ground in import substitution period. Since 1980 ending the losses in wages especially became possible when the impacts of coup started to fade away in 1989, and the workers in Karabük have reached an important threshold in terms of organization by advocating alternative forms of privatization against the factory's closure decision. Although the only alternative union opportunity available to workers in town and country turned to be protested by the workers, it is a fact that the union with a not-so-bright structure in terms of historic interests of the working class has existed throughout the history and this points to an important reflection of the reality in both Turkey and Karabük. In these rapid and painful times, members of the working class and the institutions were far from having the foundation and arrangements that could meet the processes. However, when the harsh rules of 'capitalism' became more dominated in the factory and the city in 2000s, this also indicated end of an era for labour union. However, the discussions of the period had never been adequate to embrace the new workers of new period entirely and to provide alternatives to the characteristics of the new era. The move from being public labour to precarity since 2000s brought quite different interpretations for

the future to mind and especially indicated that the earlier structures bore quite many limitations for workers.

The new period we are living in is 'quite new' on the one hand and 'old enough to be described easily' on the other hand. This is an important matter for assessment of the political field and including politics into the discussions. Only defining channels of mutual paternalism cannot explain the importance of politics for the workers and government. First of all, politics are very important in terms of 'envisaging'. E. P. Thompson's evaluations on the British working class today holds an important place for critical social sciences in Turkey and the world, and 'cultural space' is put into perspective in terms of originality of approach. Although Thompson draws attention to the importance of 'Jacobinism' in his review of the period and the country, it is not generally the focus. However, Thompson states in many studies that Jacobinism effect and utopian socialist approaches are behind the first working class organizations. In fact, this discussion is a quite fundamental and provocative one. A strong alternative political envisaging and a political approach that 'fits into the spirit of time' are fairly basic in terms of development and dynamics of the class. It also seems hard to evaluate discussions of precarious labour as 'quantitative' changes which could be ignored nowadays. Reflections of social change in terms of working class and labourers in general led to new and daring discussions in many respects. Even today, the existence of certain characteristics of 'precarious' workers in a category described as 'precariat' perhaps signifies this case in the heavy industry. Political envisaging of a new era seems to be shaped by data and the spirit of the period. In some cases even beyond the political influence, it may be necessary to start new and different discussions for workers and the oppressed groups

today in this 'shaping' matter. In this respect, Negri and Hardt's discussions of 'multitude' are quite remarkable (see. 2004).

The precarity issue today addresses a situation beyond the uncertainty of business conditions. Last generation workers, working in such a major branch of industry of modern times as iron and steel industry, have negative feelings for the job and themselves, which does not only arise from just ordinary negative working conditions. Comparing with the previous generations, a more 'universal' worker profile with the contribution of communication technologies of our age and yet a more 'local' one in terms of use of local political channels as a precaution taken for precarity appears less likely to define himself through the job and working life than in previous periods. Besides, it is necessary to say that today's capitalism has serious limitations in giving the workers their dreams and satisfying them. Compared with previous generations, last generation workers who have the least job and life satisfaction in general experienced the reality of precarity on the one hand, and have different perspective for precarity of bygone era on the other hand. It is also important to note that last generations workers do not have a positive approach or define the old times as 'good old days'. New generation's commitment problem is not only about 'the factory'. In fact, this case also appears to have the power to reveal different potentials compared to the previous period. The new generation workers who appear to be more inclined to 'abandon' the reality that they live in and utter 'revolt' more often in many respects emphasize conservative 'fatalism' in some ways, and this actually seems like a periodic tool of 'protection'.

Today we need more worker-centered studies and the studies that

focus on their mental map. It seems necessary and possible to carry out more detailed studies on workers' stories in Karabük in the historical process by focusing on the periods. Karabük that is like a laboratory in the view of the political and economic history of Turkey contains rich data for similar studies.

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FORM

(Semi-Constructed Interview Form Used For Interviews)

- 1-) Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? İşe ne zaman, niçin, nasıl başladınız?
- 2-) Kendinizi bir fabrika işçisi olarak nasıl tanımlarsınız? Fabrika sizin için ne ifade ediyor/ediyordu? Çalışma yaşamına ilişkin aktaracaklarınız nelerdir?
- 3-) Karabük'te gündelik hayatta işçilerin rolü nedir? Kent hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- 4-) Diğer işçilerle ilişkileriniz dahil olmak üzere geçmişten bugüne işçilere ve fabrikaya nasıl bakıyorsunuz?
- 5-) Özelleştirme ne getirdi, ne götürdü?
- 6-) Sizce işçi sınıfı nedir? Aktif olarak sendikal çalışmalara katıldınız mı/katılıyor musunuz? Sendika ve sendikalar üzerene ne düşünüyorsunuz?
-- Yerel
--Ulusal
--Uluslararası
- 7-) İşçi kimliği sizin toplam kimliğinizde nasıl bir yer tutuyor?
- 8-) Siyasete genel olarak bakışınız nedir? Herhangi bir dernek, parti vs. üyeliğiniz var mı?

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire (Survey Form)

Anket Formu (Survey Form)

S1. Cinsiyetiniz 1 () Erkek 2 () Kadın

S2. Doğum tarihiniz (yıl)

S3. Medeni durumunuz

- 1 () Evli (yalnız resmi nikahlı) 4 () Bekar
2 () Evli (yalnız dini nikahlı) 5 () Dul (boşanmış)
3 () Evli (hem resmi, hem dini nikahlı) 6 () Dul (eşini kaybetmiş)

Yalnız bekara sorulacak:

S4. Kazancınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

- 1 () Bir kısmını aileme veriyorum 3 () Bir kısmını bankada veya elde biriktiriyorum
2 () Tümünü kendim harcıyorum 4 () Diğer
(.....)

S5. Eğitim düzeyiniz

- 1 () Okuma-yazma bilmiyor 4 () Düz lise mezunu
2 () Diplomasız okur-yazar 5 () Meslek lisesi mezunu
3 () İlköğretim mezunu (ilk ve orta okul mezunu) 6 () İmam Hatip Lisesi mezunu
7 () Yüksek okul / üniversite mezunu

S6. Buranın yerlisi misiniz? 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

Yanıtınız Hayır ise:

S6.A. Memleketiniz (il:.....)

S6.B. Buraya ne zaman göç ettiniz? yılında.

S6.C. Neden göç ettiniz?

- 1 () İş-geçim sıkıntısı 4 () Aile seçimi / akraba bağı
2 () Tayin / nakil 5 () Çocukların eğitimi
3 () Kent yaşamı iyi 6 () Güvenlik / asayiş 7 ()
Başka

S7. Babanızın mesleği nedir?.....

S8. Köyde malınız-mülkünüz var mı?

- 1 () Var 2 () Yok 3 () Var, ancak ciddi bir gelir getirmiyor

S9. Köyden (kışlık) erzak gelir mi? 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

S10. Hane üyelerinden köydeki işlerde çalışanlar oluyor mu?

- 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

S11. Evde kaç kişi yaşıyor? (son altı aydır evde sürekli yaşayanların sayısı)

S12. Çocuğunuz var mı, sayısı? Var çocuk 0= Yok ()

S13. Düzenli ve sürekli olmasa da evde aile bütçesine kaç kişi katkıda bulunuyor? kişi.

S14. Ayda ev bütçesine giren toplam para miktarını belirtir misiniz?..... TL.

S15. Hanenin temel geçim kaynakları nelerdir? (*Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir.*)

- 1 () Ücret / maaş 5 () Ticari gelir
2 () Yetiştirilen tarım ürünlerinin satışı 6 () Küçük çaplı düzensiz ticari gelir (işportacılık vb.)
3 () Kira geliri 7 () Düzensiz ücret
4 () Yardımlar (akraba, komşu, belediye, 8 () Diğer
(.....)
kaymakamlık yardımları gibi)

S15. Hanede banka kartı veya kredi kartı olan var mı?

- 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

S16. İş dışında vaktinizi en çok nerede geçirirsiniz?

- 1 () Evde 2 () Komşu / arkadaş/ akrabada 3 () Kahvehanede
4 () Sokakta 5 () Başka

S17. Alkol kullanıyor musunuz?

- 1 () Evet , haftada 4-5 kez veya her gün 2 () Evet, haftada 1-2 kez
3 () Evet, ayda birkaç kez 4 () Birkaç ayda bir kez
5 () Hayır

S18. Geçinebilmek için son yıllarda neler yapıyorsunuz? Ne tür önlemler alıyorsunuz? Kısaca belirtir misiniz?

(*Daha ucuz bir eve/akrabaların yanına taşındık/Daha ucuz mal satın alıyoruz/Öğün sayısını azalttık / Yiyecekten kısıyoruz/Bahçede sebze yetiştiriyoruz/Çocuğu okuldan aldık/Evde kışlık yiyecek hazırlıyoruz/Evde eli iş tutan herkes çalışmaya başladı/Satmak için evde elişi yapıyoruz/İşte çalışan ek iş yapmaya başladı/Dini bayramlarda fitre alıyoruz/Bazı mallarımızı sattık / satışa çıkardık/Köyden kuru erzak geliyor/Akrabalar para gönderiyor/Yakacak topluyoruz, vb.)*

.....
.....
.....
.....

S19. Hayatınız boyunca kaç defa sinemaya gittiniz?

- 1 () Hiç gitmedim 2 () 1-4 kere gittim 3 () 5-15 kere gittim 4 ()
) Daha fazla gittim

S20. Hayatınızdaki en önemli sorun nedir?.....

- S21. Kimin yerinde olmak isterdiniz?
- S22. Sahip olmayı hayal ettiğiniz ilk şey nedir?.....
- S23. Fabrikada hangi birimde çalıştınız/çalışıyorsunuz?.....
- S24. Fabrikada göreviniz ne idi/nedir?
1 () Postabaşı 2 () Ustabaşı 3 () Düz İşçi 4 () Tekniker 5 () Diğer
- S25. Çalıştığınız işi değiştirmek ister misiniz?
1 () Evet (Neden?)
- S27. İşyerinde çalışanların birbirleriyle ilişkisi nasıldır?
1. () Sık sık kavga olur 2. () Herkesin kendi grupları vardır
3 () Herkes birbiriyle arkadaştır 4 () Başka (.....)
- S28. Sizin işyerinizde çalışanlar arasındaki gruplaşmalar genellikle neye göre olur?
1. () Hemşericilik 2. () Etnik köken 3. () Mezhep
4. () Siyasal tutum 5. () Cinsiyet 6. () Çalıştığı kısma göre 7 () Olmaz
- S29. Hangi sendikaya üyesiniz?
1 () Çelik-İş 2 () Türk-Metal 3 () Diğer 4 () Üye değilim
- S30. Üye iseniz sendikanızı başarılı, verimli, olumlu buluyor musunuz ?
1 () Evet 2 () Hayır 3 () Fikrim yok
- S31. Sendikal faaliyetlere katılımınız ne düzeydeydi/düzeydedir?
1 () Çok sık katılıyorum/katılırdım 2 () Katılıyorum/katılırdım 3 () Çok nadir katılıyorum/katılırdım
4 () Hiç katılmam/katılmazdım
- S32. Çalışma yaşamınız boyunca sizin çalıştığınız işyerlerinde aşağıdaki toplu işçi hareketlerinden hangileri gerçekleşti?
Türü Sayısı
1 () Yasal grev
2 () İş bırakma
3 () İş yavaşlatma
4 () Yemek boykotu
5 () Basın açıklaması, yürüyüş
6 () Diğer (belirtiniz)
.....
- S33. En son genel seçimlerde hangi partiye oy verdiniz?.....

1 () AKP 2 () CHP 3 () MHP 4 () Diğer 5 () Oy vermedi

S34. Yarın bir seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirsiniz?

1 () AKP 2 () CHP 3 () MHP 4 () Diğer 5 () Oy vermez

S35. İşinizin size ciddi bir kariyer imkanı sunduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

S36. Kendinizi siyasi görüş açısından nasıl tanımlarsınız?.....

S37. Fabrikanın özelleştirilmesi durumuna ilişkin ne düşünüyorsunuz? İşçilerin ve sendikanın pay sahibi olması çalışma hayatına olumlu yansıdı mı/yansıyor mu?.....

.....
.....

Aşağıdaki ifadelere 1'den 5'e kadar olan düzeyde katılma derecenizi bildiriniz...(1 en düşük, 5 en yüksek)

S38. Bir işyerinin işçisi diğer işyerinin işçisinin derdinden anlamaz, her işçinin derdi kendine.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S39. "Yağmur yoksulun tarlasına,zenginin ocağına yağsın"

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S40. Zenginle yoksul sadece Allah'ın huzurunda eşitlenir; sosyal hayatta eşitlik olmaz.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S41. Parlamento beni temsil ediyor ve benim çıkarlarımı korumaya çalışıyor.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S42. Televizyon ve gazetelerdeki haber ve yorumlar, güçlülerin çıkarlarına göre düzenleniyor.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S43. Güçlü olan haksız da olsa, 'köprüyü geçene kadar ayıya dayı' diyeceksin.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S44. Kendimi hemşehrim olan üst sınıf birinden çok, hemşehrim olmayan işçiye yakın hissederim.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S45. Kendimi Türkiyeli bir zengin-işadamı üst sınıf mensubundan çok, farklı bir ülkedeki işçiye yakın hissederim.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S46. Herkesin ücretsiz eğitim, sağlık hakkı olmalıdır.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S47. Karabük'teki özelleştirme uygulamasını başarılı buluyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S48. Genel olarak özelleştirmelere destek veriyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S49. Son yıllarda ülkemizde işçilerin genel olarak haklarını daha fazla aldıklarını düşünüyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S50. Son yıllarda dünyada işçilerin genel olarak haklarını daha fazla aldıklarını düşünüyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S51. İşçiler haklarını korumak ve genişletmek istiyorlarsa mutlaka 'mücadele' etmelidirler.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S52. Genel olarak, devlet, zengin ve üst sınıflardan yanadır.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S53. Beni kendi çıkarım ve ailem dışında Bir şey ilgilendirmez.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S54. Karabük'te ileride herşeyin işçiler açısından daha iyi olacağını düşünüyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S55. Türkiye'de ileride herşeyin işçiler açısından daha iyi olacağını düşünüyorum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

S56. İşçi eylemlerini duyduğumda veya gördüğümde, işçilerin inancına, görüşüne, memleketine bakmaksızın işçilerden yana olurum.

1 -----2-----3-----4-----5

APPENDIX C

TÜRKÇE ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DE BİR ÇELİK KENTİNDE İŞÇİ SINIFININ OLUŞUMU: KAMU SEKTÖRÜNDEN ÖZEL SEKTÖRE İŞÇİLERİN ÖYKÜSÜ

Bu çalışma Karabük Demir - Çelik Fabrikaları ekseninde Karabük'te işçi sınıfının oluşum süreçlerine odaklanmıştır. Fabrikanın açıldığı 1939 yılından çalışmanın gerçekleştirildiği 2014'e kadar geçen dönem üzerinden, farklı kuşaklardan işçilerle yapılan görüşmeler temelinde Karabük'te işçi sınıfının oluşum süreci incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Temel olarak kuruluşundan bu yana geçen süreç üç temel zaman dilimine ayrılarak, farklı jenerasyondan işçilerin deneyimleri üzerinden Karabük'teki gelişmeler işçilerin gözünden değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Toplamda 57 işçiyle derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşülen işçilerin ağırlıklı kısmı emekli işçilerdir. Son kuşak işçileri temsilen derinlemesine görüşmenin yanında 109 işçiye işçilerin güncel eğilim ve değerlendirmelerine odaklanan anket uygulaması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunun yanında toplamda 7 işçinin katıldığı ve üç farklı kuşaktan işçilerin dahil olduğu bir odak grup çalışması yapılarak, farklı işçilerin değerlendirmeleri, deneyimleri ve birikimleri odak grup çalışması vasıtasıyla etkileşimli olarak ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın alan araştırması kısmı yaklaşık iki yıllık bir döneme yayılmıştır.

Fabrika işçiliği ve işçileri temel alınsa da çalışmada özellikle kentsel, siyasal ve sendikal gelişmeler tartışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Araştırmanın merkezinde farklı kuşaklardan oluşan işçilerin bulunması ve çalışmanın uzun bir tarihsel aralığı kapsamaması nedeniyle çalışmanın yapısı 'kronolojik' bir şekilde dizayn edilmiştir.

Bu durum aynı zamanda işçiler merkezli bir tarihsel süreç anlatımına da olanak sağlamıştır. Son yıllarda akademide işçi sınıfı temelli araştırmalar da bir canlanma görülse de, ülkemizdeki özgün işçi sınıfı tarihselliği ve birikiminin yeterince değerlendirilmediği düşünülebilir. Bu anlamda bu çalışma aynı zamanda bu alana mütevazı bir katkı sunmayı hedeflemektedir. Türkiye'nin ilk ağır sanayi yatırımı olan Karabük Demir - Çelik Fabrikaları günümüze kadar yaklaşık 80 yıllık faaliyet döneminde bir kenti de yaratmıştır. Bunun yanında kentin işçi sınıfı fabrikanın hikayesiyle beraber de olsa aynı zamanda kendine özgü bir hikayeye de sahip olmuştur. Karabük'te sendikacılık sürecindeki deneyimler, 1989'da Türkiye'de ve dünyada ses getiren 137 Günlük Grev, 1994-1995 sürecinde özelleştirme karşıtı direniş, 1995 sonrasında 'sendikanın ve işçilerin' sahibi oldukları fabrika örnekleri Karabük özelindeki dikkat çekici işçi sınıfı deneyimlerinin önemli satır başlarıdır. İşçilere ve bölge halkına 'satılan' fabrika zaman içerisinde az sayıdaki sermaye grubunun fiilen eline geçerken, bu süreçlerde borsanın rolü ve genel olarak 'kapitalizmin' deoğası dikkatleri çekmektedir. Fabrikanın kuruluşundan bu yana hem kent hem de kentin işçileri oldukça büyük deneyim ve evrensel süreçleri kendi yerellikleri çerçevesinde yaşamışlardır. Bu açıdan Karabük sadece 'özgün' değil, aynı zamanda sosyal bilimler açısından oldukça 'zengin' birikime sahip bir örnek olarak dikkat çekmektedir.

İşçi Sınıfına Bakmak

Çalışmada E.P. Thompson, Katznelson, Bourdieu, Bayat ve Scott gibi düşünürlerin çalışmalarından ve yaklaşımlarından yararlanılmıştır. Thompson'un 'sınıf oluşumu' tartışması önemsenirken, yaklaşımın özellikle Batı dışı toplumlardaki örnekler üzerinde nasıl kullanılabileceği üzerinde durulmuştur. Ayrıca

Katznelson'un Thompson'un yaklaşımını 'karşılaştırılabilir' hale getirme çabası ve bir açıdan sistemleştirip yapılaştırmaya çalışması da önemsenmiştir. Buna karşın her iki düşünürün çalışmalarının merkezinde Batı-Kuzey toplumsal yapılarının olduğunu da belirtmek gerekmektedir. Türkiye gibi bir ülke deneyiminin özgünlükleri açısından bu durumun akılda tutulması oldukça önemli gözükmektedir. İşçi sınıfının oluşum süreçlerinde hem evrensel ortaklaşmalar, hem yerelliklerde yaşanan özgünlüklerin dinamik bir çerçevede ele alınması gerekmektedir.

Çalışma diğer yandan Karabük özelindeki işçilerin sendikal ve siyasal hikayelerine özellikle eğilmeye çalışmıştır. Türkiye'de genel olarak 'siyasal olanın' belirgin etkisi üzerine bu açıdan ciddi veriler ve dikkat çekici örnekler bulunabilmiştir. Bu durum fabrika yerinin seçiminden, ilk işçi örgütlenmelerinin 'siyasal' alan üzerinden gerçekleşmesine, ilk işçi eylemlerinin arka planında siyasal hesaplaşmaların görülmesine kadar uzatılabilir. Bunun yanında çalışmada sendikal süreç ve tarihsel gelişmeler kronolojik bir sıralamayla verilerek her döneme ayrı bir şekilde odaklanılabilmek amacı güdülmüştür.

Karabük'ün Doğuşu

Karabük'ün doğuşuna yol açan süreç aslında doğrudan 'kömür' ile ilgilidir. Zonguldak-Ereğli bölgesindeki kömürün Ankara'ya ve oradan da Türkiye'ye geçirilebilmesi için planlanan demiryolu projesi Karabük'ü ortaya çıkaracaktır. 1926 yılında alınan karar sonucu Ankara-Ereğli arasında demiryolu yapımına başlanacaktır. Planlanan hat Ereğli-Filyos-Tefen-Karabük-Eskipazar-Çerkeş-Çankırı hattı üzerinden Ankara'ya bağlanacaktır. Projenin kendisi zamanında 'Kömüre Giden Demiryolu' olarak isimlendirilmiştir

(Yılmaz, 2011: 2). 1927 yılında başlanan demiryolu inşa çalışmaları iki merkezden başlayarak tamamlanmıştır. Birinci merkez Ankara-Sivas demiryolu hattı üzerinde bulunan, bugün Kırıkkale'nin bir beldesi olan Irmak'tan Filyos'a'ya uzanacak kısım, ikinci merkez ise Filyos'dan başlamak üzere Ereğli'ye uzanacak kısımdır. Özellikle Batıbel mevkiindeki tünel yapımı nedeniyle planlanandan bir süre geç tamamlanan demiryolu hattının iki kısmı 1935'de Eskipazar'da birleşmiş olur. Hat üzerinde bulunan bir istasyonun adı Karabük mahallesine çok yakın olduğundan Karabük ismi ilk defa Fındıkoğlu'nın deyimiyle 'Türkiye şimendüfer istasyonları' listesine girerek duyulmuştur (1962: 8). 13 haneli bir köy mahallesinden ağır sanayi kenti haline gelmesine yol açan süreçte bu demiryolu hattı ve istasyonun temel bir kilometre taşı olduğu dikkat çekmektedir. Sonraki dönemde kurulacak demir-çelik fabrikasının yeri belirlenirken elbette bu 'küçük' istasyonun karar üzerinde ciddi etkisi olacaktır.

Demir-Çelik endüstrisi bir anlamda özellikle 19. ve 20. yüzyıllarda insanlığın teknolojik anlamda ciddi atılım yaptığı dönemin önemli gelişme kriterlerinden birisi olarak öne çıktı. Demircilik, demir madeni işleme işleri ise elbette çok daha eski tarihe sahiptir. Anadolu topraklarında demircilik ile tarih Hititler'e kadar uzanabilmekte, Osmanlı döneminde özellikle Bilecik civarında öne çıkan Bilecik demir ocakları dikkat çekmektedir. Osmanlı döneminde özellikle askeri malzeme temelinde kullanılan demircilik ve demir işlemeciliği ile modern demir-çelik tesisleri arasında şüphesiz ciddi niteliksel bir fark vardır. Fakat temelinde o dönemlerden itibaren demirin işlenmesi için gerekli olan yüksek ısıyı sağlayabilecek kaynaklar demirciliğin gelişmesinde doğrudan etkilidir. Bu anlamda Karabük'te demir-çelik fabrikalarının kurulması için karar sürecinde demiryolu ile beraber 'taş kömürü' gibi yüksek

ısı potansiyeline sahip madene yakınlık seçimin yapılmasındaki en temel etkenlerden bir diğeri olacaktır.

Cumhuriyet'in kurucu kadrosunun dönemin ihtiyaçları çerçevesinde 'müdafaa' kavramını öne çıkardıkları, Cumhuriyet ve devrimlerin muhafazası için 'devletçilik' yaklaşımını uygun buldukları görülüyor. Bu pozisyon alış ve 'devletçi' iktisadi uygulamaların başlangıç yılları Kadrocular olarak bilinen Kadro Dergisi'nde yazıları çıkan Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin gibi isimlerin de ön plana çıktıkları bir dönemdir. İnönü'nün, Recep Peker'in yazılarının çıktığı, dönemin ileri gelen isimleriyle iletişim halinde olan yayın bir anlamda 'devletçilik' sürecinin 'yarı resmi' yayın organı gibidir. Kapitalizm ve sosyalizm arası bir yolu savunan bu isimlerin neredeyse tamamı önceki dönemlerde 'komünist' hareketlerle temas içinde olmuşlardır. Sanayi yatırımları, devletçiliğin ve kalkınma planlarının önemi gibi konularda çıkan yazıların yayınlandığı dergi dönem için önemli bir hegemonyaya sahiptir. Uluslararası konjunktürün de etkisiyle girilen bu arayış döneminde 'kamucu', 'devletçi' anlayış ön plana çıkacaktır. Zaten zamanın 'ruhu' da bu dönem için buna işaret eder, ABD'de büyük krizden sonra 'liberalizm'e alternatif arayışları yanında, Avrupa'da o dönem için güçlü korporatist devlet anlayışları ve Sovyetler Birliği'nde kamu kontrolündeki ekonomi örnekleri dönemin iklimini yansıtmaları açısından önemlidir. Zaten özel sermaye açısından yeterli birikimi olmadığı düşünülen ülke için kalkınma sorunsalı 'devletçilik' ve kamu eliyle yapılan yatırımlarla gerçekleştirilecektir. 'Devletçilik' ilkesinin resmi olarak 1931 yılında devletin ideoloji gelmesi sonrası 1932 yılında Sovyet heyetinin Türkiye ziyareti demir-çelik fabrikalarının oluşturulması adına önem arzeder.

Demir-çelik sanayinin kurulacağı dönemde öncelikle 'demir cevherinin' ithal edilmesi üzerinde durulmuştur. Zamanında bilinen ve işletilen sınırlı sayıdaki maden yatağından ulaşım da o dönem için oldukça zor ve maliyetlidir. Bunun yerine uluslararası pazardan deniz yoluyla cevherlerin ithali öncelikle kabul görmüştür. Zaten farklı ülkelerden gelen uzmanların hazırladığı raporlar da bu doğrultudadır. Bir açıdan bu durum önemli bir tercih sıkıntısına da yol açacaktır. Demir cevherinin ithali için sahile yakın bölgeler önemliken, kömür madenlerine yakınlık açısından Batı Karadeniz bölgesi öne çıkarken, askeri endişeler dolayısıyla da bu bölgenin sahilden uzak ve dönemin 'askeri bilgisi' çerçevesinde 'güvenli' sayılacak bir alan arayışı söz konusudur. Tümertekin, Nacil Şükün, Prof. Granigg, A. Özeken ve A. Yazman'ın çalışma ve raporlarından yola çıkarak Karabük'ün demir sanayi yeri olarak belirlenmesinde beş önemli kriteri şöyle sıralamaktadır (1954: 223-224):

- a-) Maden kömürü havzalarına yakınlık,
- b-) Demiryolu güzergahında oluşu,
- c-) Mıntıkanın işçi iskanına çok müsait oluşu,
- d-) Jeolojik bakımdan ağır endüstri kurulmasına elverişli oluşu,
- e-) Askeri mülahazalar.

Günümüzde hala resmi olarak da kentte kutlanan 3 Nisan gününün Karabük'ün kuruluş öyküsünün başladığı gün olarak kabul edilmesi yanlış olmayacaktır. 3 Nisan 1937'de zamanın Başvekili (Başbakan) M. İsmet İnönü tarafından temelleri atılan tesisler için dönemin gazetelerinde oldukça geniş yer ayrılmıştır. Yaklaşık bir hafta boyunca bu gelişmeyle ilgili ulusal basında oldukça fazla haber yer almıştır.

Karabük'teki fabrika açıldığından itibaren hem kalifiye eleman hem

de sürekliliği olan işgücü açısından ciddi sıkıntılarla karşılaşmıştır. Bu durum ancak 1950'lere gelindiğinde belli bir düzene oturmuş olacaktır. Mühendis kadroları fabrikanın kuruluş sürecinde genel olarak yabancılardan oluşacaktır. Bunun yanında kalifiye işçiler Karabük ve çevre yerleşimlerden gelen işçiler değil genellikle göç eden işçilerden oluşmuştur. Bu durum fabrika ve işçi sınıfı deneyimleri açısından da özel ve özgün bir durum olacaktır. Yüksek işçi devrinin sadece işletmeler açısından değil işçiler açısından da ciddi bir sorun olduğu belirtilmiştir. Özellikle ağır sanayi ve maden gibi iş kollarında üretimin etkilenmesi yanında iş güvenliği konusunda da ciddi olumsuzluklarına dikkat çekilir. 'Köylü-işçi' kavramını tutarlı bir biçimde ilk kullanan isimlerden olan Nusret Ekin, işçi devrinin yüksekliğinin 1950'ler itibariyle ana problemlerden birisi olduğunu belirtir. Buna ilişkin oluşturulabilecek pozitif ve negatif tedbirler de dahil olmak üzere, konu hakkında ilk defa detaylı çalışan isimlerden birisi olarak dikkat çeker (bkz. Ekin, 1959). Genelde işten ayrılmayı göze alan işçiler ilk dönemlerde hep 'yerli' işçiler olmuştur. Sonuçta bölgeye ülkenin farklı yerlerinden gelen işçiler için enerjilerinin tamamını fabrikaya vermekten başka çare bulunmamakta, oysa 'köylü' işçiler için fabrika bir şekilde 'ek gelir' olarak da görülebilmektedir. Bu sürecin sonraki dönemlerde de farklı şekilde devam ettiği görülmektedir. Safranbolu'nun bir köyünde doğan 'yerli işçi', fabrikanın 23 senelik çalışanı bir işçi bu süreci şu şekilde açıklamakta:

...Bizimkiler(yöre insanları) yok oralılar böyle birbirini tutuyor, yok buralılar kayırılıyor falan derler...Yav sen işini yapmazsan, ilgilenmezsen, elinin ucuyla bitsin gitsin dersin ne olacak. Doğru, fabrikada ustası, işi bileni falan genelde

Karabük'lü olmayanlar...Ama niye? Şimdi bizim buralılar köyü var ufak arazisi var adam fabrikaya geliyor ama nasıl geliyor. Yani arazi de arazi olsa ama adamın kafası ayrı yani, anlıyor musun? Kafa ayrı, şimdi o işlerde kalmadı tabi ama bizim buranın insanı yani tam işe vermedi kendisini...Bak benim çevremde böyleydi yani ondan söylüyorum, ben hep söyledim bunu yine söylüyorum....

Aynı zamanda fabrikaya kuruluşundan itibaren önemli bir işgücü arzı sağlayan kesim 'mahkum işçilerdir'. Mahkum işçi emeği kimi dönemler fabrikanın toplam işgücü içerisinde çok önemli bir paya sahip olabirmiştir.

Fabrikanın çalışanlarına sağladığı imkanların genişletilmesi 1945'den itibaren hızlanacaktır. Sosyal tesislerin inşası, prim sisteminin 1945'den itibaren uygulanması, otobüslerle sağlanan Zonguldak'la karşılaştırıldığında oldukça iyi ulaşım imkanları, yetersiz olsa da bir kısım işçiye sunulan konut imkanı, 1944 yılında zamanın 'Müessese Müdür Yardımcısı' Tayyip Arı(işçiler tarafından Tayyip Baba olarak anılmaktadır) tarafından kurulan sosyal yardım sandığı gibi çeşitli özellikler fabrikanın çekiciliğini de arttırmaktadır. Özellikle 1950'lerin başından itibaren fabrikadaki işçi devri(turnover) oranları düşmeye başlar. Kurtkan'ın belirttiğine göre 1954 yılı bu açıdan oldukça belirleyicidir, fabrikaya giren ve çıkan işçi sayıları açısından yeni giriş yapanlar lehine ciddi bir fark oluşmuştur (Kurtkan, 1963: 18). 1939 yılından itibaren işçisiyle buluşan fabrika İkinci Dünya Savaşı yıllarında 'sistemi oturtmakta' zorlansa da 1950'lerle beraber sistem oturmaya başlayacaktır.

Maden-İş Sendikası'nın 1963-1964 döneminde Karabük'teki çalışmalarının başında olan Ahmet Çehreli'nin ifadelerine göre 1939- 1950 yılları arasındaki dönemde işletmede dört farklı 'sınıf' işçi vardır. Bunlar, aylıkla çalışan nezaretçiler, (a) dereceli kalifiye işçiler, (b) dereceli kalifiye işçiler ve ehliyet istemeyen işlerde çalışan (c) dereceli vasıfsız işçilerdir (Çehreli, 1966: 145). Buna göre özellikle ilk dönemden itibaren fabrikanın sunduğu sınırlı imkanlardan yararlanma dereceleri de bu farklı gruplar temelinde olacaktır. Bunun yanında 'yerli işçiler' tartışmasız olarak son gruptaki en büyük çoğunluğu oluşturur. İlk dönem Kırıkkale Çelikhane Ünitesi'nden ve TCDD Sivas ve Eskişehir atölyelerinden getirilen 'usta' işçilerin zamanla İngiliz'lerin yönetiminde olan fabrikada etkinliklerini artırdıklarından bahseden Çehreli, zamanla ara elaman ve ustalar bazında tamamen yerli işçilerin hakimiyetinden bahseder (1966: 144). İlk yıllarda hem devlet yetkililerinin hem de fabrika yöneticilerinin ülkenin 'gözbebeği' olan bu fabrikada kendi işçisini yetiştirme ve fabrikadaki 'yabancıların' yerine yerli bir kuşağı yetiştirme çabasında oldukları görülür. Aslında fabrikadaki yabancıların sayıları çok da değildir, 1942 itibariyle 50 İngiliz ve 20 Polonyalı olmak üzere 70 yabancı uzmandan bahsedilmektedir (Kütükçüoğlu, 2012:119).

İlk dönemler fabrikada toplu işçi-işveren uyumsuzluğu 'açıktan' görülen bir durum değildir. Çehreli'nin de belirttiği gibi özellikle 1939-1950 aralığında böylesi örneklerle rastlanmaz (1966: 145). Diğer yandan 'ferdi' olarak yaşanan kimi olaylar, veya işçilerin kendi aralarında yaşadıkları problemler bir anda farklı şekiller alabilmektedir. Fabrikada ilk dönemden itibaren ücret alma şekilleri, işçiler arası nitelik farklılıkları, memurlar, mühendisler şeklinde ciddi ayrımlar da söz konusu idi. Özellikle işçi, memur ve

mühendislerin ayrımı oldukça nettir. Memur, işçi ve mühendis lokalleri ayrıdır ve herkes kendi statüsüne uygun olan lokale girebilmektedir. Kentte yapılan bu sosyal merkezlerde farklılık çok açık olarak bugün dahi izleri görülebilecek şekilde oluşturulmuştur. Memur, işçi ve mühendislerin işyerine gelirken kullandıkları araçlar da, yemekhaneler de, yaşadıkları konutlar da, gündelik hayatta boş vakitlerini geçirdikleri mekanlar da farklı örgütlenmiştir. Bu yıllardan itibaren 'işçi' kitleleri nezninde olumsuz bir izlenimin oluşmaya başladığını düşünmek mümkündür. Temsili kısıtlı, sendikal bir zemini olmayan işçiler bu çok açık hiyerarşik yaşamın en alt basamağında yer almaktadırlar. Hatta 1963 senesinde bölgeyi ziyaret eden Kurtkan o yıllar için dahi 'işçilerle münasebet konusunda' Karabük Demir Çelik İşletmeleri'nden iyi bir intiba ile ayrılmadığını belirtir (Kurtkan, 1963: 15).

Sendikanın Ortaya Çıkışı

1947 yılında kabul edilen Sendikalar Kanunu ile artık 'izin' verilen sendikalara Karabük'te rastlanmayacaktır. Ne 'müdürün odasında' kurulan kontrole dayalı bir sendika ne de 'tabandan gelişen' bir sendikal yapı Karabük'te görülmeyecektir. Fakat 1946'dan itibaren sosyal ve siyasal iklimde büyük bir değişim görülür. Özellikle DP'nin kurulup etkili olmaya başlaması, köylü ağırlıklı kitleye sahip Karabük işçileri için ciddi bir çekiciliğe sahip olacaktır. Aslında çok partili hayata geçiş 'işçiler' açısından nicel güçlerini görme anlamında çok değerli bir durum olarak göze çarpar. Hem artık bir 'oy potansiyelleri' bulunmaktaydı, hem de CHP'de 1940'ların sonundaki tartışmalarda görüldüğü gibi 'üzerine düşünülen' bir kesim olmaya başlamışlardı. 1946 sonrası dönem Aziz Çelik tarafından 'vesayetden siyasete' geçiş olarak tanımlanmıştır (bkz. Çelik, 2010). Bu geçiş Türkiye işçi sınıfı tarihi ve sınıfın oluşum

nitelikleri açısından oldukça önemlidir. Artık 'siyaset' denilen alan üzerinden 'varlığını hissedeni' bir sınıf ortaya çıkacaktır. Batı ülkelerinde işçi sınıfı hareketi süreç içerisinde kendi 'siyasal zeminlerini' farklı şekillerde oluştururken Türkiye için özellikle 'çok partili hayata' geçiş temel bir özellik olarak kendisini gösterecektir. Karabük için yüksek oranda aynı veya yakın coğrafi bölge kökenlerinden gelen işçilerin ilk sendikal girişimleri için 1950'leri beklemek gerekecektir. 'Siyasal' alan, işçiler açısından bu dönem için 'sendikal' mücadeleden önce gelecekti. Örneğin 1940'ların sonlarına doğru iyice gerilen siyasal ortamdan dolayı 'sürgün yiyen' veya 'cezalandırılan' işçiler olacaktır (Çehreli, 1966: 145-148). İşçilerin 'baskıcı' ortamı görerek tamamen 'pasif' kalmadıkları görülmektedir. Buna karşı alınan riskler 'siyasal' alan üzerinden olur. Demokrat Parti'nin özellikle 1947 sonrası Karabük'te yarattığı etki oldukça büyüktü. Siyasal alandaki tartışmalara, işyerindeki hak mücadelelerine oranla daha yatkın gözükene işçiler bir yandan elbette 'işyeri' için de konuşmuş oluyorlardı. CHP'nin 1946-1947 sonrası 'İşçi Büroları' aracılığıyla daha 'hegemonik' bir fabrika rejimi oluşturma çabaları hem Karabük'te oldukça sınırlıydı hem de bir bakıma 'iş işten geçmişti'. 'Despotik' olarak tanımlanabilecek kuruluş dönemi fabrika rejiminde 'tanınmayan' işçi bir yandan da yüksek dozlu ve keskin bir hiyerarşinin de muhatabı oluyordu. Üzerine gelen 'hızlı modernleşmeye' geleneksel tepkiler ve Dünya Savaşı koşullarında köylülere iktidar tarafından uygulanmak zorunda kalınan çeşitli düzenlemeler ve bunun doğurduğu 'sıkıntılar' üst üste binince işçiler için 'seçim' oldukça önemli bir hal alacaktı.

1950'deki değişimle beraber gerçekten Karabük'e bir hareketlenme geldiğinden bahsedilebilir. Öncelikle işçiler 'particilik' ağırlıklı sendikalarına kavuşacaklardır. Bunun yanında yerel gazeteler

yayınlanmaya başlar, köylere fabrikanın servis ağları hem arttırılır hem de geliştirilir. Bu hızlı gelişen kasaba için işçilerin yerleşim sorunu önemli bir problem olarak durmaktadır. Yalnız fabrika çalışanları değil, bölgedeki canlanmaya paralel bölgeye yerleşenler 1950'lerin başında zaten sınırlı kent planını zorlayıcı girişimlerde bulunuyorlardı. 1950 seçimleri sonrası kurulan ilk sendika sonrasında Ahmet Çehreli herhangi bir 'siyasi tesir' olmadan işçiler arasındaki anlaşmazlıklardan dolayı 'ikinci bir sendika kurulduğundan' bahseder (Çehreli, 1966: 147). Fabrikada ve sendikal süreçlerde sonraki yıllarda da oldukça etkili olacak olan 'çırak okulu' ve işçilerin bölgesel aidiyetleri bu dönemde yavaş yavaş kendisini gösterecektir. Öncelikle belirtmek gerekir ki, Karabük'te ilk işçi örgütlenmesini ortaya çıkaran karakterler 'çırak okullarından' yetişmiştir. Bunun yanında uzak bölgelerden göçle gelen işçilerin, Karabük'ün köylerinde yaşayan işçilere oranla sendikal süreçlerde ve işyerindeki çalışma hayatında daha fazla ön plana çıktığından bahsetmek mümkün görünmektedir. 1950'de ilk kurulan sendika, İbrahim Odabaşı'nın başkanı olduğu Demir-Çelik Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası yanında 1952'de kurulan Ali Kaya'nın başkan olduğu Demir Çelik Ağır Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası arasındaki sorunlar giderilerek 1956 yılında bu iki sendika birleştirilmiştir (Kalyoncu, 2007: 115). Birleşme sonrası da birleşik sendikanın işçiler açısından tam anlamda bir temsil sağlamadığını iddia eden görüşmeciler işçiler olmuştur. Karabük'te sendikal alandaki bu benzer durumlar sürekli şekilde ilerleyen yıllarda da yaşanacaktır. Birleşme süreçleri sonrası Karadenizli-Trabzonlu Ahmet Çehreli ismi öne çıkacaktır. Türk-İş'e de üye olmuş ve temsilci gönderme hakkını kazanan sendikanın temsilcisi Ahmet Çehreli olacaktır.

Türkiye'nin Almanya'sında İşçi Olmak: 1960'lar Sonrası Karabük

1961 Anayasası ile başlayan dönem Türkiye'de sendikacılık ve emek mücadelesi anlamında oldukça hareketli yıllar olarak anılacaktır. Sendikacılar tarafından kurulan Türkiye İşçi Partisi, memurların sendikal örgütlenmesinin önünün açılması, işçi sendikalarının hareket alanlarının artması gibi noktalar bu dönemde dikkat çeker (Koç, 2010: 204-209). İthal ikameci dönemle beraber iç pazarın geliştirilmesi anlayışı da hesaba katıldığında Karabük gibi taşrada yer alan bir 'çelik kasabası'nın süreçte daha önemli hale geleceği görülebilir. Aynı zamanda işçiler açısından da yaşam koşullarının daha iyi olacağı, sendikanın etkinliğini artıracacağı, yerel siyasette işçi sendikasının ve işçilerin daha aktif olacağı bir dönem de başlamış oluyordu. Fabrikanın işçileri açısından bu dönemde bir başka önemli süreç yaşanacaktır. Fabrika açıldığında işçi teminini sağlamak üzere açılan ve uzun yıllar açık kalan Çırak Okulu 1959 yılında kapatılmıştı. 1958 yılından itibaren ise Tekniker Okulu açılmıştı. Bunun yanında 27 Mayıs sonrası dönemde Akşam Sanat Okulu adı verilen ve gelecek dönem açısından öncü işçilerin yetişmesi noktasında oldukça önemli olan okul açılmıştı. 1960'larda artık Karabük'teki fabrika kurulduğu dönemlerde işçi bulmakta zorlanan, sonraki dönemlerde işçi devamlılığı sorunuyla uğraşan bir işletme olmaktan çıkmış, bölge insanı hatta şehir dışından birçok iş arayan kişinin çalışmak istediği bir fabrikaya dönüşmeye başlamıştır. Bu aynı zamanda siyasal 'paternalizm' ve iktisadi 'işletme' arasındaki gerilimin, sendikal talepler ve bölge insanının talepleri arasındaki gerilimlerin de önemli bir sebebi olacaktır. Sonraki yıllarda Türkiye'deki kamu işletmelerinin birçoğunda görülen kimi sorunlar Karabük'te de yaşanacaktır. Bunun yanında dönemin 'Almanya'sı' olarak adlandırılan, gelir seviyesi yükselmiş, sosyal imkanları gelişmiş, dahası kendisine güveni artmış bir işçi sınıfının durumu için bu 'gurur' artık biraz daha farklı da

okunacaktır. 1960'ların ortalarında işe başlayan Müslim Usta, o dönem için Karabük'e Almanya yakıştırmasını yapan işçilerden bir tanesi. Dönem hakkında şunları vurguluyor :

“...Kesinlikle burada çok şey öğrenirsin. Yani dünyanın temeli bu. Çağdaş medeniyet demirdir, çeliktir. Yani işin temeli...Almanya gibiydik yani biz. O dönem ben giderdim İstanbul veya Ankara'ya. Bence bizim Karabük'teki yaşantı, işçilerin özellikleri hiç bir yerde yoktu...Ben öncesini bilmiyorum ama gelirler fena değildi, esas 12 Eylül sonrasında belki sokaklar rahatladı ama bizim gelirler düştü. Öncesi kötü değildi...Çelik işçisi bilir yani, ilgilenir. Öyle başka ürünler üretmeye benzemez çelik üretmek...Ben burada çalışsam ufukum genişlemezdi...”

1960'larla beraber sendikal tartışmaların hız kazandığına değinilmişti. 1965'de Adalet Partisi seim zaferi sonrası Türkiye Maden-İş'ten ayrılan büyük çoğunluğun tercih ettiği bağımsız sendika Karabük'te etkili olurken, Çelik-İş'e katılmaya karşı çıkan ve Türkiye Maden-İş yanlısı olan bir grup 1966'dan 1968'e kadar Sendika Dergisi'ni çıkarırlar (Kalyoncu, 2007: 116). Bu derginin ulaşılabilen sayılarında genel sendikal süreçlerden bahsedildiği, 'sol' bir perspektifle işçi sınıfının değerlendirildiği ve Çelik-İş'e ağır eleştiriler sunulduğu görülür. Çelik-İş'teki süreçte de çirak okulu kökenlilerin etkisi, sonrasında artacak olan hemşehricilik ve yerel siyasetle beraber hızlı bir kongreler süreci de yaşanacaktır. Çelik-İş'teki 'bağımsız - yerel sendika' ve 'ulusal ölçekte bir sendikaya bağlanma' tartışması sürekli bir şekilde devam edecek; yerel ilişki ağlarının izin verdiği ölçüde bu anlamda adımlar atılacaktır. Türk-İş'e bağlı Metal-İş Federasyonu'na bağlanıp bağlanmama tartışması bu dönemde etkili olacaktır. Bu konuda kararlar kimi zaman seneden seneye değişiklik bile gösterebilecektir. Türk Metal

Sendikası'na dönüşecek olan Metal-İş Federasyonu'na katılıp katılmamayla ilgili tartışma 1970'lere de uzanacaktır (Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi, 1996: 229).

1970'lerin Siyasal Gerilim Sürecinde Fabrika ve İşçiler

14 Ekim 1973'de 15. dönem TBMM milletvekillerini belirlemek için yapılan seçim sonrası koalisyon tartışmaları sürerken, Karabük'te 21-24 Aralık tarihleri arasında yapılan 4. Genel Kurul'da önemli bir değişim gerçekleşti. Sendika başkanlığına Şükrü Korkmaz Gider'in seçildiği kongre (TSA, 1996: 229), 1970'li yılların gergin sokak siyaseti açısından da oldukça önemli bir dönüm noktası olacaktı. Gider, 1969'da adı Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi olacak olan Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi'nin 1967 yılında ilçe örgütlenmesini yapan ekibin içinde olan bir isimdi. Sonraki dönemde de kendisinin siyasal ve sendikal hayatı bu partiyle anılacaktır. Türkiye'nin siyasal hayatının ve sokaklarının hareketleneceği bu dönemde aktif MHP'li bir karakterin Karabük'te sendikanın başkanı olması sonraki birçok süreci de tetikleyecektir.

Gider'in seçimi kazanmasının ardında fabrika işçileri yapısındaki zaman içindeki değişimin de etkisi vardı. 1959'da açılan 'Sanat Okulu' mezunlarının ve teknikerlerin ağırlığını da arttıran süreç için Şükrü Korkmaz Gider karakteri bir temsil olarak ortaya çıktı. Kendisi önceki dönemin hakimi olan 'Çırak Okulu' mezunlarına karşı 'Sanat Okulu' mezunlarının ve 'teknikerlerin' örgütlenmesi sürecinde öncülük yapan bir isimdi. Hatta 1969'dan itibaren sık gerçekleşen sendika içi çekişmelerde seslerini duyurmaya başlayan bir grubun lideri konumundaydı (Koç, 1999: 167). Teknikerler ve 'sanat okulu' mezunları bir açıdan 1963 sonrası dönemin görece 'genç' ve kendine daha fazla güvenen işçilerinin temelini oluşturuyordu.

Fakat bunun yanında Şükrü Korkmaz Gider'in seçilmesinde Çankırı ve Zonguldak illerinin trafik plaka numaralarını içeren 'ittifakın' etkisi aslında en önemli geişme olarak dikkat çeker. '18-67 ittifakı' olarak bilinen bu ittifak o dönem Zonguldak'a bağlı olan Karabük ve çevresinin işçilerinin ve oldukça yakın olan Çankırı ilinin ilçelerinin işçilerinin birlikte hareket etmesi formülüydü. O zamana kadar genellikle Doğu Karadeniz bölgesinden gelen, özellikle Trabzon, işçilerin sendikal süreçlerde liderlik rolünü üstlenmesine karşı yerel işçiler arasındaki 'tepkinin' örgütlenmesini içeren bu süreç aynı zamanda yerli işçilerin 'niteliklileşmesinin' de bir sonucu olarak dikkat çeker.

Önceki dönemin Doğu Karadeniz ağırlıklı ve Adalet Partisi geleneğine yakın işçilerin sendikal süreçlerdeki öncülük rolü, 1973'ün sonundan itibaren daha çok yerli işçilere dayanan ve MHP'yle ilişkili genç bir kuşağın eline geçmiş oluyordu. Gider göreve seçildiğinde 30 yaşını yeni bitirmiş genç bir işçiydi. Aynı kongrede 'ulusal tip sendikaya geçiş' tercihi de reddedilecekti. 26 Ocak 1974'de Bülent Ecevit başkanlığında kurulacak olan, kamuoyunda ve siyasal tarihte CHP-MSP Koalisyonu olarak anılan 37. Hükümet'in oluşmasının hemen öncesinde Karabük'teki bu değişim sonraki yıllarda da oldukça etkili olacaktır. Sendika aynı zamanda İskenderun'daki fabrikada da örgütlü ve yetkiliydi. Bunun yanında Ereğli'deki fabrikadaki örgütlenme çalışmalarının Ecevit'in başbakanlığı sonrası 'engellendiğini' belirten Gider, Nisan 1974'de yapılan işyeri referandumunda haksızlıkla karşılaştıklarını belirtir (Koç, 1999: 169). Sendikanın siyasal sokak hareketleriyle anılması da bu dönemde artacaktır. Hatta o zamanlar basına yansıyan kimi haberlerde Karabük'ten 'gittiği iddia edilen ülkücü komando işçilerin' Türkiye'nin farklı bölgelerinde sendikal süreçlere müdahale edip olay çıkardıkları haber olacaktır.

Gider'in başkanlığa gelişi sonrası sendikanın çeşitli 'ticari işletme' ortaklıkları ve yatırımları da söz konusu oluyordu. Bu ve benzer konular ilerideki dönemde artacak şekilde 'yolsuzluk' tartışmalarının da önemli bir başlığı olacaktı. 1974 yılından itibaren özellikle Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP) kanalıyla fabrikada işe başlayanlar da artacaktır. Görüşme yapılan işçilerin üç tanesi de doğrudan bu ilişki açısından yararlanarak fabrikada işe girdiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Önceki dönemlerde de yoğun olan siyasal paternalizm bu dönemde farklı kanallarla beraber artan bir etkiye sahip olacaktır. Sendikal alanda MHP'nin, ülkede kurulan özellikle Milliyetçi Cephe (MC) hükümetleriyle de hem MHP hem de diğer sağ partilerin fabrika üzerinde ciddi etkileri söz konusuydu. Bu süreçte kentin sağ-sol çatışmasından etkilenmesi de kaçınılmaz olmuştu. Ağırlıkla sağ görüşlülerin hakim olduğu kentin kimi bölgelerinde sol görüşlülerin hakimiyeti ortaya çıkmıştı. Fabrikadaki işçi liderleri de bir yandan Karabük siyasetinin etkili isimleriydi. Bu durumun çatışmaları ve gerilimleri azalttığı belirtilmektedir. Örneğin, 1970'lerde sendikal hareketin muhalefetine yer alan Erzincanlı Mehmet Ali Börek aynı zamanda CHP İlçe Başkanı idi. Sonradan sendika başkanı olacak olan Metin Türker, önceki sendika başkanı Enver Kaya Adalet Partisi yöneticiliği yapmaktaydılar. Buna karşın özellikle 1974 sonrası dönemde sendikada hakim olan yapının hem fabrika hem de kentte solun göreceli güçsüz yapısını daha da etkisizleştirdiği çeşitli görüşmeciler tarafından belirtilmiştir.

Sendikal alanda 'üst örgütlenme' tartışmaları bu dönemde daha da hızlanacaktır. Türk-İş bünyesinde ciddi sıkıntılar yaşayan Çelik-İş Sendikası'nda başından itibaren 'birleşmeye' karşı varolan çeşitli eğilimler 1970'lerin sonunda ana olarak üç farklı görüş etrafında toplanabilir. Birinci görüş, hiçbir konfederasyona bağlanmama

eğilimidir. Yerelde de oldukça güçlü bir desteği bulan bu görüşü kimi zaman 'birleşme' süreçlerinde fiili zorluk çıkararak kesimler de dolaylı olarak destekler durumdadır. İkinci görüş, Türk-İş'in de adres gösterdiği Kırıkkale temelinde kurulan ve genişleyen Türk Metal Sendikası'na iltihak edilmesini savunan görüştür. Üçüncü ve 1970'lerin sonunda Gider ekibinin de desteklediği üçüncü görüş ise Türk-İş'e Türk Metal ile kurulacak başka bir sendika aracılığıyla katılma fikridir (TSA, 1996: 229). 1976'da 'siyasetin' de yoğun etkisi altında yapılan kongrede Türk-İş bünyesinde kurulacak üçüncü bir sendikaya Türk Metal'le beraber katılınması kabul edilmiştir. Türk Metal Sendikası'yla protokol imzalanmış ve Türk Çelik Metal Sendikası 20 Aralık 1976'da kurulmuştur. Çelik-İş bu süreçte Türk-İş'e dahil değildir. Buna karşın İskenderun yanında çeşitli özel sektör işletmelerinde de örgütlü hale gelen ama ana çekirdeği her zaman 'Karabük' işçisi olmuş bir sendikadır. Gider birleşme süreçlerinin karmaşasını anlatırken kendisinin net olarak bir şekilde 'iltihak' ve 'birleşme yanlısı' olduğunu belirtir. Buna karşın Gider'in yeniden başkan seçileceği kongrede birleşme kararı çıkmaz. İşin enteresan tarafı protokollere bağlı kurulan sendikanın kurulmasından bir gün sonra toplanan Genel Kurul'un red kararı işleri oldukça karmaşık bir hale sokar (TSA, 1996: 230). Protokole göre Türk Metal 50 delege ve Çelik-İş 50 delege gönderecek, üç yıllığına Türk Çelik Metal kongresi yapılacaktı. Fakat birleşme kararı çıkmayınca bu planlar ve protokol boşa düşmüştü. Sendika 1976'nın sonundaki bu kongrede merkezini Ankara'ya taşıma kararını da almıştır. Son dönemlerde farklı işletmeler ve özellikle özel sektörde örgütlenmeye çalışan sendika Ankara gibi merkezi bir yerden Türkiye'ye bir anlamda açılmaya çalışmıştır. Gider ise bu dönemde 'siyaset'in de etkisi ve yönlendirmesiyle Ankara'ya taşıdığı merkez üzerinden özel sektörde örgütlenme faaliyetlerine hız vermiştir. Ülkede iç savaş koşullarının geliştiği bu dönemde

sendikanın merkezini taşımak gibi bir yaklaşım aslında tabanda da pek hoş karşılanmıyordu. Üstüne üstlük 'özel sektör' delegasyonu ve Karabük işçisi arasında da zaman içerisinde kimi sıkıntılar ortaya çıkacaktı.

1970'in başından 1980'e kadar geçen süreç içerisinde Türkiye'de sendikalara üye olan işçi sayıları bakımından yaklaşık iki buçuk katlık önemli bir artış bulunmaktaydı (Ahmad, 1994: 156). Bu ciddi artış bir yandan gelişen sınıf mücadelesiyle ilişkili olduğu gibi, doğrudan farklı siyasal öznelerin, hem sağ hem sol, sendikal zeminleri geliştirmekle de meşgul olmasıyla da ilişkiliydi. Buna karşın Koç, Çalışma Bakanlığı'nın 1980 öncesi sendika üye sayılarına ilişkin açıklamalarının sendikaların tek taraflı ve hiçbir belgeye dayanmayan bildirimlerine dayandığını belirtir (Koç, 2010: 194). Kazgan 1963-1976 yılları arasındaki endüstriyel büyüme (growth) oranının yüzde 10'lar seviyesinde seyrettiğini belirtir (1999: 110). 1976 sonrası ise hem bu verilerde ciddi bir daralma olacak, hem de ülkedeki enflasyon oranı 1977'de yüzde 25'e, 1978'de yüzde 52'ye, 1979'da ise yüzde 64'e çıkacaktır (Kazgan, 1999: 133). Özellikle 1977 ve 1979 yılları arasındaki dönemde yaşanan sıkıntılar, 1979 Haziran'ında IMF ile yapılacak anlaşmanın da zeminini oluşturacaktır. Aydın, 1970'lerin sonunda hem ulusal sermaye hem de uluslararası finans çevreleri açısından yeni düzenleme taleplerinin daha da yükseldiğini belirtir. Boratav'ın popülist politikalar ve halk sınıflarının genişleyen hak ve gelirlerine (Boratav, 1991), yaptığı vurguyu da hatırlatan Zülküf Aydın, 1970'lerin ortasından itibaren işveren örgütleri olan TÜSİAD ve TOBB gibi kuruluşların agresif olarak siyasal alanı etkileme çabalarını bu duruma bağlar (2005: 42). Ücretlerin görece yüksek olması, sendikaların artan gücü karşısında sermaye kuruluşları özellikle 1975 sonrası dönemde daha koordineli olarak hareket

edeceklerdir. TÜSİAD'ın 1976 ve 1977 yıllarındaki çalışma raporlarında emek yoğun ihracata dayalı (export-oriented) bir ekonomik model için çağrılar da mevcuttur (Aydın, 2005: 42).

1970'lerin sonunda fabrikada işçiler ve sendika tarafından gerçekleştirilen kimi direniş benzeri hareketlerin arka planında büyük orandan genel siyasal atmosferin etkisi bulunmaktadır. 1978'in hemen başında Ecevit'in başbakanlığında kurulan CHP hükümetinin göreve gelmesiyle Çelik-İş ve hükümet arasında gerilimler yaşanmaya başlamıştır. Öncesinde İskenderun'daki fabrikada sonrasında Karabük'te ortaya çıkan sorunlar Çelik-İş'in grev kararı almasına yol açmış, CHP hükümeti ise bu kararı ertelemiştir. İkinci erteleme kararında hükümet bir gün gecikince Karabük'te sendika bir günlük grev yaparak, fabrika tarihindeki ilk grevi gerçekleştirmiş olur. Aynı yıl Enerji Bakanı Deniz Baykal'ın işçilerin fabrikadan aldıkları 'kok kömürü paylarına' ilişkin olumsuz bir karar aldığı işçiler arasında ve sendika zemininde yayılır. Bunun üzerine gelişen olaylarda fabrikada işçiler 'fili işgal' yaşanır, protesto gösterisinde lastikler yakılır. Bu olay fabrika ve işçiler tarihinde o güne kadar gelişmiş en büyük olaylardan bir tanesidir. Fakat olayların arkasında CHP hükümetinin fabrika üzerinden yaptığı atamalar ve ülkenin genel siyasal panoramasının etkisi büyük gözükmektedir.

1980 Sonrası Dönem : Karabük'te 'Zorunlu' Mücadele Yılları, İşçi Sınıfı ve 'Yeni' Karabük

12 Eylül 1980'deki askeri darbe Boratav'ın ifadesiyle 24 Ocak 1980'de açıklanan programın önündeki engellerin kaldırılması

olarak da görülebilir (2012: 148). 24 Ocak kararlarının uygulanabileceği siyasal gücün yokluğu ve ülkede her gün yaşanan sokak çatışmaları sürecinde gerçekleşen askeri müdahalenin büyük sermayenin de heyecanla savunduğu bu program arkasında durduğu net olarak belirtilebilir. Boratav, Kenan Evren'in müdahale sonrası ilk konuşmasında 'yüksek ücretlerden' şikayet etmesinin rastlantı olmadığını belirtir (2012: 148). Hemen kısa sürede de bu pozisyonun sermaye lehine sonuçları görülebilecektir. Karabük'teki demir-çelik işçileri de gelir düşüşlerini yaşamaya başlayacaklardır. Sendikanın askeri darbeye ilişkin tutumu genel olarak 'destek vermek' şeklinde olmuştur.

1980 darbesi ve sonrasında yaşanan süreçler işçi sınıfının genel yapısı açısından da ciddi değişimleri beraberinde getirecektir. 1980 öncesi işçi sınıfının özellikle 'kamu sektöründe' örgütlü işçileri devletle kurdukları ilişkiler ve yerelde oldukça canlı olan siyasal paternalizm ile 'işçi aristokrasisi' sayılamasalar bile oldukça karmaşık ilişkilerin ortasında bir pozisyona sahiptirler. Mehmet Beşeli 1980'lerin sonunda 'mücadele verecek' kamu işçilerinin aslında 1980'deki düzenlemelerle oldukça ciddi ilişkisi olduğunu vurgular. Reel ücretlerde hızlı ve yüksek bir düşüşün yaşanacağı 1980 sonrası dönem, 1960-1980 arası dönemin sessiz, pasif, verilenden tatmin olan ve 'koşullarının' farkında olmayan işçi yapısını da değiştirecektir. Daha doğrusu 'işçi sınıfının oluşumu' sürecinin önemli bir yapısal girdisi olacaktır (Beşeli, 1992: 87).

Darbe sonrası dönemde Karabük'teki işçi sayısında görece bir durağanlaşma dikkat çekmektedir. 1983'de seçimli ve partili 'sisteme' dönülmesi sonrası fabrikada işe girişlerde siyasal paternalizm ilişkileri kullanılsa da işçilerin özellikle ücret koşullarındaki gerilemenin de etkisiyle artık fabrika 'eski çekiciliğini'

bir miktar kaybedecektir. Bunun yanında ilerideki süreçte de oldukça önemli olacak olan 'güvence'li iş pozisyonu fabrikanın yine de bölge insanı için önemli bir iş kapısı olarak dikkat çekecektir. 1977'de fabrikadaki toplam işçi sayısının 15 bine yakın olduğu düşünüldüğünde 1989 yılında neredeyse istihdam yarı yarıya azalmış olacaktır. Bunun yanında fabrikadaki memur ve beyaz yakalı istihdamında görece bir artış söz konusudur. Burada sektördeki teknolojik gelişmelerin de etkisinin olduğunu belirtmek gerekmektedir. Bunun yanında emekliliğe teşvik, eski dönemlere göre daha olumsuz ücret koşullarında emeklilik haklarını kullanmak isteyen işçilerin tercihleri de önemli girdiler olarak dikkat çeker. 1960'larda demir çelik teknolojisindeki yeniliklerin Karabük'te yerleşmesi 1970'leri bulacaktır. Her şeyden önce demir-çelik endüstrisindeki 'emek yoğun' ve 'sermaye yoğun' niteliğe sahip üretim arasında ciddi farklılıklar hemen görülebilmektedir.

1989 Bahar Eylemleri olarak bilinen büyük işçi hareketleri esas olarak kamu sektöründeki işçilerin başı çektiği bir süreç olmuştur. Darbe sonrası dönemde uzun süre 'kamusal' yansıma açısından sessiz kalan sendikalar ve işçiler 1986 yılından itibaren 'kıpırdanmaya' başlarlar. Türk-İş darbe sonrası ilk mitingini güvenlik güçlerinin çok sıkı tedbirler aldığı bir ortamda 8 Şubat 1986'da Balıkesir'de yapacaktır. Talepler yılların hak kayıpları, işsizlik ve pahalılığa karşı tedbirler alınmasıdır (Koç, 2010: 323). 1987'de ufak tefek hareketlenmeler devam ederken Türk-İş'in referandumda siyasal yasakların kaldırılmasına 'evet' demesi ve aktif kampanya yürütmesi dikkat çekici bir dönemeç olarak öne çıkar. Karabük'te halen 'bağımsız' olan Çelik-İş Sendikası bu dönemde 'resmi bir karar' almasa da yönetici kadrolarının 'evet' dediği araştırma için yapılan çeşitli görüşmelerde net bir şekilde ortaya çıkmıştır. 1988 yılının sonlarına doğru Türkiye'de özellikle kamu sektörü işçileri ve

sendikaları açısından özel bir mücadele dönemine girilirken, 24 Ekim 1988 günü geçirdiği trafik kazasında Çelik-İş başkanı Mehmet Kurtulan hayatını kaybeder. 1989 Grev'ine öncülüğü yapacak olan isim göreve hayatını kaybeden Kurtulan'ın yerine gelen Genel Sekreter Metin Türker olacaktır. Türker, 1977 şube seçimlerinden itibaren sendikanın Karabük Şubesi'ne hakim olan, AP'nin ilçe başkanlığını bir dönem yapmış, Demir Çelik Karabükspor'da futbol oynamış ve kentte oldukça sevilen bir isimdir. Babası da fabrikada çalışmış olan Trabzon Sürmene kökenli Türker'in futbolculuk yıllarından kalma lakabı 'Gazov'du.

1989 Bahar Eylemleri olarak bilinen ve neredeyse tamamen kamu sektöründe çalışan işçiler ve bu işçilerin baskısıyla kamu sektöründe örgütlü sendikaların öncülüğündeki işçi hareketleri ülkeyi bu dönemde oldukça etkileyecektir. Karabük'teki süreç ülkedeki genel mücadele ortamından daha da sert bir mücadeleyi işaret edecektir. 137 Günlük Grev olarak bilinen grev sürecinin ciddi bir bölümünde Karabük işçisi diğer kamu işçilerinin grevlere son verdiği bir dönemde bunu sürdüreceklerdir. Sendika lideri Metin Türker'in önemli bir önder olarak belireceği grev sürecinde işçiler oldukça yaratıcı, ses getirici çeşitli eylem biçimlerine başvuracaklardır. Grev devam ederken Metin Türker hakkında 'Türk Walesa'sı' ifadeleri yavaş yavaş kullanılmaya başlayacaktır (Kalyoncu, 2007: 73). Haziran'ın sonlarına doğru demir ithalatı ve grevin 'bilerek uzatıldığı' iddiaları sıklıkla sendika başkanı Türker tarafından dile getirilecektir (Çelik-İş, 1989: 207). Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dan bu dönemde önemli miktarlarda demir gümrük vergisiz ithal edilmiştir. Önce stokçuluk sonra ithalat vurgunu yapan demir mafyasının grevin sürmesini istediğini belirten Türker, aynı zamanda ithal edilen demirlerin kalitesinin de sorgulanmasını isteyerek bu süreçten hem milyarlarca lira haksız kazanç elde

edildiğini hem de Türkiye'ye çürük ürünlerin getirildiğini belirtir. Gerçekten de yıllar sonra bu konu 1999 İzmit Depremi sonrasında da oldukça tartışılacak bir konu olacaktır. Depremde kolay yıkılan binaların demirlerinin ithal olduğu iddia edilecektir. Bu, Karabük'te oldukça yaygın olarak konuşulan ve işçiler arasında neredeyse tamamen doğru bulunan bir tespittir. Bunun yanında zamanında bu durum çeşitli basın organlarına da yansımıştır. Araştırma çerçevesinde yapılan görüşmelerde grev sürecinden sonra da hem bu konuyu değerlendirerek hem de yaşananları sorgulayarak ilginç çıkarımlar yapan birçok işçiyle görüşülmüştür. Grev konusu açıldığında görüşmecilerin genelde bu konuyu hatırlattıkları gözlenmiştir.

Karabük işçisine 'dayanışma eylemleriyle' tüm Türkiye'den destek gelirken grevin sonunda Karabük işçileri en baştas beklediğinden bile fazla bir 'zamlı' grevi noktalayacaklardı. Bu tarihi grev süreci sonrası tartışmalı da olsa imzalanan 13. Dönem Toplu İş Sözleşmesi maaşları yaklaşık beş kat arttırıyordu (Çelik-İş, 1989: 365). Alınan genel yüzdeler dışında kıdem zammı ve haklarla beraber Karabük işçisi önemli bir gelir seviyesini yakalama şansına sahipti. Bu konuda görüşme yapılan birçok işçi grev sürecine giden dönemde istenen 'bir ton demir parası'ndan aslında fazlasının da verildiğini belirtirler. Bu süreçte zaten üretim durduğundan fiyatlar da yükselmişti. Birçok işçi özellikle 'ithalat vurgunu'nun grevi belirlediğinin altını çizirken 137 günlük süreç gerçekten Karabük işçisinin sınıf deneyiminde tarihi boyunca 'en önemli' olay olacaktır. Çelik-İş'in hemen grev sonrası yayınladığı ve detaylarıyla grevi anlatan kitabının sonlarına doğru bir grevci işçinin şu ifadelerine yer verilmesi oldukça anlamlıdır (1989: 366):

Ben ilkokulu yedi yılda bitirdim. Daha

sonra da okuyamadım. Ama Őu son 137 günde ortaokulu, liseyi, üniversiteyi hep birlikte bitirdim.

1989 grevine ilişkin olarak işçiler arasında yaygın olarak, dönemin hükümetinin tutumlarında anlaşılmayan ve ciddi anlamda 'yolsuzluklara' yol açan kararlar eleştirilmektedir. İşçilerin büyük kısmı sürecin 'bilerek' uzatıldığını belirterek bu durumun demir ithalatı açısından haksız kazançlar ayol açtığını belirtmektedir. Bir kısım işçinin 'sendika' ve 'işçiyi' birbirinden ayırmalarının da söz konusu olduğunun altı çizilmelidir. Kimi işçilerin 'sendikanın' üst düzeyinin de bu süreçlerin içinde olabileceğini ima ederken, 'sendika' kavramının ötesinde işçilerin kendi dinamik ve mücadelelerine dikkat çekmeleri ilginç gözükmektedir.

1980'lerde başlayan yeni dönem 'tüketim' merkezli, 'zenginliği' daha görünür kılan ve dolayısıyla toplumsal eşitsizlikleri daha net ortaya çıkaran, aynı zamanda ekonomik liberalleşme ile 'ihtiyaçları' da arttıran bir dönemdir. Önceki dönemlerin kamu işçilerinin örgütlendiği sendikalar reflekslerini ithal ikameci dönemin paylaşım ve tüketim kalıplarına göre oluşturmuşlarken, 1980 sonrası dönemde bir açıdan bu refleksler işlevsizleşecektir. Siyasal paternalizm uygulamalarının biçimleri bile artık 1980'lerde değişecektir. Güvenceli ve yüksek ücretli işler olarak halkın zihninde tanımlanmış olan kamu işletmelerinin 'yüksek ücretleri' eriyecektir, hatta 'güvence' bile geçmiş dönemlere göre oldukça farklıdır. Siyasal iktidar yeni yatırım yapmadığı bu işletmeleri aynı zamanda 'zarar eden' işletmeler olarak gösterecek ve bu kesimin işçi ve örgütlerini geniş toplumsal kesimlere hedef olarak da sunacaktır. Tüm bu durumların önemli bir dönüm noktası, 1989

Bahar Eylemleri'nde kamu işçilerinin vermiş oldukları yanittir. Bu yanıt aslında her açıdan yeni başlayan dönemin de işaretidir. Yeni dönemden kasıt elbette sadece mücadeleciler ve güçlü bir işçi sınıfı ve örgütleri değildir. Metin Türker'in dediği gibi 'sendikacılık' da değişmek zorunda kalacak ve hatta zaman içerisinde geleneksel formdaki sendikaların kendileri bile değişime yanıt veremeyeceklerdir.

1989 grevi sonrasında toplam istihdam kapasitesi daralmaya devam edecekti. İstihdam seviyesinin özelleştirme tarihi olan 1995'de 4200 işçiye kadar düşmesinin ardında genel bir sanayi krizinden bahsedilse de (Bafoil & Acar, 2009: 152), bir yandan da yeni dönemde yeni üretim teknikleriyle görece sermaye yoğun hale gelen işletmede emek ihtiyacı da azalacaktır. Bu noktada yeni yatırımların yeterince yapılmadığının da belirtilmesinde yarar vardır. Grev sonrası dönemde ithal demir tartışmaları hiç bitmeyecek bunun yanında sosyalist bloğun çöküşü sonrası kimi eski SSCB cumhuriyetlerinin sanayideki büyük altyapıları küresel piyasaları da etkileyecektir. Bu süreçte Karabük işçisi, 1990'ları karşılarken 'zararı büyüdüğü' belirtilen bir fabrikanın Türkiye şartlarında iyi ücretler alan işçileridir.

Karabük'ün Özgün Özelleştirme Deneyimi ve İşçiler

Karabük'teki Çelik-İş Sendikası ise 1990'ın ortalarından sonra 'birleşme' tartışmaları içerisindeydi. O dönem geçerli olan işkolu barajı Çelik-İş için ciddi bir problemdi. Metal sektörü gibi çok hızlı

büyüyen bir sektörde 'bağımsız' bir sendika olan Çelik-İş 1990 Temmuz'unda toplam sektörde kayıtlı işçi sayısı 440 bini aşınca gerekli olan 44 bin civarındaki üyeye ulaşamadığından işkolu barajının altında kalmıştı (Babaishak & Köylü, 1991: 14). Metal işkolu o dönem için inanılmaz bir büyüme de yaşıyordu. Bunun yanında 2 Haziran 1988 yılında 2821 sayılı yasada yapılan değişiklikle sendikalara tüm üyeliklerini noter kanalıyla onaylayarak listeleri Çalışma Bakanlığı'na verme zorunluluğu getirilmişti (Babaishak & Köylü, 1991: 15). Bu durum sendikaların sıklıkla başvurduğu 'şişirme' üyeliklerin önünü kapatmıştı. Sendika aslında reel olarak üye kaybetmiyordu. Fakat iki büyük sabit işyeri dışında örgütlülüğü yaygın olmadığından sürekli olarak sektördeki artan toplam işçi sayısı içerisinde payı düşme eğilimindeydi. Temmuz 1990 Çalışma Bakanlığı verilerinde Çelik-İş barajı geçmek için gerekli olan sayının yaklaşık iki bin üye altında bir sayıya sahipti. Temmuz 1990 Çalışma Bakanlığı istatistiklerine göre sektörde barajın üzerinde kalabilen Türk-İş'e bağlı Türk Metal, bağımsız olan fakat hala kapalı olan DİSK'in eski etkili sendikası T. Maden-İş mirasından yararlanan Otomobil-İş ve Hak-İş Konfederasyonu'na bağlı olan Özdemir-İş Sendikası idi (Çalışma Bakanlığı, 1990). Özdemir-İş ANAP döneminde partinin bir kanadının da yardımıyla aslında 'kayırlan' bir sendika olarak dikkat çeker. İslamcı bir çizgide olan Hak-İş Konfederasyonu altında yıllarca farklı sendikalarla da birleştirilerek diri tutulan Özdemir-İş Sendikası 1988'de MİSK'e bağlı Çelik-Sen'in fiilen yok olması sonrası bu sendikanın üyelerini de kendisine katmıştı. Çelik-Sen'in de kendisine geçmesiyle bile barajı ancak geçebilen Özdemir-İş Sendikası özellikle İslami çevrelerin özel işletmelerinde de örgütlüydü. Çelik-İş yakıcı olan bu 'baraj' tehdidi sonrası Özdemir-İş Sendikası ile birleşme kararı aldı. 23 Ocak 1991'de yapılan son toplantıda süreç protokole bağlandı. Buna göre iki sendika 'eşit şartlarda' birleşeceklerdi, yeni

sendikanın adı Özçelik-İş Sendikası olacaktı ve Hak-İş Konfederasyonu'na üye olunacaktı.

1990'lar Sovyetler Birliği'nin de çöküşüyle tüm dünya için yeni bir döneme işaret ediyordu. Demir-çelik piyasalarını da oldukça etkileyen bu durumun yanında Karabük'teki fabrikanın 'zararı' da büyüyordu. 1990'ların ortalarına doğru gelirken Türkiye dünyayla da paralel olarak ciddi bir kriz sürecine girecektir. Bunun yanında 1994 Nisan'ında hükümet tarafından açıklanan ekonomik kararlar ülke için ciddi değişim işaretleri veriyordu. Geniş toplumsal kesimler için 'kemer sıkma' politikalarının öne çıktığı bu kararlarda Karabük'teki fabrikanın payına 'kapatılmak' düşmüştü. Karabük'te sadece işçileri değil, tüm toplumsal kesimleriyle herkesi ilgilendiren bu karar kentte ciddi tepki çekecektir. Fabrikanın kapanması esasen Karabük'ün tamamen yok olması anlamına gelecekti.

Metin Türker Karabük'te tüm kent birleşip ne pahasına olursa olsun fabrikayı bırakmayacaklarını belirtirken, açıklanan zararların nedeninin faiz ve görev zararı olduğunu, fabrikanın bizzat devlet eliyle zor duruma düşürüldüğünü belirten açıklamalar yapacaktı. Bu arada Hak-İş Konfederasyonu, Refah Parti'li belediyesiyle Karabük'te ayrı bir siyasi ortam da oluşuyordu. Buna karşın DYP'nin Zonguldak milletvekilleri de partilerinin kararından çok hoşnut değillerdi. Oldukça büyük tepki çeken vekiller bir açıdan arada kalmışlardı. Zonguldak ve Karabük'teki infial öyle bir noktaya ulaşmıştı ki, eski DYP lideri dönemin Cumhurbaşkanı Demirel Zonguldak ve Karabük'le ilgili kararlar uygulanırken 'halkın incitilmemesi için' hükümeti uyarıyordu. Karabük'teki 'fabrika kapatma karşıtı' eylemlere katılım inanılmaz boyutlarda oldu. Neredeyse tüm kentin katıldığı protestolar ve yerelden yükselen siyasal baskılar sonucu 'özgün bir model' oluşturularak fabrikanın 1 Türk Lirası karşılığı işçilere ve bölge halkına devredilmesi yaklaşımı

kabul gördü. Bu süreçte fabrikada çalışan işçiler, bölge halkı ve özellikle fabrikadan emekli olan eski işçilerin ciddi fedakarlıkları oldu. Başlangıçta tahmin edilen hisse dağılımında işçilerin beklenilenden daha fazla işyerine sahip çıktıkları görülecekti. Bu süreçte ücret almadan çalışma, dondurulmuş ücretlerle çalışma, birikimlerin fabrika hisselerine yatırılması işçiler arasında yaygın olacaktır. Kısaca bu zor süreçte fabrikaya gerçek anlamda sahip çıkan işçiler olacaktır.

Özelleştirme sonrası ilk dönemler genel olarak işletme çeşitli krizler yaşasa da bir süre sonra işleyiş oturacaktır. Bunun yanında işçilerin hisselerinin gücünü elinde bulunduran sendika artık 'işveren' pozisyonuna fiilen gelmiştir. Kardemir AŞ yönetiminde ağırlıklı güç sendikadadır. 2001 yılında hem krizin etkisi hem de farklı gelişmelerle sendika yönetiminde büyük bir değişim meydana gelir. Recai Başkan sendikanın başkanlığından ayrılır veya başka bir ifadeyle ayrılmak zorunda bırakılır. 2001 Ağustos'unda Başkan'ın istifası sonrası, 15 Ağustos 2001'de Yönetim Kurulu 'oy birliğiyle' Hikmet Feridun Tankut'u Genel Başkanlığa getirecektir (Atatekin, Kosif, vs. 2002: 57). Sendikal yapıdaki bu değişim ilerideki yıllardaki ciddi problemlerin de önemli bir tetikleyicisi olacaktır. 2001 yılında artık 'ücretsiz zorunlu izinler' de söz konusu olacaktır. Bu arada Recai Başkan tarafından 'yılın ikinci döneminden itibaren' geçerli olacak zam 'ileride verilmek' üzere dondurulacaktır. Eylül 2001'de Özçelik-İş'in yayınında, sendika 'artık yeni bir döneme girildiğini', sendikanın işletme yönetimine kesinlikle müdahale etmeyeceğini, artık hiçbir sendika yöneticisinin doğrudan şirketlerin yönetimlerinde yer almayacağını belirtilerek yeni dönemin özelliklerinin altı çiziliyordu. Yeni yönetim, "sendikanın rolünün, çalışanların hak ve çıkarlarının korunması, sahip oldukları hisselerinin değerlendirilmesi ve işletmenin uzman kişiler tarafından doğru kararlarla yönetilmesi için gözetim ve denetim görevine

devam edilmesi” olarak belirleyecektir (Özçelik-İş Sendikası, 2001: 8-9). İşçiler ve sendika 2001'in sonuna oldukça sıkıntılı olarak gireceklerdir. Krizden sorumlu tutulan sendika artık yeni bir döneme girmiştir. Recai Başkan sürecin Karabük'ün güçlü sermaye çevreleri ve siyaset dünyası tarafından yapılmış olan bir tasfiye süreci olduğunu belirtecektir. Başkan'ın etkisi yıllar sonra ortaya çıkacak olan 'sendikalar arası rekabette' tekrar görülecektir.

AKP iktidarı sonrası Kardemir'de önceki hükümet döneminde planlanan 'kurtarma' operasyonu uygulanır. Düzlüğe çıkan işletmede ise artık fiilen söz sahibi olanlar işçiler veya sendika değil, Karabük'ün güçlü sermaye çevreleri olacaktır. AKP iktidarı döneminde karlılığı oldukça artacak olan Kardemir, özellikle 2007 sonrası karlılığını zirveye taşır.

2000'lerde Karabük'te Yeni İşçi Profili

Yapılan görüşmelerde ve son kuşak işçilere uygulanan kısa anket uygulamasında da görüldüğü gibi, son kuşak işçilerde her şeyden önce 'iş saygısı' ve dolayısıyla 'kendi yaptığı işten gurur duyma' gibi tutumlar önceki dönemlere göre oldukça düşük seviyelerdedir. Elbette bu durum sektörün kimi kendine has özelliklerine de dayanmaktadır. Buna karşın Sennett'in kapitalizmin yeni döneminde 'karakter aşınması' kavramsallaştırmasında ortaya attığı yeni dönemin 'işçileri' açısından tanımlanan yeni 'evrensel' durumla da ciddi paralellikler içerir (bkz. Sennett, 2003). Sennett çok geniş açıdan yeni küresel kapitalizm çağında emekçiler açısından 'karakter'in nasıl değiştiğine odaklanırken, işçilerin daha fazla maruz kaldıkları 'güvensizlik' duygusunun işe karşı gelişmesi

öngörülebiyecek olan 'ahlaki bir tutumu' da engellediğini belirtir (bkz. Sennett, 2003). 'Yeni kapitalizm'e geçildiğinden bahseden Doogan, bu yeni sürecin oluşumunda teknolojik değişkenler (2009: 43-63), küreselleşme (2009: 64-68) gibi önemli sebepleri saydıktan sonra bu 'yeni kapitalizm' döneminde 'belirsizlik'(tenuous)in aslında temel bir kavram olduğunu belirtir (Doogan, 2009: 209).

İş aidiyetiyle ilgili değerlendirmede son kuşak işçiler üzerinden açıkça görülen durum 'ağır sanayi' işinin dahi diğer işlerle karşılaştırılabilir gözükmesidir. Farklı kuşaklardan işçilerin katıldıkları 'odak grup çalışmasında' da bu veri net olarak gözükmiştir. Önceki kuşak işçilerin 'işin önemi' ve 'fabrika' anlatıları yeni kuşak için tabir uygun olursa 'nostaljik'tir. Bu durumda fabrikada son dönem çalışan işçilerin yaptığı işlerin doğrudan 'üretimin' görece daha dışında olmalarına da bağlanabilir. Teknolojik gelişme zaman içerisinde bu sonucu doğurmuştur.

2010 yılında fabrikada Çelik-İş ve Türk Metal arasında yaşanan yetki mücadelesi oldukça sert geçmiştir. Karabük'ü, fabrikayı ve işçileri bölmüş olan bu süreç oldukça uzun sayılabilecek bir zaman dilimine yayılmıştır. Türk Metal örgütlenmesi kısa sürede başarı kazanırken, sürecin arkasında Çelik-İş'in 2001'de tasfiye edilen eski başkanı Recai Başkan bulunmaktadır. Buna karşın işveren süreçte oldukça net olarak Çelik-İş Sendikası'ndan yana taraf almış gözükmektedir. Bu süreçte birçok işçi kadroya geçme fırsatı yakalarken, aynı zamanda işe de yeni işçiler alınmıştır. Uzayan mahkeme süreçleri, kentte artan gerilim sonucu Karabük ve kentin işçi sınıfı açısından unutulmayacak süreçlerin sonunda kazanan taraf Çelik-İş Sendikası olacaktır. Buna karşın dönemin ortaya çıkardıkları zaman içerisinde Çelik-İş'de de ciddi değişimleri getirecektir.

Karabük'teki fabrika, bugün aileleri ağırlıkla 'fabrika işçisi' kökenli olan yeni işçiler açısından genel olarak 'zorunluluktan' tercih edilen bir durumdadır. 'Nitelik', 'iş' ve 'zanaat' anlamında son kuşak işçilerin oldukça iddiasız oldukları da dikkat çekmektedir. Önceki kuşaklarda 'buluş yapma' hikayeleri, üretime doğrudan katkıda yeniliklerin içerisinde yer alma, heyecanla eski çalışma yaşamlarından bahsetme gibi noktalar yeni işçilerde neredeyse hiç yoktur. Önceki kuşaklardan işçiler 'sanatın' ve 'emeğin' öldüğüne yönelik vurgularına karşın, son kuşak işçilerin 'iş yaşamı' anlatıları oldukça sınırlıdır ve daha çok sosyal ilişkiler etrafında şekillenmektedir.

Sonuç: Kamu İşçiliğinden Güvencesizlere

Çalışmada kuruluşundan itibaren bir fabrikada çalışan çeşitli kuşaktan işçiler üzerinden hem fabrikanın, hem kentin hem de genel olarak 'hayatın' işçiler merkezli bir 'okuması' yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. 1939'da fabrikanın açılması sonrasındaki dönem Karabük kentini ortaya çıkartırken, Anadolu'nun ortasında kurulan bu yeni kent aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin ilk ağır sanayi yatırımının işçilerine de ev sahipliği yapacaktır. Berkes'in Türkiye modernleşmesini ve 'bunalımlarını' tartışırken özellikle belirttiği 'sıkışmışlık' durumu (2003: 429) Karabük özelinde fazlasıyla bulunmaktadır. Kent ve işçi sınıfı bir yandan 'radikal modernleşmeci' bir yaklaşımın hem ürünü hem de gerilim yaşadığı bir yapı olarak yükselirken, bu ortam aynı zamanda işçi sınıfı kimliği ve siyaset ilişkisi açısından da oldukça önemli gelişmeleri barındırmaktaydı. Askeri gerekçeler temelinde 'zoraki' kurulan

fabrika ve kent, bir yandan 'zoraki' oluşan bir işçi sınıfına da ev sahipliği yapmaktaydı.

Çalışma aynı zamanda genel teorik yaklaşımla paralel bir metodolojik yaklaşımı da gözetmeyi hedeflemiştir. Buna göre farklı kuşaklardan işçilerle yapılan görüşmeler benzer bir genellikle karşılaştırılabilir hale getirilirken diğer yandan her dönemin işçilerinin özgün durumlarını da açığa çıkarabilecek araçlar geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Örneğin ilk kuşak işçilerle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler daha çok 'sözlü tarih' yaklaşımına benzer özellikler gösterirken, özellikle son kuşak işçilerin eğilimlerini genel olarak anlamak açısından anket uygulaması da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Odak grup çalışmasında farklı kuşakların 'karşılaştırılması' hedeflenirken, örneğin bu odak grup çalışması sayesinde farklı kuşakların arasındaki farklılıklar çok daha net olarak gözlenebilmiştir. İlk kuşak işçilerin her açıdan oldukça 'mağdur' pozisyonlarının geleceğe bırakacağı miras yanında 1963'de çalışma yaşamının göreceli olarak daha sistemli hale gelmesi orta kuşak işçiler açısından farklı bir gerçekliği ortaya koyacaktır. Sınıf kimliğinin oluşumunda her tarihsel dönemin avantaj ve dezavantajları, sonraki dönemin imkan ve potansiyellerini de belirlemektedir. 1989'da 137 günlük büyük bir grevi örgütleyen işçiler aslında bir açıdan bu deneyim vasıtasıyla siyasal iktidarı fabrikanın kapatılması kararına karşı 1995'de alternatif bir özeleştirme seçeneğine zorlayabilecektir. Tüm bunlar 1990'ların sonunda işyerinin sahibi olan bir 'sendikayı' ortaya çıkarırken, sonrasında 'kapitalizmin' kendi kural ve gerçekliğiyle aslında bir dönemin de sonuna gelinecektir. Son kuşak işçilerin 'iş saygısı' ve 'kendilerine güvenleri' kimi kısıtlılıklar açısından ilk kuşak işçilere benzerken, birçok açıdan ise oldukça özgün gözükmektedir.

Karabük'te ilk kuşak işçilerin korkuyla bezenmiş görünürdeki

'itaatleri' ve sınırlı imkanlarını geliştiremeyecek pozisyonları, ithal ikameci dönemde altyapısı çok da güçlü olmayan ama görünüşte 'güçlü' sendikayı yaratan bir işçi sınıfı potansiyeline işaret etmiştir. 1980'den başlayarak özellikle ücretlerdeki kayıpları durdurabilmek siyasal alanda darbenin etkilerinin silinmeye başlamasıyla 1989'da mümkün olurken, fabrikanın kapatılma kararına karşı alternatif özelleştirme biçiminin savunulması noktasında Karabük'te işçi sınıfı örgütlülüğü açısından oldukça önemli bir eşiğe ulaşmıştır. Bu hızlı ve sancılı dönemlerde işçi sınıfının bireyleri de kurumları da bu süreçleri karşılayabilecek altyapıdan ve hazırlıktan uzaktırlar. Buna karşı 2000'lerle beraber 'kapitalizmin' yakıcı kuralları çok daha baskın halde fabrika ve kentte görülürken bu durum aynı zamanda işçi sendikası açısından da bir dönemin sonuna işaret etmektedir. İşçiler tarafından kendisi protesto edilen bir hale düşen sendikaya alternatif olarak, işçilerin ülke ve kent şartlarında ellerinde bulunan alternatif sendikal imkanın ise tarihi işçi sınıfı çıkarları açısından çok da parlak olmayan bir yapı olması ise hem Türkiye hem de Karabük gerçekliğinin önemli bir yansıması olarak dikkat çeker. Buna karşın aslında bu süreçteki tartışmalar bile yeni dönemin işçisini tam anlamıyla kapsayabilecek, yeni dönemin özelliklerine alternatifler sunabilecek özelliklere sahip olamamıştır. Kamu işçiliğinden güvencesizliğe giden süreçte işçiler açısından özellikle 2000'lerle başlayan dönem gelecek açısından çok farklı yorumları çıkartabilecek özellikle taşımakla beraber, özellikle geçmiş dönem yapılarının işçiler açısından oldukça büyük kısıtlılıklar taşıdığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Günümüz açısından güvencesizlik konusu sadece iş koşullarının belirsizliği çerçevesinde ele alınabilecek bir durumun ötesine işaret etmektedir. Demir ve çelik sanayisi gibi modern zamanların temel bir endüstri kolunda çalışan son kuşak işçilerin işe ve kendilerine karşı hissettikleri şeyler sıradan çalışma koşullarının daha olumsuz

olmasından farklı anlamları da barındırmaktadır. Bir yandan önceki kuşaklara oranla çağımızın iletişim teknolojilerinin de katkılarıyla daha 'evrensel', diğer yandan güvencesizliğe karşı kullanılacak bir önlem olarak yerel siyasal kanalların kullanılması anlamında daha 'yerel' bir işçi profili aynı zamanda kendisini iş üzerinden, çalışma hayatı üzerinden tanımlamaya geçmiş dönemlere oranla daha az yatkın gözükmektedir. Bunun yanında günümüz kapitalizminin işçilerin hayallerini karşılama, onları tatmin etme noktasında da oldukça ciddi kısıtlılıklara sahip olduğunu belirtmekte fayda vardır. Önceki kuşaklarla karşılaştırıldığında hem iş hem de genel olarak 'hayat' tatminleri açısından en az memnuniyete sahip grup olan son kuşak işçiler bir yandan 'güvencesizlik' gerçekliğini yaşarken, diğer yandan geçmiş dönemin 'güvencelerine' farklı bir bakışa da sahiptir. Genel olarak son kuşak işçilerin 'eski güzel günler' şeklinde de tariflenebilecek genel bir çerçeveye uygun bir yaklaşıma sahip olmadıklarını belirtmek önemli gözükmektedir. Yeni kuşağın 'bağlılıkla' ilgili sorunları sadece 'fabrika' ile ilgili de değildir. Aslında bu durum geçmiş dönemlere oranla farklı potansiyelleri de açığa çıkarabilme gücüne sahip gözükmektedir. Yaşadığı gerçekliği 'terketmeye' daha açık gözüken, birçok açıdan 'isyanı' daha fazla dile getiren yeni kuşak işçilerin aslında muhafazakar 'tevekkül'(fatalizm) söylemine kimi şekillerde yaptıkları vurguların görünümü esasen dönemsel bir 'koruma' aracı gibidir.

APPENDIX D

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	University	Graduation
Ph.D	METU, Sociology	2016
BS	Ankara U. Sociology	2001

WORK EXPERIENCE

2005-2016 METU Sociology Department Research Assistant

2004-2005 Ankara University Sociology Department
Research Assistant

2003-2004 İnönü University Sociology Department
Research Assistant

2010-2011 Kent University as visiting scholar (6 months)

2013 London Metropolitan University, Working Lives Research
Institute as visiting scholar (4 months)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

- Erbaş, H. , Coşkun M.K., Aydın M.B. (2004). "Toplumsal Hareketler ve Eşitsizliğe Bakış: Halkevleri Örneği", Değişen Dünya ve

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APPENDIX E

TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Aydın

Adı : Mustafa Berkay

Bölümü : METU Sociology

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : FORMATION OF WORKING CLASS IN A STEEL TOWN IN TURKEY: A NARRATION OF WORKERS FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE SECTOR

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası

Tarih 11. 02. 2016