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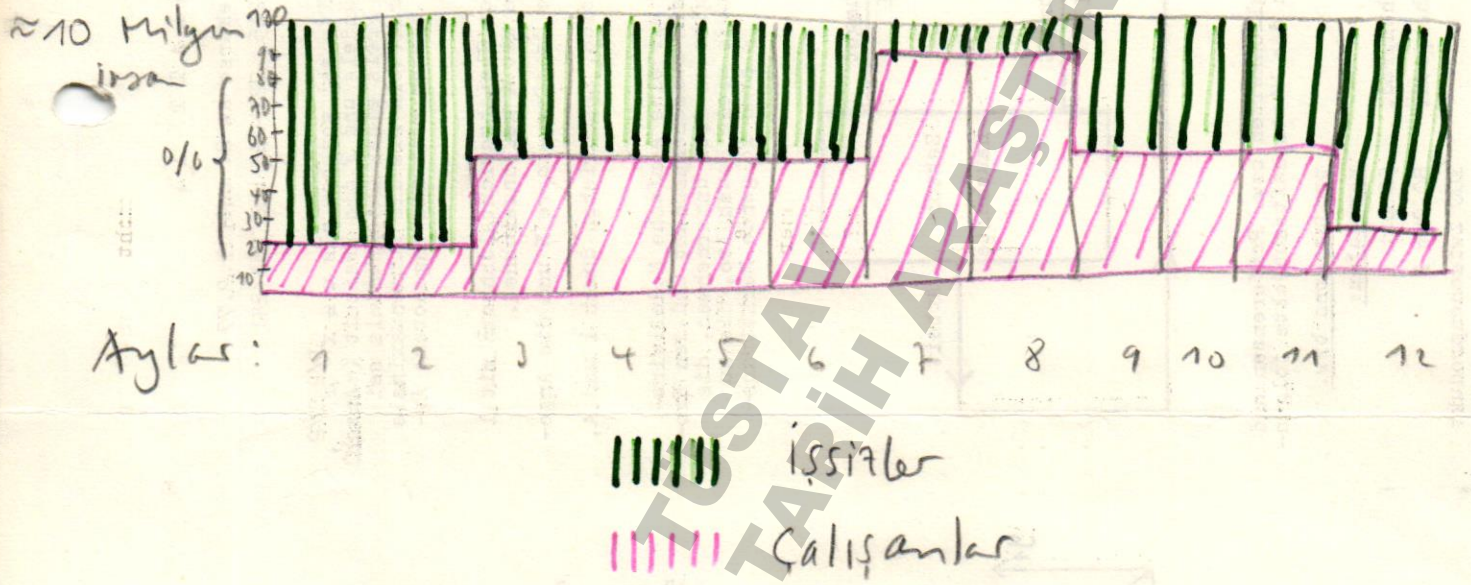
Mart, Nisan, Mayıs, Haziran } Tarımdaki işgücünün % 50'si işsiz.  
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Kaynak O. Aresvik, The Agricultural Development of Turkey,



Türkiyede Tann kesiminde gıda işçilik :



Kaynak: İ. Arslan, The Agricultural Development of Turkey, p. 14



## MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT POLICIES UNDER THE FIVE-YEARS PLANS AND EMIGRATION

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### I. Introduction

It is required that a country willing to realize its economic development and achieve its foreseen growth targets, must consider and develop manpower, as well as the other factors, to a sufficient level and qualification so as to reach the desired production goals. Before taking any decision on an investment project, for instance, manpower requirements needed for the project are to be considered and planned.

The realisation of economic development consistent with the determined growth targets, will only be possible by taking into account the changes in manpower composition. Particularly in underdeveloped countries, skilled manpower is either insufficient or non-existent. Therefore, as development plans are prepared, the critical factor that needs to be determined is to increase the efficiency of manpower. However, the efficiency of the labour force in a branch of activity is determined by the present levels of technology and manpower composition. In reality, development in any country can be maintained by, in addition to all other growth factors, the efficient utilisation of existing manpower. But, optimum utilisation and mobilisation of manpower can bring a solution to the problem in the short run.

A real development plan implies that utilisation of all resources needed to achieve economic and social growth should be in balance. The rôle of manpower policy in such a plan is to create a qualified labour force required in all stages of economic activity, utilize this according to its ability and skill, prevent imbalances in occupational distribution of active population, and improve its geographical distribution within the country.

### II. Concepts

In reality, manpower, on which more emphasis should be placed, is the most important production factor used in develop-

ment. However, this point has not been given sufficient importance.

Before going into manpower planning, it will be useful to distinguish some critical concepts which are usually confused by most of us and specify differences among them.

#### 1. Economically active population (*Gainful Worker or Gainfully Occupied*)

In an economy, the economically active population is that part of the total population which is employed, active or fulfilling a function. The criterion here is the fulfillment of a specific function or having an occupation. It does not take into account whether an individual works during a short period of time or not.

#### 2. Labour Force

The concept of labour force takes the activity of a person during the specified period as a basis. In other words, it considers the person's contact with the labour market during this specified period.

#### 3. Manpower

Manpower expresses the potential or maximum employable portion which should be drawn from the total population. It is that portion of the total population which has knowledge and skill towards the production of goods and services.

The concern of an economically-active population, unlike the concept of labour force, is not the short run: it approaches the concept of manpower and covers all the persons having an occupation. What separates economically an active population from manpower is that it excludes first job seekers that is, those having no job experience before. Thus, an economically active population gives the inventory of present human resources in a more narrow sense than manpower.

Therefore, the concept of labour force has been proposed for evaluating the short-term changes which are impossible to evaluate by using the concept of an economically active population.

The common point that we faced in the definitions of both

in: Abadan - Unat



economically active population and manpower concepts is the condition of having a gainful job. In principle, those satisfying this condition are included in the employed and those seeking a job are included in the unemployed. The sum of employed and unemployed gives the civilian labour force. Similarly, the sum of the civilian labour force and armed forces makes up the total labour force. The rest is the economically inactive population. Children, old people, students, housewives, permanent disabled pensioners, rentiers, beggars, etc. are included in this group.

### III. Manpower Planning

Manpower planning is the formulation and determination of ways which will ensure the best and most rational utilisation of economically-scarce manpower resources in order to reach certain specified goals. The achievement of a socio-economic development plan largely depends on the effort which aims to provide the participation of manpower in sufficient quantity and quality in development efforts on time. Manpower planning should, therefore, consider a manpower inventory which easily follows the changes in economic and social structure. For this reason, a developing and growing economy should estimate, like other factors, manpower requirements both quantitatively and qualitatively in the development process.

Therefore, in order to achieve pre-determined targets, manpower requirements and their quality have to be estimated in the preparation of the development plans and the occupational breakdown thereof must also be determined. Otherwise, it could create manpower surplus or such a manpower inventory that is out of the desired skill level. As it is seen there is a close relationship between manpower and educational planning; in fact they go side by side. In other words, if education, in addition to its own educational goals, takes the training of manpower as a means to educate the labour force in both sufficient number and skill levels, it has to be studied together with manpower policy. Training-within-industry and on-the-job training, in addition to educational plans, play an important rôle in changing manpower structure and raising it to a desired skill level.

After deciding whether labour intensive or capital intensive methods should be adopted in production, future volume of

work and manpower requirements must be estimated. The age composition of the active population is also one of the important points that need to be considered in this process. Furthermore, the removal of the organisational rigidities must be taken into account.

Manpower planning is not only related to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of manpower, but also to the distribution of manpower in the country level and the efficiency of this distribution.

### IV. Manpower in the Development Plans

The attainment of a sufficient growth target in Turkey depends on the efficient utilisation of all economic production factors which are composed of natural and human resources and capital. Since capital is a relatively scarce factor, more emphasis should be placed on the optimum utilisation of capital and best distribution of manpower resources so as to meet the needs of the economy.

Prior to the First Five Year Development Plan period, no study had been carried out in Turkey on manpower and its distribution. The manpower situation of the pre-Plan period can only be drawn from the age composition of the population and the sectoral and occupational distribution of labour force from one population census to another. In a study carried out by the State Planning Organisation (SPO) in 1967, covering the years between 1955-60, it was seen that the proportion of engineers had increased by 58%, technicians by 21% and skilled workers by 23%. Although the number of health personnel has increased gradually within the same period, this rate of increase is insufficient.

Both the First and Second Five Year Plans linked the social and economic development of Turkey to industrialisation. In the 1960s, it was believed that the realisation of development could only be possible if surplus labour in agriculture were transferred into non-agricultural sectors by increasing investments in industry.

In the First Five Year Plan, manpower estimates were the assessment of required personnel and the measures that should be taken for the attainment of this volume. The then-present manpower situation in various sectors was determined first, then on



the basis of this data and in connection with the rate of increase in production, future requirements in the subsequent 15 years were projected. In addition to production and investments that were used in the assessment of manpower requirements, these estimates have also given weight to other factors such as population growth, rate of increase in per capita income, international comparisons, and social standards of Turkey. Later there had been established a relation between the labour force needed in various sectors and the training institutions, and the necessary re-orientation and direction that should be given to these institutions in order to attain manpower goals. Plan estimates and results in some occupations are shown in Table 1.

First Five Year Plan, 1965 Estimates and Realizations

Occupation	1965		Difference
	Plan Estimates	Realised	
Engineers	15,000	26,500	+80
Health Personnel	11,000	14,600	+33
Teachers	30,000	21,000	-30
Technicians	27,000	33,600	+25
Supporting Health Personnel	11,000	14,900	+35
Primary School Teachers	63,000	85,100	+33

The increase in achievements is not due to the measures adopted, but it should be attributed rather to the low estimates and inexperience in the field.

In the Second Five Year Development Plan, projections were made by taking manpower needs in all sectors of the economy into consideration. However, these projections were not carried out for all occupational groups in sectors, but only those categories that were seen significant for economic development, such as technical and health personnel, and the other related occupational groups. Estimates concerning manpower composition were based on the elasticity coefficients between sectoral employment by occupations and sectoral production or income.

Since health personnel requirements are based on economic

factors rather than social factors, these requirements, in the Second Plan period, were estimated on the basis of population growth, national level of welfare and international standards. The international ratio of health personnel per doctor was taken as one of the determining criteria in the calculation of supporting health personnel requirements (dentist, chemist, nurse, midwife, and medical staff). Demand for managerial and administrative personnel was also determined by considering international standards. These projections were revised in the light of estimates and surveys made by employers, related institutions and ministries.

Problems concerning manpower in Turkey are twofold: first, the shortage of skilled, especially technical, manpower to achieve development targets; second, imbalanced distribution of available skilled manpower among various sectors and its inefficient utilisation. Although the First and Second Five Year Development Plans have proposed some measures and recommendations concerning the solution of these problems both for the short and the long-run, quantitatively and qualitatively, the result did not reach expectations—some of the measures remained in theory only. A great number of proposed measures were not put into force during the last ten years.

Existing manpower resources and gaps in the Second Five Year Plan period are given in Table 2.

As it is seen in the following table, manpower gaps are growing. Closing these gaps and establishing an effective management, the most productive utilisation of existing manpower resources, prevention of surplus in some sectors and increasing the mobility are required.

#### V. Developments in the Planned Period and Manpower Problems of Turkey

Although there have been significant increases in the number of skilled personnel in the planned period, bottlenecks and rigidities have continued to maintain their existence in satisfying manpower requirements on time both quantitatively and qualitatively, and their efficient utilisation. Within the technical branches, however the supply of technicians and some skilled personnel has fallen short of the requirements. A similar situation



Table 2  
Second Five Year Development Plan—Existing Manpower and 1970-72 Gaps

Occupations	Present Manpower 1965	Manpower Gaps		
		1970	1975	1980
1. Engineers	20,132	12,418	23,912	44,635
2. Supporting Scientific Personnel	33,627	20,072	62,075	141,365
3. Agriculture and Forest	8,831	5,701	9,043	17,091
4. Physics and Chemistry related manpower	4,317	308	621	1,124
5. Skilled Workers	1,235,062	337,320	884,563	1,575,682
6. Doctors	10,895	16	2,775	9,605
7. Supporting Medical Staff	18,636	8,363	25,063	47,770

Source: Second Five Year Development Plan Studies for 1965, April 1967, Manpower, p. 15, Table 7, and p. 16, Table 8.

was also observed in the health personnel category. (Tables 3, 4 and 5)

In addition to these, imbalanced distribution of manpower both at country and sectoral level is apparent, and this point is particularly important concerning teachers, medical staff and technical manpower. The brain-drain also causes the existing gap to be enlarged. It was determined that, until 1970, 7% of architects, 5.3% of mechanical engineers, 8.2% of doctors and 21.4% of medical practitioners emigrated to foreign countries to work. Similarly the emigration of skilled workers increases this gap considerably. The emigration of 88,000 skilled workers in the 1965-70 period increased the requirements in this field by 26%. It will be recalled that the number of Turkish workers employed abroad at the end of 1971 reached 570,000, and it is estimated to be approximately 800,000 at the end of 1973. The Third Five Year Plan assumes that this rate of increases will not change and estimates the number of workers going abroad at approximately 350,000. This means a yearly outflow of 70,000. Although, during 1973, 134,000 workers went abroad, the 1974 picture is

Table 3  
Quantitative Improvement of Technical Manpower

Occupation Groups	1960	1965	1970
<b>Engineers</b>	15,461	17,692	31,401
Construction Engineers and Architects	4,168	5,552	12,469
Mechanical Engineers	1,866	2,550	5,101
Electrical and Electronics Engineers	907	1,415	2,494
Metallurgists	660	773	1,474
Chemical Engineers	984	914	3,174
Map Makers, Cartographers, Topographers	1,023	1,386	2,721
Other Engineers	5,853	5,102	3,968
<b>Technicians</b>	27,056	37,417	54,753
Construction Technicians	6,336	5,505	8,162
Mechanical Technicians, Assembly Workers	4,263	4,179	9,522
Electrical and Electronics Technicians	3,205	4,904	6,348
Metallurgical Technicians	205	316	794
Technical Painters, etc.	1,925	5,572	8,502
Chemical Technicians	106	315	907
Laboratory Assistants and Pharmaceutical			
Laboratory Assistants	5,373	7,382	11,223
Other Technicians	5,643	9,244	9,295
<b>Agricultural Staff</b>	5,555	8,957	17,923
Agricultural Engineers	1,504	3,034	
Forestry Engineers	922	1,539	10,316
Veterinarians	1,398	1,574	1,927
Agricultural Technicians and Biologists	1,376	1,964	
Forestry Technicians	88	444	5,567
Animal Health Workers	246	345	113
Others	21	57	—
<b>Skilled Workers</b>	998,902	1,235,391	1,831,110
Furnace, Rolling mill and foundry workers	13,759	19,379	10,948
Machine, Equipment and Metal Products	182,874	235,981	291,231
Electricians and related Workers	24,924	39,393	59,184
Construction and related jobs	100,983	119,755	407,752
Other Skilled Workers	676,362	820,883	1,041,995

Source: State Institute of Statistics.



Table 4  
Quantitative Improvement of Manpower in Health Services  
(In thousands)

	1962	1967	1971
Doctors	9.0	11.9	15.8
Dentists	1.6	2.2	3.2
Pharmacists	1.5	2.2	3.0
Nurses	1.6	6.2	8.8
Medical Staff	3.4	5.9	9.9
Midwives	3.7	5.6	11.3

Source: Ministry of Health and Social Welfare

Table 5  
Number of Teachers by Educational Levels

	1960-61	1966-67	1970-71
Primary Education	61,230	95,417	134,624
Secondary Education (General)	7,469	13,876	20,459
Secondary Education (Vocational and Technical)	5,123	8,688	10,895
University and Higher Education	4,071	5,517	8,499

Source: Ministry of Education.

clouded by the threat of a major recession aggravated by the oil crisis. If a serious recession occurs in 1974, not only will the outflow of workers cease, but people employed abroad cannot hope to remain in their host country. This particular aspect of the subject will be analysed in a later section of this article.

In the light of the results derived from the implementations of the First and Second Five Year Development Plans, the critical problems which must be solved immediately in the training of manpower in sufficient number and quality can be listed as follows:

#### 1. Quantity and Quality Problems

a) The sectoral distribution of manpower in Turkey is not proportional to requirements. It is estimated that there was 1.6 million surplus labour in the economy at the end of 1972.

However, some branches of non-agricultural sectors suffer from certain manpower shortages.

b) A suitably comprehensive training system has not been designed to meet the requirements of the economy.

c) In 1972, the manpower requirements of the economy in such fields as architecture, construction, chemistry, agriculture and forestry were exceeded by increases in the availability of highly qualified manpower. An increasing number of Private Engineering Schools created this imbalanced situation.

d) Due regard has not been given to increasing the numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers in order to keep pace with the evergrowing availability of highly qualified manpower. Thus, the numbers of technicians and skilled workers have not met the economy's requirements.

e) The number of students in technical and vocational training schools is less than the number in general education. For this reason the ratio of students per teacher in general education increased and the number of teachers became insufficient to meet the increase.

f) Since in higher technical education necessary importance has not been given to scientific and technical research, this has caused scientific research to lag behind imported advanced technology.

g) The number of technicians per engineer is very low and gradually decreasing, causing manpower to be misused, so that the desired level of production falls behind predicted levels.

h) A similar situation is also seen in the health services: insufficiency of the ratio of supporting health personnel per doctor decreases the efficiency of medical services.

i) Although there are sufficient numbers of managerial and administrative personnel, their quality cannot be said to be high enough to meet the requirements of modern management.

#### 2. The Problem of Regional and Sectoral Allocation of Manpower

In Turkey the regional and sectoral distribution of manpower is imbalanced. During the two planned periods this distribution has not been changed, and particularly in the service sector the surplus has increased. Despite the measures taken, this uneven



distribution is more apparent in the allocation of teachers and medical staff than in other fields.

### 3. *Emigration of Skilled Workers*

For various reasons, trained manpower is seeking employment opportunities in foreign countries and the problem of the brain-drain is becoming exceedingly important. At the time of writing, one-tenth of existing skilled manpower is employed abroad. In addition to the emigration of professional manpower, skilled workers are also leaving the country at an ever-increasing rate. Between 1965 and 1972, the average skill mix of the emigrated labour force was between 30 and 35 per cent; in 1973, it reached the striking proportion of 45.7%, severely aggravating the situation in some already hard-hit branches.

### 4. *The Problems of Manpower Supply*

The main problems encountered in manpower supply are the insufficiency of resources allocated to training, imbalanced distribution of scarce resources among technical, vocational and general training, long gestation periods of investment in the field of training, and lack of adjustment of the training system to an expanding economy. In the field of higher education scarce resources were diverted from the technical branches requiring high cost and long-maturity periods that the economy demands to those in which there were already surpluses that the economy cannot use such as literature, philosophy, languages, etc.

The high tendency of supporting personnel in various fields to go on to higher education caused a sharp decline in filling their places.

### 5. *Wage Problem*

Imbalanced and insufficient wages have caused the already existing wage differentials between private and public sectors to increase. Thus, there have been technical manpower movements from the public to the private sector and from the private sector to foreign countries.

## VI. *Manpower in the Third Plan*

The Third Five Year Plan stipulates that in the manpower policy of the years ahead due account will be taken of the inter-dependencies between training, industrialisation and employment and prime emphasis will be put on supplying the necessary manpower required by an expanding economy. Skilled manpower trained in past plan periods will be used for the new requirements of industrialisation and growing manpower needs precipitated by the new technology will be trained.

From the end of 1976 Turkey will be affected by the free circulation of labour within the Common Market in accordance with the provisions of the Additional Protocol which states the conditions of full association between Turkey and the European Economic Community.

Manpower requirements in the Third Five Year Plan were estimated by the SPO by taking into account production, value-added, investment, employment and improvements in productivity and international comparisons. It was assumed that the volume of emigration will not be different from previous years. Sectoral breakdown of manpower structure in the years 1970 and 1992 is given in the Table 6.

In addition to the policies which will be followed in the field of education, it will be necessary to develop policies concerning the efficient utilisation of manpower, wages, working conditions and social status in order to attain targets in the manpower field. It was assumed that, in the Third Plan period, manpower demands would be met by the working of the present training institutions at full capacity. Since the results of the investments in the field of education and the new training system can be achieved solely in the long run, manpower gaps can only be closed in the Fifth Plan Period.

Manpower needs in health services have been estimated by assuming no change in physical units and manpower utilisation standards. Since health service standards will be increased after 1982, there will be a significant increase in manpower requirements depending on these targets. The supply of managerial and administrative personnel will rise so as to meet the demand in 1977.



Table 6  
Sectoral Breakdown of Manpower Structure in 1970 and 1992 (Per cent)

	1970				1992			
Occupational Groups	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Total	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Total
Engineers	1.0	54.0	45.0	100	0.6	64.4	39.0	100
Agricultural personnel	23.0	11.0	67.0	100	45.0	12.0	43.0	100
Natural Science personnel	1.0	24.0	75.0	100	1.2	46.8	52.0	100
Technicians	1.0	57.0	42.0	100	0.8	65.2	34.0	100
Entrepreneurs and management class	2.0	20.0	78.0	100	1.0	32.0	67.0	100
Skilled workers and artisans	4.0	54.0	42.0	100	2.0	87.0	11.0	100

The solution of the above-mentioned problems, in addition to meeting growing demands rationally and the utilisation of manpower in accordance with rational priorities will be the keystones of the Third Five Year Plan. This of course requires national manpower planning.

Manpower mobility between sectors and regions is affected by wage and employment policies. If the necessary measures are taken, the drain of skilled workers from the public to the private sector will be discouraged.

The existing educational system is not considered adequate for the training of skilled manpower and therefore the emphasis will be given to on-the-job training and the necessary programmes will be prepared. Surplus labour in agriculture will be trained and transferred to industry in order to increase labour mobility. As soon as the "Industrial Training Bill", which was prepared by the

Employment Service, becomes law it will bring major improvements in the fields of pre-employment and on-the-job training. This bill encompasses work sites employing more than 15 employees in order to transform unskilled workers into skilled ones. Thus the requirements of an expanded economy for skilled manpower will be satisfied this way.

#### VI. Employment—Domestic and External

In the First and Second Five Year Development Plans, it was expected that the employment problem would take care of itself as a result of rapid economic growth. It was thought that rapid economic development would generate ample employment opportunities.

Although the First Five Year Plan adopted employment as an independent goal *per se* this was only a qualitative objective and was not integrated into the macro model as an independent variable. In the Second Development Plan employment was considered a dependent variable and employment targets were derived as a result of income growth.

In the Third Five Year Plan strategy, long-term development targets are broken down in a systematized manner. These ultimate targets are industrialisation, decreasing dependence on external sources, amelioration of the employment problem and equitable income distribution. Therefore the solution of the employment crisis was considered as one of the most important ultimate aims of the 25-year Perspective Plan. It was assumed that employment and income distribution problems would resolve themselves during the process of industrialisation, so they are not considered among the short-term goals of the Third Five Year Plan. In summary it can be stated that full employment will be reached by the end of the Perspective Plan period (1995) but no policy action was proposed as a means of reaching the target.

#### 1. Progress in the Employment Situation during the First two Development Plans (1962-1972)

Improvements in employment during the First and Second Five Year Plan periods are given in Table 7.



Table 7  
Improvements in Employment (1962-1972)  
(in thousands)

Year	15-64 Population Age Group (1)	No. Employed (2)	15-64 Population Age Group not in the active labour force (3)
1962	15,970	12,520	3,450
1967	17,920	13,270	4,650
1972	20,350	14,110	6,240

Source: Third Five Year Development Plan p. 76.  
Turkish workers abroad were not taken into account.

Employment in the 15-64 age group during the planned period rose from 12.5 million in 1962 to 14.1 million in 1972 at an increase of 12.7%. However, the rate of increase of the same section of the population was 27.3%. As this situation shows, employment opportunities increased less than the population growth.

The analysis of the sectoral breakdown of employment in the past two Plan periods leads to important observations. Table 8 shows the sectoral distribution of civilian employment in the last ten years.

Table 8  
Sectoral Distribution of Civilian Employment (1962-1972)

Sectors	1962 (1)	1967 (2)	1972 (3)	1962 (4)	1967 (5)	1972 (6)
Agriculture	9,220	9,070	8,770	71.1%	71.3%	65.0%
Industry	995	1,175	1,520	8.3%	9.2%	11.8%
Services	1,660	2,150	3,070	13.9%	16.8%	22.7%
Other	80	340	130	0.7%	2.7%	1.0%
Total	11,955	12,735	13,480	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Third Five Year Development Plan, p. 78.

Analysis of the Table shows that there is a marked decline in the share of agriculture in employment. This is the usual pattern observed in an expanding economy. The second conclusion de-

rived from the Table is that employment opportunities generated during this ten-year period have been mostly in the service sector. This is an indication of an uneven development strategy.

## 2. Employment in the Third Five Year Plan

In the Third Five Year Plan, the realisation of full employment and the attainment of just income distribution have been adopted as the long-term perspective goals. Also it was accepted in the perspective Plan that in 1995 full employment will be attained with one-quarter of the working population being employed in agriculture, one-quarter in industry and the remaining portion in services.

The policies to be implemented in the perspective Plan period to increase employment possibilities and ameliorate income distribution will be put into effect in such a way that the pace of industrialisation will not be slowed down. In other words, the solution of the employment problem in the short-run will not be found by adopting labour intensive technology and setting up an unemployment insurance system at the expense of industrialisation. The contrast between rapid industrialisation and full employment in the short run will be gradually eliminated at the end of the perspective Plan period. In fields such as chemicals, petro-chemicals, machinery, iron and steel and metal working industries the most advanced and capital-intensive technologies will be used. However, in the construction, ship-building, electronics, forest products and earthenware industries labour-intensive technologies will be adopted. These industries require intensive labour and do not suffer from international competition.

During the Third Five Year Plan period, emphasis will also be given to the collection of more accurate employment data.

Long-term projections in the labour supply and demand situation are given in Table 9.

Table 10 gives the sectoral breakdown of employment in percentage terms.

This table shows the sectoral distribution of employment in the perspective Plan period.

Of course the employment opportunities foreseen to be created in the non-agricultural sectors will depend on the attainment of production targets. On the assumption that these targets will



be achieved total demand for labour will reach 14,980,000. (See Table 11).

Table 9  
Supply of and demand for Civilian Labour Force

	1972	1977	1987	1995
Supply of Civilian Labour Force	14.3	16.0	21.0	26.0
Agriculture	8.8	8.6	8.0	6.2
Non-Agriculture	5.5	7.4	13.0	19.8
Demand for Labour force	13.5	14.9	19.0	25.2
Employment in Agric.	8.8	8.6	8.0	6.2
Employment in Non-Agric.	4.7	6.3	11.0	19.0
Industry	1.5	2.1	3.4	5.6
Services	3.2	4.2	7.6	13.4
Total unemployment	1.0	1.8	2.5	0.8
In Agricultural Sector	0.9	0.7	0.5	—
In Non-Agricultural Sector	0.8	1.1	2.0	0.8

Table 10  
Sectoral breakdown of Employment (%)

Sectors	1972	1977	1987	1995
Agriculture	65	58	42	25
Non-Agriculture	35	42	58	75
Industry	11	14	18	22
Services	24	28	40	53
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 11  
Total Civilian Employment Projections in the Third Five Year Plan Period (15-64 age group)  
(in thousands)

Male + Female	1972	1977	1977
Agriculture	8,763	8,600	
Non-Agriculture	4,586	6,197	
Other	133	133	
Total Demand for Labour Force	13,482	14,930	
Labour Force Emigration	85	50	
	13,567	14,980	

Source: Third Five Year Plan, p. 662.

The supply of labour force in the Third Five Year Plan period is shown in Table 12.

Table 12  
Projections of Labour Force Supply in the Third Plan Period  
(15-64 age group)  
(in thousands)

	1972 (1)	1977 (2)
Total Population (15-64 age group)	37,536	42,630
Labour Force Supply	14,317	23,371
	16,080	

Source: State Planning Organisation.

Even if the production targets foreseen in the Third Five Year Plan period are attained it is expected that there will be no significant change in total labour surplus. As it was 11.2% in 1972, it will be the same in 1977. The problems of low working hours, low productivity and low wage levels will remain.

As it is seen, the Third Five Year Plan, unlike the preceding two, foresees keeping the surplus ratio constant and perpetuates the unemployment problem.

#### VIII. Critical Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan

It is obvious that the closing of manpower gaps can only be achieved if it can be combined with a training programme and a purposeful educational system. Developing countries have to put more emphasis on the problem of satisfying manpower needs which are created in the process of economic development. The problem is not only training, but at the same time the optimum use of already-trained manpower.

The choice of training systems determines the skill mix of manpower and selected production techniques affect employment generation. Therefore, manpower planning and employment policies have a direct and indirect bearing on every sector of the economy.

The focal point of economic development is not the search for a factor or factors that have to be stressed to accelerate the rates of growth to pre-conceived levels, but the discovery of the right



relationships or proportions among the various factors of development which, if observed, would ensure an organic and vigorous development of the economy. Perhaps the most important method of discovering these relationships is to proceed on the assumption that the process of economic development is essentially an organic process and the proportion observed in the early stages of development in the advanced countries are relevant for other countries also. This thought is developed and illustrated by tracing Japan's educational development in the early stages and comparing it with the conditions and targets of the Turkish Third Five Year Plan.

In developing countries the capital-output ratio in training is high. This ratio decreases after the required expenditures are made on infrastructures. The relationship between manpower and national income is shown in Table 13.

Table 13  
Relationship Between Manpower Needs and National Income

Year	Rate of Growth of Manpower	Rate of Growth of National Income	Ratio of Manpower to National Income
1960	—	—	—
1965	15.6%	13.2%	1.18%
1970	16.7%	18.5%	0.94%

In Japan this ratio was 1.7% between 1896 and 1900, 3.3% between 1901 and 1905, and 3.5% between 1906 and 1910.

Questions about the quality of graduates and the possibilities of disguised or open unemployment present some difficulties in applying this ratio to the situation currently prevailing in a developing country like Turkey. However, this does not minimize the basic significance of this relationship to any considerable extent. Table 14 and Table 17 showing training expenditure and growth of national income show the relative position of Turkey in this context with respect to other countries. That Japan's expenditure on education and training was less than 2 per cent of its national income during the first three decades of its development and that it was less than 3 per cent during the take-off period, is of considerable importance. Many developing countries are currently spending more than that without any appreciable increase in the

rate of growth. This raises the question whether they are right in spending that much from the point of view of ensuring co-ordinated development, and optimum resource allocation. The educational structure of manpower is given in the following table:

Table 14  
Educational Structure of Manpower (in thousands)

Level of Education	1960		1965		1970	
Graduate	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
University and Higher Education	99.4	0.8	146.5	1.1	230.9	1.7
Vocational School	127.6	1.0	193.2	1.5	315.1	2.3
High School	100.7	0.8	135.4	1.0	216.4	1.6
Middle School	255.9	2.1	297.5	2.3	435.5	3.2
Primary School	2,829.8	23.0	3,724.6	28.6	4,933.7	36.1
Literate, not graduate	—	—	1,684.5	12.9	1,372.7	10.0
Illiterate	8,872.9	72.3	6,824.9	52.6	6,170.1	45.1
Total	12,286.3	100.0	13,006.6	100.0	13,674.4	100.0

Source: State Institute of Statistics.

The following table shows the comparative educational standard of the emigrated labour force and the domestic labour force.

Table 15  
Educational Attainment of Migrants and Domestic Labour Force

Graduates of:	Migrants	Domestic
	TYS	1965 Economically Active Population — Males
Primary	60.5	55.7
Secondary	2.5	4.2
Vocational	1.4	6.7
High School	0.6	1.1
Higher	n.a.	2.8

Source: Turkish Employment Service — 1969, (10, p. 11), SPO, Table 10.



Those emigrating are from the most dynamic, younger section of the population and, as the table shows, are also the most educated and highly trained workers. If Turkey continues to meet the ever-increasing demand for skilled workers from abroad she can do so only at increasing costs to her own industrial growth. Undoubtedly, Turkish industrialists are already incurring higher costs and lower marginal productivity because of the increased labour turnover and skilled labour losses emanating from emigration. If Turkey, in order to alleviate the domestic unemployment problem, continues to send workers abroad, a drastic review of her emigration policy will be necessary bearing in mind her future partnership in the Common Market. Turkey now faces severe shortages of semi-skilled and skilled labour as identified in the Third Five Year Development Plan.

In Turkey, training expenditures within the national income in the 1950-1965 period were 4.37%, and the annual rate of increase was 9.5% the same period. Table 17 indicates that although the annual rate of increase in training expenditure is less than the averages of other countries, there is however an increase in the ratio of it to Gross National Product and National Income. Table 18 shows the biased composition of the Turkish educational system compared with other countries.

The ratio of technical training within higher and middle education is very important, particularly so in a developing country like Turkey. The ratio of technical training to general education in Turkey is 20.2%, whereas the same ratio is 54.0% in Germany, 73.5% in Yugoslavia and 32.3% in Italy.

As mentioned above, the problem of Turkey's development is not only the problem of creating the manpower required for industrialisation, but also its efficient utilisation. The rate of growth of the active labour force (15-64 age group) is much higher than the employment opportunities created and this has caused the significant unemployment problem to deteriorate.

It is estimated that the participation rate to the labour force will reach 39.40% in 1990 in accordance with the estimated development. It is also estimated that the labour force supply will increase from 14.3 million in 1972 to 26.0 million in 1995. Thus, Turkey is confronted with the creation of 12 million jobs until 1995. This will become the major problem of subsequent Plan periods.

Out of 14.3 million in 1972 only 12.7 million are fully employed, leaving 1.6 million of which 850,000 are under-employed in agriculture and 750,000 are either employed in marginal activities or are urban unemployed.

#### *External Employment—Emigration*

##### *The Position of Turkey as a Supplier of Labour*

Turkey is a late-comer to the migratory labour movement. Labour movement from Turkey to western European countries started in 1961 on a small scale and reached important proportions depending on the development trends of the manpower demanding countries. Turkish workers went mainly to central European countries at the start; when the idea spread migrant workers began to go to Australia, Canada, the United States and the oil-producing Arab countries but the numbers going to these countries are still small compared with those going to Europe. Although the migratory flows from Turkey extend to all the developed countries of western Europe, West Germany occupies by far the most prominent position among countries receiving Turkish workers.

#### *The impact of the manpower export on the domestic employment situation*

In neither the First nor the Second Five Year Plans did the macro models incorporate employment as an independent variable but rather considered it a problem which would be solved automatically as a result of the industrial growth and rapid implementation of industrialisation objectives. In actual fact although the volume of employment increased in both Plan periods, the rise has not been sufficient to prevent steadily increasing unemployment year by year. The surplus labour increased from 985,000 in 1962 to 1.6m in 1972 and to almost 1.7m in 1973; in percentage terms it increased from 8.8 per cent in 1962 to 11 per cent in 1973.

The Perspective Plan covering the next 22 years has as one of its greatest targets full employment in 1995. Between now and that date the prime target will continue to be rapid industrialisa-



tion unhampered by employment considerations. This situation makes the choice of technology an important factor. It was stipulated in the Third Five Year Plan that Turkey should adopt the most sophisticated technologies in the production of basic and intermediate goods producing industries which are subject to international competition without worrying about the employment objective, but she should adopt labour-intensive technologies in the production of domestically traded goods, and infrastructure projects. In addition it was foreseen that labour-intensive industries such as electronics and metal-working branches should be encouraged in order to increase employment creation. It is obvious that, like the two preceding Five Year Plans, employment creation has not been considered the prime mover in the Third Five Year Plan either. There is no need to explain the basic fallacy inherent in this kind of philosophy, which does not take the resource endowment of the country into proper account. Of course, as might be guessed, the natural corollary of such a policy is an even deteriorating employment situation which renders the export of manpower an unavoidable alternative.

In the First Plan period 240,000 workers were sent abroad; in the Second Plan period 450,000 emigrated in the same way. If it is assumed that the number of workers who return permanently to Turkey each year equals the number who go abroad illegally to find work the ratio of the external employment to the surplus domestic labour force can be determined. This ratio was 16.6 in 1967 and it reached 43.6 in 1972. Moreover the ratio of the external employment during the first two Plan periods (approximately 690,000) constituted 43 per cent of the domestic employment generation in the same period (which was approximately 1.6m).

The Perspective Plan predicts that an additional 1 million will be sent abroad from 1972 to 1987 and from then on inflow and outflow will cancel each other out, and the level of the external employment in 1995 will continue to maintain the level at the end of 1987. That is to say the attainment of full employment in 1995 will only be achieved under these conditions. This explanation clearly indicates that emigration will play an important role in fulfilling the targets set down in the Perspective Plan period.

Although long-run trends in the main European worker-receiving countries show immigration as a permanent feature of those

economies as shown in the Table 16, the conjunctural fluctuations will of course influence these migratory flows.

Table 16  
*Labour Surpluses and Shortages in Europe in 1980*

	Variants for Scarcities (-) or labour demand redundancies (+) (million)	
Group I (industrialised market countries)	Low	-4.7
	Central	-11.2
	High	-12.8
Group II (countries of emigration)	Low	+7.6
	High	+10.5
Group III (centrally-planned countries), (incl. Soviet Union)	Low	+15.9
	High	+24.5
Group III excl. Soviet Union	Low	+4.1
	High	+6.8

Source: Luisa Danieli, "Labour Scarcities and Labour Redundancies in Europe by 1980: An Experimental Study," in *The Demographic and Social Pattern of Emigration from the Southern European Countries*, Florence: Dipartimento Statistico Matematico, 1971.

What emerges from this table is that large scale immigration of workers to European labour markets is likely to continue for the foreseeable future. But the fact that countries of immigration asked for workers and got families and human beings created severe problems concerning the absorptive capacity of the host countries. Furthermore officials in some recipient countries are concerned about the heavy concentration of foreign workers in certain regions and key metropolitan areas. For instance the regional concentration of foreign workers is indicated by the fact that over 50 per cent of foreign labour live on less than 4 per cent of German soil. In addition to these mounting social problems caused by lack of the necessary infrastructure it should be borne in mind that there is a widespread belief in the most industrially-advanced countries of the West that economic growth will soon reach limits beyond which further growth might become



self-defeating and will undermine the environment. Therefore we do not know for the time being how long this growth race will continue. These are long-run considerations working against large-scale worker immigration.

Since some of these current problems strike at the very foundations of the social fabric of a country, the current topic under discussion in some of these host countries is the idea of exporting capital rather than importing labour. This in essence becomes the reversal of labour migration. But there is a dichotomy here: for-

Table 17  
Training Expenditures and Growth of National Income

Country	Annual Percentage Growth in Training Expenditure	Annual Rate of Growth in GNP (1955-1957)	Training Expenditure			
			% of of GNP		% of National Income	
			1955	1965	1955	1965
W. Germany	9.3 (1950-1966)	5.1	2.17	2.93	2.80	3.48
Belgium	9.3	4.4	3.11	3.68	3.98	4.79
Spain	10.4 (1950-1966)	7.0	1.08	1.96	1.24	2.27
France	11.0 (1952-1967)	4.9	2.83	4.55	3.73	6.05
Greece	12.2 (1950-1966)	6.3	1.50	2.10	1.78	2.55
Italy	13.7 (1957-1965)	5.3	2.98	5.19	3.79	6.48
Japan	9.8 (1950-1965)	9.6	4.56	4.55	5.70	5.64
Netherlands	11.4 (1950-1967)	4.4	3.57	6.19	4.41	7.53
Portugal	6.5 (1950-1965)	5.4	1.58	1.44	1.85	1.66
United Kingdom	7.8 (1953-1965)	3.0	2.77	4.17	3.32	5.21
Yugoslavia	17.5 (1952-1967)	8.5	2.22	4.33	2.47	4.68
Turkey	9.5 (1950-1967)	4.6	2.17	3.76	2.50	4.37

Source: OECD.

eign workers are heavily concentrated in branches of industry which cannot be exported, namely mining, construction, and services. On the other hand, private foreign capital most often takes the form of simple assembly operations, the value of which is questioned by many planners in Turkey.

Although a relatively latecomer into the recent migration phenomenon, Turkey is one of the major suppliers of workers for western Europe, especially so for Germany. Almost 45 per cent of the immigration to Germany in 1973 was from Turkey. Over 80 per cent of the Turkish migration in the past was to Germany. It is not necessary to point out the danger of vulnerability stemming from this situation as was clearly demonstrated by the German decision to impose a temporary halt on further immigration as a result of the oil crisis. There is no doubt that Germany needed an opportunity to put long thought-out measures concerning immigration into effect and the oil crisis came at a very convenient time in that respect. There were already visible signs of uneasiness in German society when the number of foreign

Table 18  
Rate of Professional and Technical Manpower in the Working Population\*

Country	Active Population (in thousands)	Professional and Technical manpower (in thousands)	Ratio of professional and Technical Manpower to Active Population (%)
Belgium	3,375	281	8.3
Canada	6,472	627	9.7
Denmark	2,094	158	7.5
France	18,955	1,882	9.9
Germany	26,527	2,037	7.7
United Kingdom	23,100	1,994	8.6
Greece	3,663	156	4.2
Japan	43,690	2,137	4.9
Netherlands	4,168	380	9.1
Norway	1,406	113	8.0
Portugal	3,316	92	2.8
Sweden	3,244	374	11.5
Yugoslavia	1,256	362	28.9
TURKEY (1960)	11,999	205	1.7
TURKEY (1965)	13,590	289	2.1

Source: OECD, 1969 Statistics.

\* Statistics given for above countries cover the years 1960-1962, except Turkey.



workers reached the 2 million mark. The same crisis has also provided a good example to Turkey of the danger of relying heavily on labour migration as a means of solving the employment problem. The recent crisis flagrantly demonstrated that the host countries still continue to see the foreign labour in their economies as a kind of conjunctural shock-absorber, to be ma-

Table 19  
Percentage Distribution of Students in Secondary Education  
Between General and Vocational Training (1968)

Country		Number	Percent
Turkey	General	849,533	79.8
	Vocational-Technical	214,013	20.2
	Total	1,063,546	100.0
Italy	General	2,365,059	67.7
	Vocational-Technical	1,124,556	32.3
	Total	3,468,915	100.0
W. Germany	General	2,038,948	46.0
	Vocational-Technical	2,616,093	54.0
	Total	4,424,737	100.0
France	General	2,879,264	74.3
	Vocational-Technical	991,069	25.7
	Total	3,870,333	100.0
USSR	General	4,440,000	51.0
	Vocational-Technical	4,261,500	49.0
	Total	8,701,500	100.0
Yugoslavia	General	183,193	26.5
	Vocational-Technical	505,629	73.5
	Total	688,822	100.0
Mexico	General	1,085,829	82.5
	Vocational-Technical	229,519	17.5
	Total	1,315,348	100.0
Persia	General	781,507	96.8
	Vocational-Technical	25,118	3.2
	Total	806,625	100.0
Luxembourg	General	9,946	58.0
	Vocational-Technical	7,179	42.0
	Total	17,125	100.0
Bulgaria	General	107,915	28.7
	Vocational-Technical	266,807	71.3
	Total	374,722	100.0

Source: UN "Statistical Yearbook" 1970.

nipulated according to the vagaries and the dictates of the current situation.

### IX. Conclusion

The preceding pages clearly show that Turkey suffers from an employment crisis like many similar developing countries. Economic science so far has not discovered the law of motion of employment creation. It is the most difficult economic problem to tackle; the economic philosophy of the post-war world carries a share of the blame for this. None of the Five-Year plans have proposed a viable solution so far to this problem of employment. Underlying all the three Five-Year plans is a basic assumption that economic development is a push-button process in which capital is considered the master switch which could set the process in motion and lead the country to an advanced stage of development. The focal point of development is not putting so much emphasis on capital but the finding of the right relationships or proportions among the various factors of development which would ensure an organic and vigorous development of the economy. The emphasis of the 1950s and '60s shows clearly that economic development cannot be achieved unless the right emphasis is given to the resource endowment of the country involved. Turkey has an abundant supply of labour and any economic development philosophy has to take this fact into proper account. The neglect of this important point has been at the expense of the deteriorating employment situation. It would be a natural corollary of the experience of the last two decades to formulate a different policy approach in the Perspective and Third Five Year plans. Unfortunately the Third Five Year plan repeats the mistakes of the preceding two and elevates the emigration of workers to an unavoidable alternative. It cannot be claimed that the Third Five Year plan is realistic in this respect either because it does not take the emerging conjunctural tendencies into consideration. It seems that the highest Turkish labour-absorbing western European country—Germany—has reached a saturation point as far as labour immigration is concerned. Many surveys have been conducted on this theme and generally speaking they can be reduced to the following common denominators:



- a. Employing foreign workers increases economic growth but slows down the growth of living standards because the essential extra investment on the factory floor and in infrastructure cuts down the amount of consumer goods available for per capita consumption.
- b. The extension of the potential foreign labour force slows down the drive towards streamlining and rationalisation and hampers technological progress.
- c. Although national income increases by using foreign labour, the national product per capita does not increase. This is the current thinking in Germany, where over 80 per cent of the emigrating Turkish labour force has been going up to now.

Moreover the Third Five Year plan did not take the emerging policy conflicts between Turkish worker-receiving countries and Turkey into proper account. The first policy conflict is the ever-increasing percentage of skilled worker immigration creating shortages of skilled workers in many branches of domestic industry as identified in the Third Five Year Plan. The turnover rate of labour in some Turkish industries has already reached over 40 per cent.

Turkey's long-run interest is to advocate a mandatory rotation system in order to bring back her skilled labour from abroad.

The most serious conflict centres around the free labour mobility between Turkey and the European Common Market between 1976 and 1986. Germany is concerned about it and is approaching very cautiously any further negotiations concerning Turkey's entry into the Common Market. The future of emigration is fraught with difficulties and uncertainties: scarcities of space, raw materials and labour might reverse the present flow from developing countries to developed ones.

#### ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE MIGRATION



## STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN TURKEY

### *Its Relation to Migration*

OTTO NEULOH

1974 seems to be the beginning of a new phase of migration inside Europe between undeveloped countries and industrial societies. The past ten years of dynamic economic development were characterized by a very high rate of unlimited and nearly uncontrolled migration mobility. This time is for most European countries over. The government of the German Federal Republic has recently put an end to the exchange of foreign workers because of new trends in the economic and social development in Germany which include not only the crisis in oil production and transportation, but also the result of many difficulties in German economy and social relations. The three million number of foreign workers, the so-called "guest-workers", is understood as the limit capacity of the labour market. Also there is much resistance against the unlimited migration on the part of the German people. It is not necessary to summarize all the reasons of this unexpected change, but it is very important to keep in mind that this new phase may bring up tensions, and thus original reasons and motivations of dynamic migration may be forgotten.

The following analysis of the relations between structural unemployment in Turkey and migration of Turks will be focused on the co-ordination of economic and social rationality in the migration policy of a very important migration country. Therefore it seems necessary to briefly survey the employment situation in Turkey and the motivations of Turkish migrants into foreign countries. The purpose of this analysis is a long-term investigation of the problem of rotation or integration of Turkish migrants and some repeated studies in German industrial areas. Three major questions, will be raised here:

1. the objective reasons of the large scale/migration of Turks into foreign countries;
2. the subjective motivations of Turkish migrants;
3. Turkey's perspectives on the relation between structural unemployment and migration.

### *1. The Objective Reasons of the Large Scale Migration of Turks into Foreign Countries*

There are different kinds of objective reasons; economic, financial, psychological, social and a few others, f.i. labour law and social insurance. Our analysis is primarily concentrated on sociological and social reasons, although the others can be very important. Sociological and social questions in the field of migration are connected with labour market problems in Turkey and the social situation of the Turkish people.

#### *1.1. Unsufficient theory of labour market*

We don't find labour market and unemployment relevant sociological theories in European social science. The methods of labour market research in particular have still not been clarified. The oldest publications started with the thesis, that only modern industrialism could be the basis for the development and differentiation of the labour market in the sense of social economy and occupational structure. The labour market in industrial society will be determined by the percentage of labour force depending on remuneration in wages and salaries. It is not quite sure, that both theses can be used in relation to the underdeveloped countries with the criterias of completeness or incompleteness of the labour market structure. This has to be proved in the economic and social situation of Turkey. We find the same problem in the definition of unemployment as a "lack of occupation of working people depending on wage and salary."<sup>1</sup> This means, that self employed people are not recognized as unemployed, although they have no occupational income. A definition like this can not include all unemployment situations in underdeveloped countries. A theory of a functioning labour market must consider not only economic, but also non-economic factors. Traditional economic theory did not take into account differences between the single kinds of markets, i.e. mercantile, financial and so on. It portrays the market mechanism of offer and demand as a self-regulating system, and applied the same conception to labour market. Two more progressive theories: the full employment theory of J. M. Keynes and the theory of social

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Willeke, Arbeitslosigkeit, in *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften*, Vol. 1, p. 305.



market economy of A. Muller-Armack, challenged this statement. The first author developed the theory of equilibrium between economic, non-economic factors and indicators like population growth, mobility readiness, working mentality, social relations, industrial relations and others. It was the first approach to deviate from the theory of full employment and unemployment by very close combination between the economic rationality of labour market with criterias of social rationality. The theory of social market economy was based on the recognition of the necessity of social measures and institutions to overcome the social shortcomings of free market competition. A social market economy entails a highly differentiated and elaborate system of social organizations to protect workers and consumers full employment, secure work-places and a stable monetary situation. It is inas-much as possible a progressive regulator of economic policy. Both theories, full employment and social economy, may be understood only as models and measures for evaluating the degree of economic and social deviation in the undeveloped and dis-functional labour market. We will try to use these theories in the analysis of the Turkish labour market and the objective reasons of large scale migrations.

### 1.2. *The social and cultural causes of unemployment in Turkey*

If the Turkish economy would be an industrial system with half of the economic and social structure of industrial countries like West Germany, Belgium or England, then no problem of expansive migration would exist in the situation and mentality of the Turkish people. In contrast to Italy, Spain and Greece, the Turks in the past did not get used to a workplace in foreign countries. They are not a society of migrants and mobility. Until recently, there were no large Turkish communities in the USA or other immigration countries. Therefore, we must ask what have been the special causes leading to the massive migration of Turks in the last ten years. In view of the different factors arised by various disciplines we have to limit the following analysis to four main points in the social and cultural situation: the disfunctional structure of the labour market, the gap between population growth and the labour market, the lag of educational and professional training and unemployment as a permanent social situation.

#### 1.2.1. *Disfunctional structure of labour market*

The two labour market theses mentioned before: modern industrialism and high percentage of wage and salary earning people, are not applicable to Turkey. Only 12% of about 14 million labour force are occupied in industry, only 25% of the labour force are employees, all other are selfemployed and unpaid family workers. This does not mean, that the self-employed don't try to get salaried positions, because of their poor situation, but this is exactly a further test of uncompleteness and disfunctional structure of Turkish labour market. Yet in the long-term distribution of the labour force we can observe some progressive changes in the economic and social structure during the last 25 years in Turkey.

Table 1  
*Distribution of Labour Force by Major Economic Sectors*

	%			
	1955	1960	1965	1970
Agriculture	77.4	74.0	71.4	67.0
Industry	8.1	9.6	10.2	12.1
Services	4.0	5.4	11.1	11.4
Others	10.5	11.0	7.3	9.5
	100	100	100	100

Source: State Institute of Statistics. Cited from: Sunday Uner, The population of Turkey. 1974 World Population Year C.I.C.R.E.D. Series (in press).

The table shows three major directions in the process of change: the decreasing numbers of people working in agriculture (about minus 13%), the growing number of workers in industry (plus 50%) and in the tertiary sector (services) from 4% to more than 11%, (nearly threefold). Although these tendencies are significant for the development toward an industrial society, the typical trend in underdeveloped countries is the enormous growth of services. There are two reasons for this: first, underdeveloped countries need a lot of planning and administrating offices and employees, because of the disfunctional structure of the labour market; on the other side the population of those countries does not like to be engaged in handicraft and heavy



industrial work but prefers employment in offices and similar positions. It is very significant for this reason, that in the Turkish bureaucracy from the ministry down to the local Government we find many clerks waiting in lobbies to be summoned to carry out letters or bring tea. The 12% of the labour force engaged in industry is mainly concentrated in the manufacturing industry and construction both rose from 6% to 8.4% and 1.6% and 2.8% respectively between 1955 & 1970. (<sup>2</sup> Uner, Sunday) Nevertheless the general structure of the labour market in Turkey is characterised by a predominant agriculture and the very small size of handicraft and salesmen. It is disfunctional in several aspects: First, in the general living standard, influenced by the poverty of the rural people and by the low standard of industry and commerce; secondly by the high percentage of self-employed and unpaid family workers without sufficient educational and professional background.

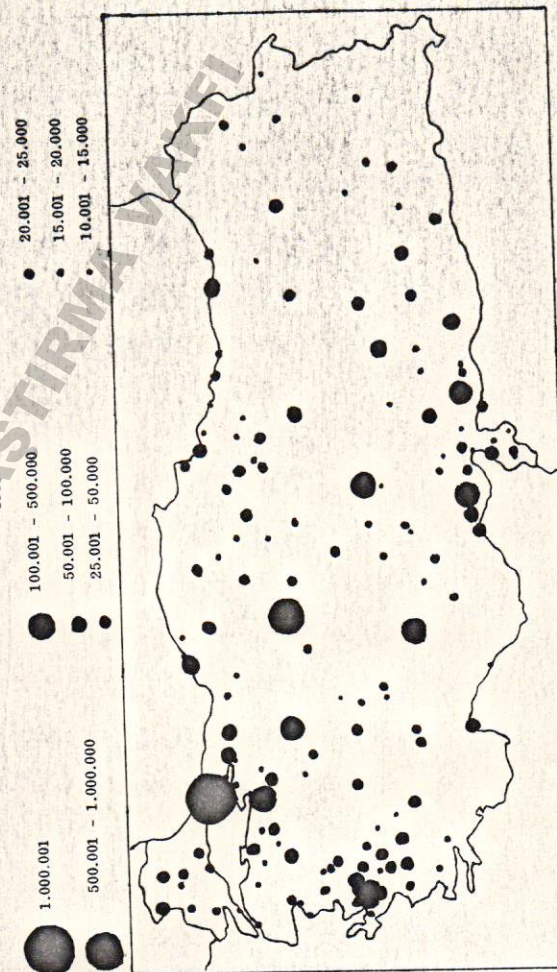
#### 1.2.2. The gap between population growth and labour market

Turkey has 38 millions inhabitants. This is nearly 3 times more than the findings of the first census after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1927, which was 13.5 millions. The present growth rate would rise the number of inhabitants to more than 50 millions in the next ten years and to about 70 millions in the year 2000. The quantitative development of the Turkish population is one of the most dynamic of all countries in the world. It is influenced not only by a high birth-rate, but also by declining mortality trend. One of the most important results of the high birth-rate is, that more than 40% of the population is younger than 15 years, nearly twice the figure of industrial societies. This means that the potential labour force between 15 and 65 years cannot exceed 50% of population. Consequently the population with an earning capacity, but in a disfunctional labour market, has to care for the half of all Turks (youth and old). From a regional perspective the problem varies because of different birth—and mortality-rates in urban and agrarian areas, and because of the concentration of industry in West Turkey and the lack of workplaces and earning possibilities in the highland Anatolia.

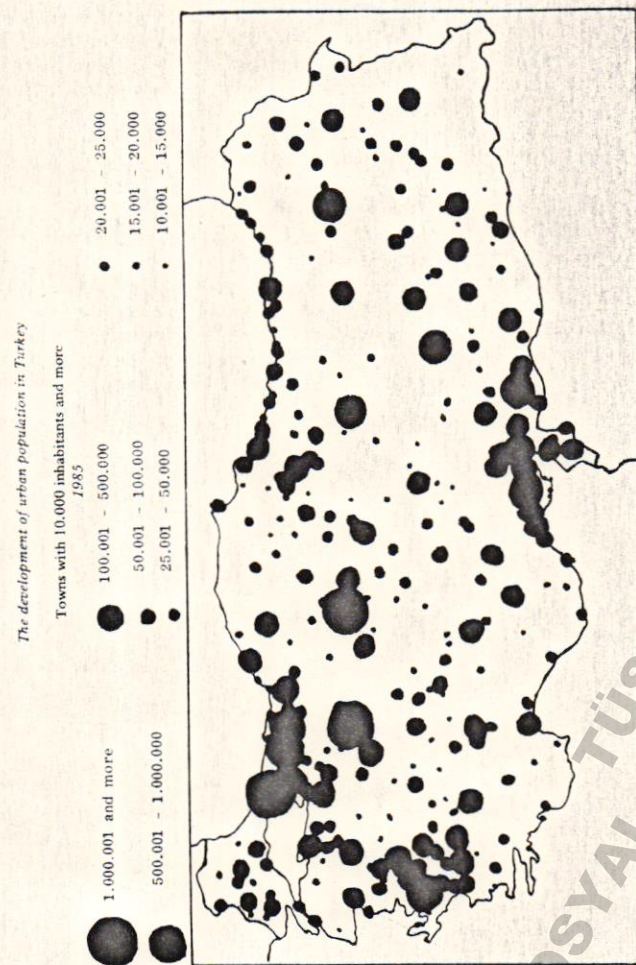
<sup>2</sup> State Institute of Statistics. Cited from: Sunday Uner, The Population of Turkey. 1974 World Population Year C.I.C.R.E.D. Series (in press).

The development of urban population in Turkey

Towns with 10,000 inhabitants and more  
1960







These are the main causes of large scale migration in the non-industrial areas of Turkey, primarily in Central Anatolia and in the eastern regions. The disfunctional structure of the labour market in Turkey can therefore be demonstrated by a high birth- and mortality-rate on the one hand and a lack of employment possibilities in Central and Eastern Anatolia, while Western Anatolia is more urbanized and economically developed. This disfunctional situation may lead to explosive developments in the future and one prospective study of the Turkish Central Planning Office recognizes that the shifting of the dynamic population for the next ten years from West to East will double or triple the population of the eastern towns. (See the diagrams on the pages 55 and 56).

### 1.2.3. *The lag of education and professional training*

A functioning labour market system depends on high standard of education in primary schools and a differentiated and graduated professional training. Illiterates are not active members in an industrial oriented labour market. Applicants for workplaces in industry without vocational and technical background can not cope with the quality requirements of modern industry. The following table shows the educational and vocational school situation in Turkey:

Table 2  
*Educational Attainments of the Labour Force*

	1960		1970	
	Number (Thousand)	%	Number (Thousand)	%
<b>Educational Level Completed</b>				
Illiterate	8,863	72.2	7,696	56.0
Primary School	2,829	23.0	4,931	35.9
Secondary School	255	2.1	407	3.0
Highschool	100	0.8	184	1.3
Secondary Vocational and Technical School	127	1.0	297	2.2
Higher Education	99	0.8	206	1.5
Unknowns	8	0.1	16	0.1
	12,281	100.0	13,737	100.0

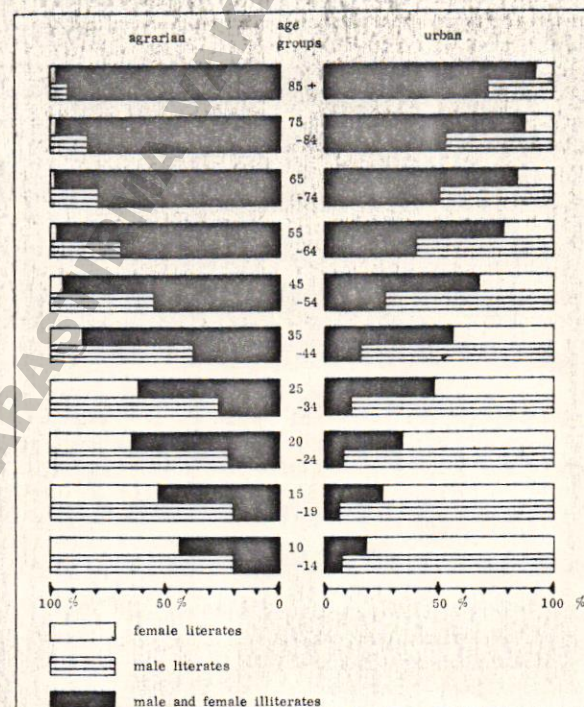
(See Sunday Uner, loc. cit.).



More than 50% of the potential labour force in Turkey is illiterate. This means, these people have not learnt the primitive forms of communication by writing and reading and have no background for industrial work with a same lacking knowledge in mathematics and physics. The table clearly demonstrates a declining trend in the number of illiterates and a rising rate of primary school attendance, but it must be known, that children in Turkey spend only five years in elementary school and that nearly one third of the 40,000 villages have still no school, especially in the removed rural areas of Central and Eastern Anatolia, the most important recruitment regions of large scale migration. On the other hand, the percentage of illiterates is very different for men and women, as the following age structure diagram (page 59) shows.

This accounts for the inferior status of women in Turkish families and society, particularly in the agrarian sector. Also remarkable is the proportion of illiteracy varying according to the age group. It makes evident the success in fighting against illiteracy for young people. Nevertheless the consequence of educational and vocational progress is the growing number of applicants for industrial workplaces and migrants to foreign countries with possibilities of qualified work and training. This leads to the question of the development of vocational and technical schools. In the table on educational attainments we found 297,000 students enrolled in such schools in 1970 in contrast to 127,000 in 1960, about 2 1/2 time. This means not only an enlargement of professional training facilities, but also a broader diffusion all over Turkey. The data in our study of various regions suggests the existence of general standards for the vocational and technical schools, but also differences in the quality and co-ordination of theory and practice. Here it is necessary to note, that Turkey has very few apprenticeships in industrial firms as is the case in the state of Karabuk and Zonguldak near the Black Sea. Therefore we can not compare the vocational and technical school education in Turkey with the dualistic system of professional training in West Germany. It follows from our study, that a majority of responsible Turkish members in offices and schools are critical of vocational and technical training in Turkey because it is more theoretical instead of practical and industry oriented. Young people finishing school, with success, don't like to work

Illiteracy in Turkey



(Dates of this figure come from Z. Y. Hershlag: Turkey, The Challenge of growth, Leiden 1968)



with unskilled or demiskilled workers and demand normally higher positions without having practical experience. The German recruitment offices have since long time special difficulties with such Turkish migrants, who have passed this kind of theoretical vocational training. The Turkish government and trade unions are quite familiar with these problems and tried to overcome the lack of practical training by special courses immediately combined with industrial work and in co-operation with the Turkish exchange offices.

In the Third Five Year development plan of the Turkish State Planning Organization we find the following conclusion under the subject "Inadequate education services": "In general, the formal educational system does not conform to the need of the economic and social development, nor is it susceptible to changes. The informal education system also has proven inadequate to improve the manpower productivity necessary for higher production. Primary education does not provide the basic needs either for further education or for a practical life."<sup>3</sup>

#### 1.2.4. *Unemployment as a permanent social situation*

The result of the race between population growth, education, vocational training and industrialization is finally deciding to labour market functions and employment. It is very difficult to get statistical material about unemployment in Turkey with an at least minimum of correctness. This is not a failure of the statistical administration, because all characteristics of unemployment in industrial countries are not comparable. So many social groups of Turkish people, f.i. youth and unpaid family workers or other disguised unemployed, can not be registered by statistical methods. Therefore estimations rely on very broad categories: The main reason of these differences is the definition of unemployment, as we have seen before, either in the small sense of the criterias in industrial countries or in the broader sense with disguised and latent unemployment.<sup>4</sup> In any case, unemployment is outgrowth of the economic, social and regional structure, i.e. of the disfunctional labour market. This statement could not be disproved by some advances in industrialization and vocational

<sup>3</sup> State Planning Organization, *A Summary of the Third Five Year Development*.

<sup>4</sup> Nermin Abadan, *Le non-retour à l'industrie, trait dominant de la chaîne migratoire turque*, *Sociologie du Travail*, Paris 1971, pp. 278-293, here p. 279.

training. The trends in unemployment between 1962 and 1972 can be demonstrated by an index on the basis of 1962 = 100; rising to 181 in 1972, thus nearly doubling in ten years. This rising unemployment has happened, although more than 500,000 Turks left in the same time their country for workplaces in West Germany. We see here, that in the race between population growth and labour market till now the former is the winner. All these arguments and trends confirm the accuracy or the title of this chapter: unemployment is a permanent social situation.

#### 1.3. *Emancipation and migration*

The extensive migration as a consequence of a disfunctional labour market has different phases and goals in an internal or external direction.

##### 1.3.1. *Internal migration*

The population growth of the towns mentioned before can be illustrated by the three steps the Turkish people went through from agrarian to urban life.

The first step is a transition from village to the next small town. It has already happened in the last 30 years and has multiplied the number of communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants (1935 = 80; 1960 = 138; 1965 = 168; Planning Officer of Turkish government). This mobility was a normal result of Turkey's growing infrastructure (road-making, building of water dams, etc.) and encouraged seasonal migration.

The second step which followed in recent years entails very often a shift from small towns to proving centres in Inner-Anatolia like Erzurum and Sivas and Eastern-Anatolia like Malatya and Van. Normally this migration phase results from the impossibility of working in the rural labour market and ends up in the final abandonment of village life. The two diagrams, based on estimations of the Turkish Planning Office, show, that till 1985 a mass migration from the country-side to the administration and industrial centres can be expected.

In the third phase these large scale population movements try to continue moving in the direction of a small number of large cities like Ankara, Bursa, Istanbul, Izmir. This is the last and very important goal of internal migration accompanied by numerous settlement problems. An important part of these internal migrants settles in the so-called "gecekondu" (squatter house) areas.



### 1.3.2. External migration

As we have mentioned earlier, the Turkish people had in earlier time no tendency to such regional mobility and migration. The Turkish mentality is characterized by a conservative thinking, distrust and reserve against new situations and strange people. Religious, family and national thinking are typical of Turkish attitude and human relations. To change this mentality by Europeanization was one of the most important aims of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, but change was limited to West-Turkey citizens and couldn't significantly influence Central and Eastern-Anatolia. The famous Turkish proverb, that industrial chimneys should be spread as "minarets of Atatürk" all over the country, has not been realized till now. The Turkish labour market was for a long time tight and very little influenced by internal and external migration. The changing process of this conservatism was initiated by the exchanges with West-Germany which began in 1961 and grew from year to year, as shown the following table:

Table 3  
Turkish "guest-workers" in the Federal Republic  
of Germany

Time	Total Number
September 1964	85.200
September 1965	132.800
September 1966	161.200
September 1967	131.300
September 1968	153.000
September 1969	244.300
September 1970	353.900
September 1971	453.145
September 1972	511.600
January 1973	528.200

Source: Informationen zur Ausländerbeschäftigung.  
Ed.: Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände.

In the first years of the exchange policy Turks mainly from the Western Anatolia provinces with better schooling and vocational training applied to the German recruitment offices in Istanbul and Ankara. Later on Central and East Anatolia became

more and more important as recruitment area for foreign countries. Meanwhile responsible men of Turkish administration and economy in these regions stated, that external migration became immediately a necessity of existence for the people in the villages of Anatolia. We have seen that different push and pull factors succeed in overcoming a tight labour market and a large scale migration in Anatolia; they include the following in particular:

- a permanent structural open and disguised unemployment leading to external migration;
- urbanization and chances of better education, vocational training and social upward mobility in the city;
- growing self-consciousness and generation gap among the rural people of Turkey;
- attractive exchange possibilities for foreign countries with a preference for West Germany because of traditional friendship ties and high living standard.

Actually the Federal Republic of Germany has today a similar high attraction for Turks as in the last the United States for German people.

### 1.3.3. Industrial work as a new social ideal

The historian A. J. Toynbee<sup>5</sup> stated long before this large scale migration began, that: "The most remarkable and bold innovation of the young Turkish Republic may be, that Turkish people have a new social ideal: the goal of life is no longer as till now to work in agriculture and ruling on human beings, but to participate in commerce and industry". This statement seems somewhat surprising, if we consider, that the Turks prefer self-employment and no hard handwork. But the extensive migration seems to have changed the attitude to hard work and economy. This can be recognized by the answers of Turkish workers to the question: "What is the best way to rise the living standard?"

Two thirds of these answers are oriented on more work and industrialization as methods of social development in Turkey. Very few see amelioration of agriculture as the best path. We

<sup>5</sup> A. J. Toynbee, *Kultur am Scheideweg*, Berlin 1958, p. 141.



Table 4  
Attitude toward work and economy

1. more work	50.1%
2. more new workplaces, diminution of unemployment	23.3%
3. industrialization	12.9%
4. wage increase, lowering of prizes	8.6%
5. establishment of social justice, further rights for the workers	4.9%
6. improvement of agriculture	3.7%
7. capital procurement, investments	2.5%
8. better policy, more political activity	1.8%
9. other answers	12.2%
	100.0%

Source: Survey carried out by the Institute of the Empirical Sociology, Saarbruecken, 1969.

know, that this is typical of underdeveloped countries all over the world, but it shows a new thinking of Turkish people in view of the conservative and stiffening mentality in the past: the Turks will become industrial-minded by push factors in their traditional life and pull factors in industrial modern life.

## 2. Subjective Motivations of Turkish Migrants

It is a common opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, that foreign people have only one motivation in coming to work here: money making and high wages. In the chapter dealing with the objective reasons of large scale migration we tried to explain, that not only economic and social, but also cultural factors are push factors for low income people. In the case of the Turks, we know, that their mentality has many socio-cultural hindrances like family relations, religion, national consciousness and so on. These become more and more decisive with rising income and long-term involvement in industrial societies, because of the socialization effects in the working and social environment. The changing process begins by eliminating subjective considerations before the migration and lead some to the desire for integration in the new modern life and surrounding. This socio-psychological process is to be underlined briefly.

## 2.1. Unemployment as social role and situation

A disfunctional labour market with a permanent open or disguised unemployment has many consequences for the social role and life situation of the individuals in their family and neighbourhood. The attitude toward unemployment in the Turkish people is not unanimous. Some recognize unemployment as the sign of an individual destiny. This is characteristic of Muslim beliefs. Other Turks, certainly not a minority, resent this situation and the impossibility to care of the family. For them these are deep wounds in the pride of man. To be mainly dependent on relatives has an impact on self-consciousness and social relations. Generally the members of Turkish families have the special common sense to help each other not only in their own family, but also in the extended family. But this social oriented thinking will be influenced by the length of time spent in an unemployed situation and can change the norms of inter personal relations and individual attitudes. Social conflicts and daily reproaches can lead to an intolerable social climate. This is one of the reasons for the high percentage of readiness for work in any place outside of the home.

## 2.2. Motivations to external migration

The following table gives a breakdown of the special motivations concerning one's "pull and push factors" provoked by German's manpower recruitment policy.

Our study shows that unemployment is a fundamental push factor in connexion with earning chances, but some push factors are also pull factors for certain goals like saving to buy land or houses or further vocational training facilities for better work in Turkey. Other pull factors include experiences and contacts with "guest-workers" coming from Germany with remarkable changes in attitude and social situation, the desire to learn foreign languages and to know foreign countries. This makes clear, that not only unemployed people, but also self-employed, clerks, and small peasants are willing to go abroad to get a better chance for higher living standards.



Table 5  
Motivations to external migration

1. unemployment		22.1%
2. money making, within:		39.9%
a) to gain money in general	30.1%	
b) saving for a fixed aim	9.8%	
3. "to secure the future"		4.9%
4. vocational training respectively continuation of vocational training		7.4%
5. other reasons, within:		19.0%
a) desire to know foreign countries	12.9%	
b) to learn foreign languages	5.5%	
c) "because it seemed, that other Turks were well in Germany"	0.6%	
6. no answer		6.7%
		100.0%

Source: Survey carried out by the Institute of the Empirical Sociology, Saarbruecken, 1969.

### 2.3. The socialization effects of migration

There are two socialization factors of external migration, which are very attractive to the Turks in contact with homecoming guest-workers. The first is the change of personal role-consciousness influenced by work and life in the foreign country, but with some difference: A Turkish migrant, who only plans to make money in any workplace, will seldom overcome the passive phase of socialization. He will re-adapt very soon to traditional norms after returning home; most of these people are unskilled workers in Germany. Other Turks who want to get vocational training and move upward in society will use the possibilities of learning new jobs and new languages. They may acquire self-critical attitudes toward their original social environment and interpersonal relations. In this way they accept more active socialization processes and adapt themselves to foreign customs, standard of living and thinking. A third group can develop an industrial minded and modern life personality, because they are not able to conform to the individual and social situation upon returning to their country. This third group can be the nucleus of modernization and industrialization in Turkey, although this will not go

without many social conflicts with their own family and neighbourhood. At the same time this group has the best opportunity to be integrated in the foreign country. Socialization in this sense very often leads Turkish migrants to compare the development and situation of Turkey with Germany's. The question on the causes of reconstruction and the high living standard of Germany after the second world war was by more than 80% with "hard work, good co-operation, planning and common sense", very few mentioned "financial and other support from countries outside of Germany, f.i. the United States". They emphasized in the same vein that similar dynamic change in Turkey's economic and social situation could be obtained by intensive work like in Germany, a more efficient administration, more economic planning, more discipline and more social justice and fairness. They are ready to sacrifice themselves for the development of Turkey, and work as much as possible, to invest part of their money and pay more taxes.

### 3. Turkey's Perspectives on the Relation between Structural Unemployment and Migration

As we have seen, structural unemployment and the migration of Turks are very closely connected. External migration is a very important condition for remedying the shortcomings of the economic and social structure, improving social and individual situations on the background of planning activity and progressive measures in Turkey itself. We have to consider in this respect major sources of information about change in the next ten or twenty years: the perspectives of the State Planning Organization in Ankara, the integration of Turkey in international organizations such as the E.E.C. and the relations between social planning and migration.

#### 3.1. The Perspectives of the State Planning Organization in Ankara

The perspectives for the economic and social development in the next twenty years are included in the Summary of the Third Five Year Development Plan 1973-1977, published in 1973 by the State Planning Organization in Ankara. The general outline of this plan is portrayed as "more than just a projection into the



distant future; in fact it is a realistic statement to the goals to be achieved". (p. 38). These goals entail a fully industrialized economy, higher standards of living and more developed social institutions, comparable with higher developed industrial societies. Their terminal prospective year 1995 is the deadline when Turkey will be fully integrated into E.E.C.—these projections aim at a very high level of employment and the elimination of the disfunctional structure of the labour market. To what extent can this be recognized as a "realistic statement", under the present conditions. Let us consider the projections in detail.

We have already pointed out, that the race between population growth, industrialization and vocational training is deciding one for the economic and social future of Turkey. The Five Year Development Plan prognoses the population development for the following dates:

Table 6  
Projection of population development in Turkey

	1972	1977	1987	1995
Population (in million)	37.5	42.6	55.5	65.9
urban - rural distribution (in %)				
- rural	62	53	38	25
- urban	38	47	62	75

Source: Third Five Year Development Plan, p. 54.

If we compare these figures with European countries: the expected population growth between 1972 and 1995 seems to be explosive. A similar growth rate, the Federal Republik of Germany would reach, have more than 100 million people. But Turkey is a three-times larger area than West Germany. Nevertheless the relations to the extent that between population and labour market including the age structure of Turkish people and educational standard already suggest at present the existence of so many unsolvable problems, a labour force in the size of 65.9 million population, i.e. about 30 million with an earning capacity, may simply make the situation even less manageable. Thus the

Five Year Development Plan give the following projective figures for migrants (cumulative after 1972, i.e. additional to the present number of Turkish guestworkers): 1977 = 500,000; 1987 = 1 million; 1995 = 1 million (p. 54). This is a small part of the projected labour force, but it is a high number in view of what foreign countries, and West Germany in particular will be able to absorb. The distribution of the projected rural and urban population can be considered as evidence of our thesis about the urbanization trends from internal migration. The figures show a marked decline of the rural population (62% in 1972 to 25% in 1995) and a significant growth of the urban population (38% in 1972 to 75% in 1995). One of the measures to achieve this goal is the establishment of "central villages" and small towns with more effective public services in rural areas. An other way is industrialization with the setting up of small and middle sized plants all over Inner- and East-Anatolia, till 1995.

"The three main components of population change, namely births, deaths and migration determine the general structure of population." (p. 154). The relation between birth-rates and death-rates is prognosed in the plan with the following declining figures from 37.5 in 1970 and 1975 to 26.7 in 1990-1995 for the birth-rate and 12.1 to 6.6 for the death-rate (p. 155). Thus the declining percentage for the birth rate is about 30%, while it is 50% for the death rate. Although the fertility rate in Turkey is expected to decrease, the population will increase in accordance with the difference between birth- and death-rates. Life expectation at birth is estimated to be 65 years for males and more than 70 years for females in 1995 (p. 154). Today life expectation is normally 45 to 50 years. This raises the following question; what will the Turkish government do to lower the following fertility and birth-rates in order to reach better balance between births and mortality rates.

The educational and vocational perspectives of the plan are based on certain measures to develop the formal and informal aspects of education and training by means of an eight year cycle for basic education instead of five years now beyond pre-school instruction. In 1995 all children will attend the second cycle (sixth to eighth schoolyear). 45% will have the opportunity to have access to secondary education, 35% to general high school and 65% to vocational technical training (p. 58). This educational and



vocational plan is grounded on the above mentioned assumptions of the plan, i.e. the coalescing of the population in villages and towns, the spreading of industrialization and the construction of thousands and thousands of buildings for the educational and professional schools of all levels. One of the most serious problems involved in the implementation of these plans is the recruitment of teachers. Since Ataturk's radical reform which substituted Latin to Arabic characters in the Turkish language many governments have tried to solve this problem not only by setting special schools for teachers, but also by inviting students and educated members of the military to teach for at least one year in the villages of central and Eastern-Anatolia. The results were not very encouraging. This means, that the educational and vocational system needs a thorough reorganization. The major principles of the Third Five Year Development Plan are:

- increase the social consciousness, knowledge and skills through education,
- adapt the educational system to manpower requirements,
- special training in modern industries using progressive technology,
- equality of educational opportunity and social justice for all individuals.

The State Planning Organization in Turkey will seek to implement these objectives by co-ordinating the various activities of ministries and institutions in the different sectors of planning and administration.

### 3.2. *Integration in international institutions*

Several international organizations have been willing for many years to help the Turkish economy and social development as illustrated by the recommendations and active support of for instance, the OECD in Paris, the ILO in Geneva, the European Council in Strasbourg and the E.E.C. in Brussels. They have special Turkey committees, primary under the aim to improve the economic and social structure and to fight against all forms of unemployment. Most important is the E.E.C. since Turkey has become an associated member and later will have the possibility to apply for full membership. An association contract with the E.E.C. was concluded in 1963 in Ankara and is effective since

1964. The most important parts of this contract consist of provisions for a development policy. Thus a permanent association council with members of the E.E.C. commission and the Turkish government has to prove each year the progress of industrialization and the standard of employment. It reports to the European parliament in Strasbourg. This report is normally focused on very concrete investment projects. For example, the establishment of electric power stations all over the country provide for settlements of households, waterworks, incandescent bulb plants, nylon plants, many long-term projects like bridges and road-making and other kinds of infrastructure works. A remarkably successful illustration of activities involving the co-operation with E.E.C., other international organizations and big private companies is the construction of the suspension bridge across the Bosphorus for traffic between Europe and Asia. The industrialization policy of the association council encourages primarily small and middle sized factories for supplies and furniture. At another level, the association contract deals with the development of international commerce and provides for the establishment of the customs union in three phases: A five year preparatory phase; from 1964 to 1969, transitional period of twelve years. The last phase will be completed in 1991 with Turkey's full participation in customs union. The implementation of this timetable depends on Turkey's economic and social adaptation to the standards of E.C. The social policy adaptation is especially important for fighting against unemployment because it includes the opening of the Turkish labour market to all European countries. However article 12 of the Ankara contract stipulates that freedom of movement for labour will be realized step for step between 1976 and 1986. Until now only the Federal Republic of Germany has signed (in 1961) a bilateral contract with Turkey providing for an exchange of the labour force. This is not the beginning of liberalization itself, only a first step toward it. Full liberalization means the international right for Turks to take over any jobs in the European countries without special permission. At present, this liberalization has been prevented by blocking labour movements from Turkey to West Germany. Nevertheless the German government is still a partner to this agreement and remains Turkish single partner recognizing its exceptional position in the European labour market. The question is, what kind of social



policy the Turkish government can pursue inside Turkey to prepare the liberalization phase.

### 3.3. *Labour market migrations and social planning in Turkey*

In general the Turkish government has been in the last 20 years very planning oriented since three Five Year Development Plans were enacted in that period. The emphasis of the three plans is very different: the first focused mainly on industry, the second on the mechanization and productivity of agriculture. The third combines intensively for the first time economic with social planning. We define social planning as programming and projecting conceptions relying on a sociological basis to achieve a balanced social and ecological structure in the labour market. The field of social planning can be divided in primary sector (family planning, population planning, labour force planning), secondary sector (education and vocational training planning, regional planning of settlements and work-places) and tertiary sector (electrification, road-making, communication—broadcasting and television, press—last not least administration and government's activity). A centre of social planning like this in Turkey should make projections for the economic and social functions of the labour market. Part of social planning is conditioned by other planning activity, beginning with family planning. The Third Five Year Development Plan includes several goals, f.i. declining of birth-rates, fight against childrens high mortality, progress in modernizing the country-side, mainly East and South Anatolia. But the plan does not spell out the nature of the means and measures necessary to supplement the policy. Family-planning will be especially difficult because of the national religious and biological mentality of the Turkish people. Without an extensive legislation it seems impossible to affect the race between population growth and labour market in the favour of the latter as well as external migrations. In the same sense internal migrations are the object of social planning in order to prevent the migratory flows to feed the mushroom development of gecekondu in large cities. All this is connected with social planning against illiteracy. This entails not only the establishment of schools, for example, but also a greater density of mass communication through regional and local radio and television facilities. A labour market oriented toward social planning may be focused on the need to

fill the large lag between the possibilities and habits of life and thinking in the rural and urban parts of Turkey. This lag is the strongest push factor encouraging internal migration and increasing unemployment in the cities. So long as this goal of social planning is not reached, Turkish workers coming back from foreign countries may not be willing to readapt their life into the poor, undeveloped environment they have left. (see Nermin Abadan, loc. cit., pp. 293)

The quintessence of the analysis and arguments presented in this paper is, that the theories of full employment and social market have no chance to succeed, if the connection between labour market, migration and social planning is not reappraised to a new labour market policy in Turkey. This policy is predicated on the assumption that the Turkish population, a "sitting people" (Moltke) for a long time, must become highly mobile.



of detail required for many policy decisions and plans. Intensive surveys of the migrants—before, during, and after migration—are required for proper evaluation and decision-making. Further survey work is needed to assess the primary and secondary impacts on domestic areas, industries, and occupations.

Because of the paucity of reliable data and the fact that international migration in its present form is a relatively new field for economic analysis, this chapter has inevitably raised more questions than it has provided answers. Nevertheless, it is hoped that some of the more pertinent areas for investigation have been identified and that other students of the subject will continue theoretical and empirical research in this general field.

## VIII

# EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION UPON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, ACCULTURATION AND THE LABOR MARKET IN TURKEY

RONALD E. KRANE

## ABSTRACT

For Turkey, the formal opportunity which developed in 1961 to supply manpower to European labor markets was without historical precedent. By year's end 1972 approximately one of every 13 Turks in the 20-39 year age cohort had had first-hand exposure to West European culture in a working environment. Another 1.4 million Turks had applied for placement abroad.

In the broadest sense, the objectives of the field study were two-fold: (1) to define demographic characteristics and motivations of the migrant and to determine what socio-economic and socio-cultural effects the migration experience has upon the lives of returned migrants; (2) to learn what discernable effects the migration movement had had upon the Turkish labor market, particularly with reference to the three selected regional markets of Izmir, Kocaeli and Zonguldak.

Within each of these provinces, the applied methodology was three dimensional: (1) to obtain from official archives demographic data on one-time residents of the province who had been placed in positions abroad through official auspices; (2) to interview persons once employed abroad but since settled, or re-settled, in the province; and (3) to interview management in a cross-section of industries present there in order to define from this primary empirical source the characteristics of the regional labor market and to measure possible effects of emigration upon the regional economy.

Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, research disclosed that a substantial majority of international migrants are town or city dwellers who have already migrated internally at least once during their lifetimes and who possess important industrial and craft skills. Financial and educational considerations are predominant in motivating the decision. At least 90 percent of the returnees interviewed had achieved their purposes for going abroad, and an equal percentage claimed satisfaction with having made this decision. Acquisition of occupational expertise, work discipline and material gains were most often cited as important benefits realized. On the average, returned migrants earned one-third more than non-migrants and clear indications of upward occupational mobility between pre- and post-departure positions were evidenced in nearly 20 percent of all cases studied.

Other data revealed noteworthy perceptivity to cultural differences on the part of the returnees and observations of attitudinal changes and work discipline by industrial management employing them. Indications are that among the now quite sizeable contingent of returned migrants Turkey possesses manpower resources which, with improved coordination and incentives, could be re-directed to satisfy needs for skilled



labor as they currently exist. It is nevertheless conceivable that in the foreseeable future government restrictions may be advisable to regulate a movement whose economic liabilities could eventually outweigh its assets.

### 8.1 *Introduction and Methodology*

For Turkey, the formal opportunity which developed in 1961 to supply manpower to foreign labor markets was without historical precedent. Unlike certain other nations of the eastern Mediterranean region where emigration for reasons of work had long been customary, though largely if not wholly on an informal basis, large-scale labor emigration from Turkey had no established tradition.

In October, 1961, Turkey concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany her first international agreement for supplying manpower to foreign labor markets. Since that time, similar agreements have been signed, in chronological order, with Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Sweden and Australia. Among these nations, West Germany has from the beginning been the major employer of Turkish manpower, attracting approximately 90 percent of all Turkish labor at work abroad.

While statistical methods applied by the various countries under consideration are by no means uniform and do not permit dealing in precise figures, it would nevertheless be reasonable to estimate that between October, 1961 and year's end 1972 approximately 775 thousand Turks have had first-hand exposure to West European culture in a working environment. Of these, perhaps 210 thousand had permanently returned to Turkey after up to eleven years of residence abroad. Moreover, so much in demand are positions abroad that approximately 1.4 million Turks have applications on file with the official Turkish government employment agency for placement abroad alone. A substantial number seek foreign positions through informal channels.

In the belief that the potential socio-economic and socio-cultural consequences of a movement of these dimensions constituted a topic worthy of detailed study, the author devoted a 16-month period during 1967-68 to pursuing the topic in Turkey. After establishing liaisons and gaining official cooperation, the bi-national research staff was given access to the necessary archival data and was able to conduct interviews with top-level industrial management and with returned migrants themselves in three carefully selected regions of the country.

In the broadest sense, the objectives of the study were two-fold: in the first instance, it sought to define demographic characteristics and motivations of the migrant and to learn what socio-economic and socio-

cultural effects the migration experience has upon the lives of migrants who return to settle in their home country; in the second instance, it sought to learn what discernable effects the migration movement had had as of the summer of 1968 upon the Turkish labor market, particularly as it pertained to economic and demographic trends in three selected regional markets. In fulfilling this two-fold purpose, the study sought to investigate both in depth and in breadth areas which hitherto had not been systematically explored.

When the population falling within the stated scope of a study is potentially quite large, as it was in this case, the researcher is inevitably confronted with the problem of determining what may legitimately be termed "representative" or "typical". Statistical methodology lays down the rules for drawing a representative sample, but inherent in statistical method are presuppositions the realization of which may be impossible to attain or even approximate when basic data sources are non-existent or of inconsistent quality.

One prerequisite to drawing a representative sample is that the researcher know with a high degree of certainty the dimensions of the population falling within the scope of his stated definitions. Applied to the case at hand, the drawing of a representative sample would require that he know with relatively great precision not only the total number of migrants who had resettled in Turkey after employment abroad but also their location within the country. The empirical fact which confronts the social scientist in Turkey is that statistical procedures currently applied by that country allow for only a very rough estimate of total numbers of returned migrants and give virtually no indication of their whereabouts in the country.

Turkish sources which document the movement of citizens into and out of the country are basically two in number—border statistics and employment service statistics. Upon leaving, each citizen is asked at the portal of exit to declare his reasons for departure, country of destination, and province of residence in Turkey. Counterpart information is requested of citizens re-entering the country. By examining the compilation of this data, one can determine for a given year the number of citizens who left or re-entered Turkey for reasons of employment by a foreign firm. However, due to the manner in which the data is processed for publication, it is not possible to derive from this source the number of citizens departing or re-entering for reasons of foreign employment by province of residence. Neither is it possible to differentiate which are first-time departures and which represent exits after temporary return



visits of persons already currently employed abroad. The specific internal destination of entering citizens is, of course, not requested. Furthermore, because a large number of departing and entering persons do not supply the full information as asked, data from this source is by no means complete.

Beginning in 1965, Turkish Employment Service statistics show the number of workers officially sent abroad by province of origin. Prior to 1965, it is possible to determine from these statistics only the general region from which the worker was sent. Since the Service does not operate at border stations, it has no independent means of systematically monitoring re-entries, domestic location and activities of returned migrants. The Service does from time to time in certain locations collect data on workers departing after temporary returns.

In summary, it follows that demographic data can be obtained from the above sources only for that group of workers who have been officially sent abroad under the auspices of the Turkish Employment Service in cooperation with counterpart agencies of the European governments involved. This data is contained in the archives of the regional Employment Service offices in Turkey where a separate dossier is maintained for each worker placed abroad through official channels. Using European work permit statistics as an index, it is estimated that those workers officially sent abroad constitute approximately 75-80 percent of all Turks who have emigrated from Turkey since 1961 to work for a foreign firm abroad.

Faced with these circumstances, the researcher has two options: either with rigid adherence to scientific method he realizes the futility of the task and abandons his investigation, or he gathers what data he can, where he can and how best he can, and with discriminating reason sensitized insofar as possible to cultural characteristics, formulates hypotheses which hopefully the accumulated experience of future decades will prove to have been reasonably accurate. Thus, to the degree that the following analysis purports to be "representative" or "typical" of the population under study, it does so not solely on the grounds of evidence derived from interviews, but also from observations contributed by other researchers and from whatever cultural insights five years of cumulative residence in the country under study might have afforded the writer.

With these and other restrictive factors clearly in mind, the staff sought to determine how the dual objectives of the study could best be realized within the limits of the resources at their disposal. The decision was reached to isolate out on the basis of pre-established criteria several

provinces of the country which appeared from all available evidence to provide optimum conditions for fulfilling both objectives. Within each province finally to be selected the specific goals would be threefold: (1) to gather from the archives demographic and other vital data on one-time residents of the province who between 1961 and 1968 had been placed in positions abroad through official channels; (2) to interview persons who had been employed abroad but who had since returned to Turkey and settled (or re-settled) in the province; and (3) to interview management in a cross-section of industries present there in order both to define from this primary source the characteristics of the regional labor market and to measure possible effects of emigration upon the regional economy.

Criteria finally applied in selecting three specific areas for detailed field study were as follows:

- (1) that the area be located within a general region comparatively high in total volume of emigration,
- (2) that a balance in rural-urban relations continue to prevail within the area not unlike that within the nation at large,
- (3) that the area have within it a rather wide diversification in types of basic industry.

With these criteria in mind, all of what are normally considered to be industrially advanced provinces were analyzed and Table 1 drawn up. Being an area largely urbanized with only about eleven percent of its population engaged in the agricultural sector, Istanbul province was eliminated as being highly atypical even though it would rank quite favorably according to the first and third criteria above. Ankara province was excluded due to its being primarily an administrative center with a relatively low degree of industrial diversification.

Once Table I was complete, two observations became apparent: (1) that the great majority of the industrially advanced provinces had textile, food, beverage, cement and ceramics establishments employing 50 or more persons, and (2) that of those provinces analyzed, Izmir and Kocaeli had by far the greatest diversification of industry. All 15 provinces analyzed had relatively strong rural-urban relations existing between the provincial center and surrounding rural areas. Finally, Zonguldak proved exceptional in that it alone was the center for the coal mining and basic iron and steel industries of Turkey. Too, in Zonguldak a relationship between industry and the agricultural sector manifested itself wherein the mining industry allows the villager to work part of the year in the mines and part in his village.



Table 1

Industrial Workplaces Employing 50 or more Persons  
in 15 Provinces by Branch of Activity  
1968

Province	Mining Iron and Steel	Metal Products	Cement Cement Products	Construction Materials	Ceramics, Glass Chemicals, Chemical Products	Rubber, Plastics	Paper, Paper Products	Machine Tool Industry	Electrical Appli- ances, Equipment	Automotive Assem- bly, Parts Production	Textiles	Food, Beverages	Tobacco Processing, Tobacco Products	Cotton Processing Wearing Apparel
Adana	x		x		x								x	#
Aydın	x		x		x									
Balıkesir	x		x		x	x								
Bursa					x									
Denizli					x									
Eskişehir			x	x										
Gaziantep			#	x	x	#	+	x	x	x	+	+	+	x
Izmir			#	x	x	#	+	x	x	x	+	+	+	x
Kayseri			#	x	x	#	x	x	x	x	+	+	+	
Kocaeli			#	x	x	#	x	x	x	x	+	+	+	
Konya	x				x	x					x	x	x	x
Manisa					x						x	x	x	
Sakarya						x	x			x		x		x
Sivas	x		x											
Zonguldak	+	x	x		x							x		

# = ten or more workplaces.

+ = five to nine workplaces.

x = less than five workplaces.

1 Because the Turkish Chambers of Industry, a relatively new establishment, had not yet organized the required data for the respective provinces, the information was gleaned from the sources indicated as well as from empirical observations in the field. Due to the nature of the data sources, omissions may unavoidably have occurred. This chart, therefore, is only intended to reflect general trends.

2 Here in all cases but one, the city which serves as the provincial center has the same name as the province itself. The exception is Kocaeli (pronounced Kocaeli) whose center is the city of İzmit. With certain important exceptions, major manufacturing industries are usually located in or near provincial centers. The table attempts to include all major industries in a province regardless of location.

Sources : Records of : (1) U.S.A.I.D., Ankara. (2) Turkish Employment Service.

The decision was thereby reached that İzmir, Kocaeli and Zonguldak would constitute the three provinces for field study. More specifically, it was decided that the study would concentrate on (1) the city of İzmir within İzmir province, (2) the industrial belt of Kocaeli province which extends along the Marmara Sea from the city of İzmit northward to the İstanbul province line, and (3) the industrial foci of Zonguldak province where Turkey's coal mining and basic iron and steel industries are centered. Each of the three areas was then visited and mapped and the preliminary data on industrial establishments refined.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1968 the Turkish Employment Service conducted a survey in all 67 provinces among establishments employing ten or more persons (in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir 20 or more) to learn where returned migrants were working. The results of this survey showing 1,300 returnees were available as were data on returnees who had applied to the Service for job placement.

With the number of interviews to be made distributed in approximate proportion to the volume of official out-migration from (and hence hypothesized return migration to) each of the three areas, the final sample of 228 workers was located on the basis of the Employment Service data as well as by random contact in the field. When possible, worker interviews were obtained in the same firms where management interviews were conducted since variety in types of positions held would thereby be ensured. The cross-section of 54 business establishments finally selected for study was chosen with a view toward diversification in such variables as branch of industrial activity, employment level, age of the establishment and predominance of either foreign or Turkish interests in the firm. If any one industrial sector such as the textile industry in İzmir and the mining industry in Zonguldak was especially predominant in the over-all composition of the regional labor market, the sampling was weighted accordingly.

The questionnaires were designed to serve as self-generating data sources for locating returnees not necessarily involved in the industrial sector. Each worker interviewed was asked to provide addresses of other returnees known to him in the community. On this basis, self-employed persons were located who were engaged as small businessmen, drivers, craftsmen and service workers. Given the distinguishing characteristics of the three areas studied, by far the greatest number of self-employed returnees were most likely to have been present in İzmir. Thus, the İzmir sample was weighted with this factor in mind.

When the quality of statistical data available precludes selecting the



sample on more precise scientific bases, unwanted biases inevitably enter in. Among the most obvious of these is that there is no way to be sure to what degree returned migrants become self-employed. Census figures make it doubtful that it is to any lesser degree than shown by this sample, but on the other hand it could be to a considerably higher degree. Because the Employment Service survey located in major workplaces so few from among the then more than 100 thousand returnees, one might suspect that a much larger percentage may have been self-employed than the sample indicates. On the other hand, since this survey was restricted to establishments employing ten or more persons (in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir 20 or more) a significant number of returnees may have been omitted because of their being associated with smaller establishments than these. Moreover, while the sample did include a few unemployed persons, its methodology would inevitably tend to omit persons not yet having established employment relations.

Too, because interviews were conducted only in cities, towns and at industrial sites either in or in the proximity of cities and towns, returnees solely associated with village type occupations were excluded. While a significant number of villagers were incorporated in the Zonguldak sample, these represented persons who were jointly dependent upon agriculture and industry for their livelihood. Yet another bias is that women in the sample were fewer in number than the proportion of women workers who emigrate. This anomaly arises due to the relative inaccessibility of women once they arrive back in Turkey where they often return to domestic situations.

In spite of these and other limitations, it is nevertheless believed that data derived from the interview sample does bring into focus general trends which would in all likelihood be upheld were a larger sample supported by more reliable statistical data made possible. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the randomly selected archival data involving 1,433 cases covering seven years, together with certain German Employment Service data, so often supported the general trends noted in the sample. When adjustments were made allowing for the fact that the interview sample included persons going abroad unofficially as the archival sample did not, the slight variations that did occur between the two sources seemed all the more plausible.

Lastly by way of introduction, mention should be made of four other research efforts which relate either directly or indirectly to the present study. The pioneering investigation was designed and conducted by Professor Nermin Abadan of Ankara University in late 1963 when under

sponsorship of the Turkish State Planning Organization she interviewed in Germany 494 Turks then employed there. The scope of Professor Abadan's interest was broad, and from the point of view of the present work, among the more pertinent elements contained in the study was her concern with acculturation. Since, however, her work was done at such an early stage in the migration movement and since it was totally confined to the German context, it now serves primarily as a point of departure for studies completed since that time both in Germany and Turkey.

In 1965, the Institute for Empirical Sociology, Saarbrücken, under agreement with the German Ministry of Labor and in cooperation with Istanbul University, launched a study both in Turkey and Germany to measure the impact of industrialization on the value structure of Turkish workers. In Turkey, the 774 persons interviewed were composed of (a) industrial workers never having been abroad, (b) unemployed persons, (c) persons registered for placement abroad and (d) returnees from work abroad. In Germany, on the other hand, all 163 Turks interviewed were workers in industry.

Somewhat more than a year before the present research got under way, Professor Orhan Tuna of Istanbul University, again under sponsorship of the Turkish State Planning Organization, directed a study which included 280 returned workers in provinces surrounding the Sea of Marmara. In a number of respects, Professor Tuna's results helped to document certain findings here especially with respect to demographic variables and geographic mobility.

Finally, during 1970-71 Professor Ahmet Aker of Bosphorus University, Istanbul, interviewed 590 workers just prior to their departure for West Germany from Istanbul. Many persons interviewed were in process of returning to positions in Germany after temporary visits in Turkey. Professor Aker's data is of particular interest because it traces the employment and residential history of the respondents and furthermore studies wage differentials between Turkey and Germany. Because the aim in one part of the present study was to develop a complete profile of the migrant's employment history encompassing all positions held before departure, abroad and after return, certain of its data and those from the Aker study are seen to be complementary to but not overlapping with one another. However, no known research completed to date has undertaken to explore in a comprehensive manner the interrelated effects of Turkish migration both upon the nation and the individual, the most salient findings of which are herewith being reported for the first time.

Primary attention will be given to elaborating findings which supple-



ment and/or empirically reinforce material presented elsewhere in this volume, which appear to be of enduring significance for the future as well as the past, and which in certain important respects are unique to the present investigation. Accordingly, the first section following will be concerned with the effects of international migration upon the occupational and socio-economic mobility of the returned migrant, the second with its effects upon processes of acculturation and the third with its effects in the labor market.

8.2 After several preliminary observations, the discussion will proceed to a detailed analysis of occupational mobility at all stages in the migration cycle. Subsequently, the subject of self-employment will be treated followed by a comparative analysis of earnings and savings in the various positions held both in Turkey and abroad. The section will conclude with an examination of the remittance practices of migrants and the uses to which accumulated cash savings are put after return.

At the time of their initial departure from Turkey it was necessary for 82 percent of the persons in the interview sample to sever employment relations. Eleven percent had been employed at some previous time but were not employed at time of departure. The remaining 17 percent had never held jobs. Consequently, contrary to what is sometimes thought, the great majority of migrants are not drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. Data to be introduced below will further show that in a high percentage of cases, they derive from the ranks of skilled labor whose deployment abroad would not necessarily appear to be in the best interests of a developing economy. On the other hand, assuming that replacement personnel with the requisite skills are available, their vacated positions presumably do provide employment opportunities for others in the labor market who are either unemployed or underemployed.

Seventy-three percent of the interview sample departed initially from Turkey with a one-year contract in hand arranged by the Turkish Employment Service. Twenty-seven percent located positions abroad either on their own initiative or with the assistance of friends or relatives already there. Due to tightened restrictions on entry and work permits in recent years, it is assumed that a somewhat greater percentage is currently departing under contract than before. It is of some interest to note with respect to first jobs abroad that in cases where a contract existed, as many persons reported terminating their jobs prior to the contract expiration date as quit after fulfilling the contract. Apparently, few contracts existed in jobs subsequent to the first.

Occupations in which respondents were engaged at all three stages in the migration cycle—before departure, abroad and after return to Turkey—were analyzed not only to provide an overview of the occupational stratification of the sample but also to trace occupational mobility patterns where possible. Table 2 is designed to depict changing distributions among occupational categories at all three stages in the migration cycle. Moreover, it shows the average level of formal education associated with each category. In organizing the table, three principles were applied as follows: (1) The classifications are listed in what might very generally be considered a descending order of occupational prestige. Since no occupational prestige scales for Turkish society at large are known to exist, the order applied here is speculative rather than definitive. (Thus, professional-technical occupations are in first position and unskilled occupations in last position). (2) Because of dissimilar levels of technological development between Turkish and West European societies, certain specific occupations (not shown here) were classified under different headings as the geographical location under consideration shifted from Turkey to Western Europe. Similarly, certain occupations pursued in the home country obviously would not be open to migrant labor in the European country of destination. (3) Since any one emigrant might have been involved in multiple occupations either in Turkey or abroad, data was gathered for "first" and "last" positions in each case under the assumption that the total range of mobility, if any, would tend thereby to be reflected. To allow for persons who had only one position either at home or abroad as well as for those having multiple positions, the term "last" includes (a) in cases of multiple positions, the most recent position, and (b) in cases of only one position, that one position which by definition would at the same time be the most recent position.

For occupations abroad the largest occupational category was that encompassing "assemblyline workers, fitters and craftsmen in industry" (22 percent). Next largest was that of "machine operators" (17 percent). Of approximately equal size were the categories of "metal workers," (11 percent), "miners" (13 percent) and "factory workers not elsewhere classified" (14 percent). All other categories were significantly smaller than these.

When mobility between "first" and "last" jobs abroad is analyzed from the subtotal figures, the following patterns emerge: (1) Classifications which attracted personnel were "administrative-clerical," "driver-operators" and "factory workers (n.e.c.)." (2) Losses were recorded for "automotive and machine maintenance personnel" and particularly for



"miners." (3) All other classifications remained essentially in equilibrium.

With respect to occupations in Turkey, it is possible to observe from the table mobility patterns not only *within* each individual time period—i.e., "before departure" and "after permanent return"—but also *between* these two time periods. Within the range of first and last occupations before departure, significant gains were recorded in the "administrative-clerical" and "machine operator" categories. Conversely, noticeable losses were visible in the "shopkeeper-retail sales," "miner" and "agricultural worker" classifications. A fairly steady equilibrium prevailed among all other groups.

No significant patterns of upward mobility were noticeable with respect to the range of first and last occupations after permanent return. There was, however, a very small amount of evidence that the "professional-technical" and "administrative-clerical" classifications were beginning to grow slightly, thus repeating the pattern for pre-departure occupations. Decreasing in size, on the other hand, were the "driver-operator" and "shopkeeper-retail sales" groups.

The downward trend which occurs for "driver-operators" over time between occupations held subsequent to their return is accounted for as follows: Many purchase automobiles while abroad which they later drive back to Turkey. For some, the automobile licensed as a taxi becomes a permanent type of occupation whereas for others it provides only an initial source of income until another, more preferable position is located and the automobile sold. Of the 62 automobiles imported by the respondents, all but five had already been disposed of by the time of interview. Moreover, perhaps somewhat indiscriminately, the emigrant while still abroad will often consider self-employment in any form as the ideal goal for the period following his return to Turkey. If achieved, self-employment frequently will be in the form of a small service or retail sales shop. However, actual experience in small business often proves that the financial advantages are not so favorable as previously anticipated. Accordingly, over an extended period of time, mobility tends to be away from shopkeeping toward jobs in industry which, at the expense of personal freedom, nevertheless often do provide greater financial security.

When pre-emigration occupations are compared with those pursued after return to the home country, mobility is shown to be in the direction of the following classifications: "driver-operator" "assembly line worker and fitter," "factory worker (not elsewhere classified)," "automotive and machine maintenance personnel", and to a certain limited extent, toward "shopkeeper and retail sales". Conversely, mobility is seen to be away

from "machine operator", "services and entertainment", "craftsmen in construction trades" and "miner."

Table 2 also shows the average number of years of formal education persons in any one occupational category had received. While those in "professional-technical" type occupations had had an average of ten, those in mining had had only 4.1 years of schooling. All other categories fell between these extremes as indicated in the table. Of the 65 persons who reported having had specific occupational training, electricians, fitting machine and lathe operators were by far the most predominant.

One important concern for which empirical evidence was sought was the degree to which work experience obtained abroad was being transferred back to and applied in the country of origin. Sixty-three persons, mostly miners, machine operators, metal workers and electricians, were consistently engaged in the same occupation at all stages in the migration cycle—prior to departure, abroad and after return. In addition to these 63, another 16 took up the same occupation after returning that they had engaged in abroad—an occupation they had not previously pursued in Turkey. Furthermore, 13 persons were currently involved in occupations in Turkey related to but not identical to those pursued abroad. Apart from those already mentioned, another 33 respondents who were factory workers abroad also entered factory work in Turkey. In summary, in 125 or 55 percent of all 228 cases studied, relationships prevailed between the type of occupation engaged in abroad and that currently being pursued at the time of interview in Turkey.

Any attempt to assess the significance of such occupational change in terms of socio-economic mobility becomes especially difficult when the range of occupations represented among the migrant population is primarily composed of production process workers, craftsmen, construction workers, miners and service workers—i.e., of a relatively homogeneous stratum. Five culturally relevant distinctions which were considered when attempting to identify sub-strata within this broad overall stratum and to which distinctions certain subtle significance may often be attached are: (1) skill levels, (2) performance of supervisory or clerical roles in contradistinction to performance of manual labor; (3) degree of mechanization involved in performance of the task; (4) whether the task is performed within or outside the industrial context, and (5) whether self-employment within the given occupation ordinarily connotes preferential status.



Table 2  
Occupational Distribution and Formal Education  
(Percent)

Occupation	Before Departure		Abroad		After Permanent Return		Av. Yrs. Formal Education **
	1st	last*	1st	last*	1st	last*	
Professional, technical	6.2	6.6	1.3	1.3	6.4	6.8	10.0
Administrative, supervisory, clerical	4.3	9.0	0.5	1.3	8.2	9.1	6.8
Machine operators	16.1	19.9	17.1	16.2	13.2	13.6	6.0
Driver operators	5.2	6.6	1.3	3.5	12.3	10.5	5.4
Assemblyline workers, fitters, craftsmen in industry	5.7	4.7	21.5	22.4	5.9	6.8	5.6
Factory workers (n.e.c.)	4.7	3.3	12.3	15.8	9.1	8.2	5.6
Automotive and machine maintenance personnel	7.1	7.1	5.7	4.0	8.2	9.1	6.4
Shopkeepers, retail sales	5.2	3.3	0	0	5.9	4.6	6.1
Services	6.2	6.2	1.3	1.3	2.3	2.7	6.0
Craftsmen in construction trades	10.0	11.0	4.0	4.4	7.7	7.7	5.2
Metal workers	8.5	7.6	11.8	11.4	7.7	7.7	5.4
Miners	13.7	11.9	14.9	10.9	10.4	10.5	4.1
Gardeners, fishermen, agricultural, and other unskilled workers	7.1	2.8	8.3	7.5	2.7	2.7	5.6
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Average education							6.3

Note:

\* "Last" occupation is considered same as first occupation if respondent was engaged in only one occupation.

\*\* Calculated in conjunction with last occupation after permanent return.

Seventeen respondents were unemployed before departure from Turkey and eight were unemployed after permanent return.

Listed in ascending order, six culturally relevant sub-strata, composed of the specified occupational groups, were established as follows: (1) unskilled manual labor, (2) miners, (3) persons in metal-working trades

(outside industry), craftsmen in construction trades; (4) persons in the service sector, mechanics, small shopkeepers, (5) driver-operators, assemblyline workers and machine operators (within industry); and (6) administrative, clerical and technical personnel. In assessing mobility in each individual case, not only was transfer between the various sub-strata themselves considered but also where applicable the five distinctions outlined in the preceding paragraph.

Thus, movement between occupations which form part of the same sub-stratum is considered "horizontal" mobility, whereas movement between occupations which form parts of different sub-strata is viewed as "vertical mobility." For example, a person who was a machine operator in his first occupation but a metal worker in his second, would have changed his status horizontally. The machine operator who subsequently took an administrative job would be involved in upward vertical mobility, while the later movement of the same machine operator to work as a craftsman in construction trades would be characterized as downward vertical mobility.

When pre-migration and post-migration positions were compared applying this stratification schema, upward mobility was visible in 16 percent of the cases and horizontal mobility in 20 percent. Sixty-one percent of the sample remained essentially immobile, and three percent appeared to be downwardly mobile. Mobility tended to be away from positions as miners, craftsmen in construction trades, and service workers, and toward positions as mechanics, small shopkeepers, factory assemblyline workers and driver-operators.

Another potential indicator of mobility would be comparative skill levels applied in jobs held at the various stages in the migration cycle—prior to departure, abroad and after permanent return. Table 3 shows that (1) skill levels in most recent jobs after return are generally higher than those in last jobs held prior to departure, and (2) skill levels reported in jobs abroad are appreciably lower than for any job in Turkey. A number of factors may be responsible for the latter observation. First, for an emigrant worker to hold a supervisory or clerical post abroad, foreign language ability would presumably be a prerequisite. Even if the position abroad entailed supervision of Turkish nationals alone, opportunities would be quite limited. Secondly, an occupation in which foreign manpower is in great demand abroad is that of assemblyline production. In the classification used here, assemblyline positions were considered "semi-skilled". Thus, many persons who had worked as skilled personnel in Turkey became "semi-skilled" abroad simply as a result of technological



differences in the respective production processes. Finally, a difference in classification standards prevails between the two systems under study. Work which is considered "skilled" by Turkish standards is often viewed as "semi-skilled" by West European standards.

In terms of specific figures, the table indicates that relatively more persons were in administrative, supervisory, technical and skilled positions after return to Turkey than prior to departure, while comparatively fewer occupied semi-skilled, apprentice and unskilled positions. Whereas prior to departure 58 percent of the sample worked as "skilled" personnel or at a higher level, abroad only 36 percent did so. This compares to a figure of 68 percent for the period after permanent return. If very fine individual distinctions were made, by Turkish standards it could be said that in 20 percent of the cases at most, some evidence of increased skill was present after return.

Table 3  
Skill Levels

Level	Last Job Before Departure		Last Job Abroad*		Most Recent Job After Return	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Administrative	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
Clerical	8	3.8	0	0	7	3.2
Supervisory (headmaster**, foreman, head of shift)	9	4.3	6	2.7	21	9.5
Technical	30	14.2	13	5.7	36	16.4
Skilled (master)***	75	35.5	62	27.2	83	37.7
Semi-skilled (including assemblyline workers)	39	18.5	90	39.5	37	16.8
Apprentice	2	0.9	1	0.4	0	0
Unskilled	28	13.3	55	24.1	18	8.2
Undeterminable	20	9.5	1	0.4	16	7.3
Total	211	100.0	228	100.0	220	100.0

\* Last job abroad is considered first job if only one position was held abroad.

\*\* Supervisory positions abroad were as foreman only.

\*\*\* "Master" applies in Turkey only.

Note: 17 persons were unemployed prior to departure from Turkey and eight unemployed after return.

A factor potentially related to advancement of skills is on-the-job training. It was originally hoped by many in Turkey that employment abroad would afford migrants major opportunities for advanced training which upon their return to Turkey would contribute to a general upgrading of the nation's skilled manpower resources. If the number of first and last jobs held by the 228 respondents abroad is combined, a total of 352 jobs results. According to the information reported, 80 or 23 percent of these 352 jobs had some measure of in-plant training opportunities associated with them. From among these 80 positions, the majority were in mining, assembly line and related factory work. In these occupations, the average duration of the training was between six and seven weeks compared to an over-all average of seven weeks.

As already indicated, self-employment seems to constitute a much sought-after ideal among Turks abroad and one which brings with it when attained some degree of higher status. Table 4 shows self-employment status according to the time period in question:

Table 4  
Self-Employment Status

Period	Persons	Percent
Before and after migration	18	7.9
After migration only	53	23.2
Before migration only	7	3.1
Never self-employed	150	65.8
Total	228	100.0

Thus, at the time of interview 71, or 31 percent, of the respondents were self-employed. Of these 71 persons, 53 were newly self-employed presumably as a direct result of capital savings and/or occupational expertise derived from the emigration experience. Prior to work abroad, 25 persons had been self-employed, and of these, seven did not resume self-employment status after returning to Turkey.

No satisfactory method exists for comparing self-employment tendencies among returned migrants to those applicable among the nation's population at large. The census categories make two distinctions for self-employed persons: (1) *işveren* (employer) and (2) *kendi hesabına çalışan* (persons working for themselves). Distinctions are not made, however,



by economic sector, occupation or province. Agricultural workers are thus included in the census figures. When both the above two categories are combined, the 1965 census showed that 30 percent of Turkey's economically active population was so employed. Unless the census statistics can be corrected for specific occupations, which in fact they cannot be, no norm exists on the basis of which to judge the degree self-employment patterns noted among returned migrants are typical or atypical of the nation at large.

As for the branch of economic activity in which self-employed persons were participating at the time of the interview, the largest single portion, 32 percent, were in transportation, primarily as taxi drivers. Twenty-one percent were in services and 15 percent involved with the production of metal goods in small, privately established machine shops. Significant numbers were in furniture production and retail sales, the former occupation being primarily a handcraft industry in Turkey.

Basic to any study of socio-economic mobility is reliable data on income. To this end, interviewers inquired about wages received during all phases of the migration cycle in order to make possible comparative income analysis. So that a common denominator would be present, wages earned in foreign currencies were uniformly converted into Turkish lira, including in the formula for conversion the 27 percent premium established by the Turkish government on July 22, 1964. At this rate, in 1968 one German mark was worth approximately 2.85 Turkish lira, and one United States dollar 11.45 lira.

Thus, according to 1968 conversion rates, the average net monthly wage received in first jobs abroad was 1,928 T.L. This figure compares with 2,364 T.L. for last jobs abroad. Thus, the migrant's earning power in his last job was on the average 23 percent higher than in his first. On the basis of 300 T.L. gradations, initially more migrants were in the 1,600-1,899 T.L. income bracket than any other, while subsequently the largest group was in the 1,900-2,199 T.L. bracket. Cumulative percentages show that in the first jobs 54 percent received below 1,900 T.L. monthly and that wages above 3,100 T.L. were quite uncommon. In first jobs 95 percent of the sample received below 3,100 T.L. monthly, while in last jobs the 95th percentile ranged up to 3,700 T.L.

In contrast to net average earnings of 1,928 T.L. for first jobs abroad, first jobs after return to Turkey netted 949 T.L. monthly. The 40 persons having had more than one job since their permanent return reported an average net income of 1,026 T.L. in these subsequent positions. If 2,146 T.L. is taken as the average between first and last positions abroad,

then the 949 T.L. average received for the first position after return represents a decrease of 56 percent in earning power. Another manner in which to express this comparative relationship would be to say that the first wage received after return constituted 44 percent of the average wage received abroad.

Going back to the initial phase of the migration cycle—namely, to the last job held prior to departure from Turkey—the average net monthly pre-departure wage was 604 T.L. Nearly half the respondents were receiving between 400 and 700 T.L. per month prior to emigrating. If 988 T.L. is taken as the average net wage for post-emigration jobs, then a 64 percent increase prevails between average wages received prior to departure and those earned after return. Between the last pre-departure job and the first job *abroad*, however, a 319 percent average increase occurred. Because of significant increases in German wage scales since 1968, differentials currently in effect are undoubtedly somewhat greater than reported here.

Quite apart from official government statistics, it was learned from interviews with industrial management that during the five-year period 1963-68 wages in Turkey rose an average of 50 percent and that the rate of increase was a steady rather than sporadic one. Wages in the mining industry, however, rose much more rapidly than in most other industries.

Due to the effects of the 1967-68 European recession, the average duration of residence abroad for the interview sample was just slightly more than 2.5 years. During this period, average wages in Turkey would then have risen approximately 30 percent except in the mining industry where a 35 to 45 percent rise was recorded. The conclusion then follows that the persons interviewed experienced a positive increment (64 percent) in wages between pre- and post-emigration positions which was considerably in excess of that experienced by non-migrants during the same time period (30 percent). This differential would seemingly be largely attributable to the following factors surrounding the emigration experience: (1) a large percentage of the migrants became self-employed upon their return—a factor which ordinarily augments earning power to a limited degree, (2) increased skills contributed to higher earning potential, (3) migrants reportedly demand and receive higher wages than personnel having only domestic work experience, and (4) since a significant number of miners were included in the interview sample, and since as noted above wages in mining rose more rapidly than in most other industries, the excess increment of 34 percent experienced by migrants as compared to non-migrants tends to be somewhat more pronounced than would otherwise have been the case.



It should be pointed out, however, that even though wages in Turkey rose approximately 50 percent between 1963 and 1968, the cost of living index also rose substantially. While the Central Bank did not compute such an index for the nation at large, it nevertheless did so for the cities of Ankara and Istanbul. According to the Bank's *Monthly Bulletin*, if 1963 is used as base 100, the 1968 cost of living stood at 130 in Ankara and 143 in Istanbul. If an average is taken, it becomes apparent that the increase in wages managed to keep ahead of the increase in cost of living by only a slight margin. Be this as it may, relatively speaking, returned migrants were still at a distinct advantage over non-migrants from the point of view of earning power.

It should further be noted that while in most instances Turks earn abroad at least three times their pre-emigration wage, their living standards there are often not any higher from what they had been in Turkey, and in a goodly number of cases perhaps even lower. For workers without accompanying dependents, housing and meals are often provided by the foreign firm in a dormitory type arrangement at a minimal charge to the worker. To the extent that it allows him to retain significantly larger proportions of his wages as savings than would otherwise be possible, the migrant worker tends to be satisfied with such an arrangement. His objective while abroad is usually not to seek the same standard of living as the permanent resident population, for if he did so, his earnings would often not exceed maintenance expenses.

As long as the worker is willing to tolerate this type of living situation, he is at a distinct advantage wage-wise from what he would have been had he remained in Turkey. Moreover, mass-produced consumer items—particularly automobiles, home appliances and electronics equipment—can usually be purchased for considerably less in Europe than in Turkey, and to the extent that he may import the item into Turkey tax-free or recover any customs payment by resale, he remains at an advantage. Thus, given the anomalous situation in which the migrant worker finds himself while abroad, and considering too his motives for being present there, the higher cost of living in Europe does not necessarily affect him in the same manner or to the same degree as it affects a resident citizen of Western Europe.

Table 5 analyzes comparative earnings in ten specific occupations pursued by migrants both in Turkey and abroad. It was only in these particular occupations that sufficient cases existed in the sample to allow a comparative analysis to be made. Thus, the discussion following pertains only to Table 5 and not to the sample of 228 respondents as a whole.

Table 5  
Comparative Net Average Earnings in Ten Selected Occupations (T.L.) 1968

Comparative Net Average Earnings in per centum Occupations (1922-1930)

Occupation	Jobs Abroad				Average F & L T.L.	% Difference Jobs Abroad	Jobs in Turkey				% Difference Jobs in Turkey	Increase F over Pre-Dep	% Decrease Post-Mig. under Av. F & L		
	No.	First		No.			Pre-Dep.		No.	Post-Mig.					
		T.L.	No.				T.L.	No.		S				T.L.	
Miner	33	2321	10	3028	2675	+ 30.5	28	0	393	23	0	657	+ 67.2	+ 490.6	- 75.4
Metal worker	6	2347	3	2328	2338	- 0.8	9	0	470	6	3	700	+ 48.9	+ 998.4	- 70.1
Factory worker (n.e.c.)	25	1655	20	2273	1964	+ 37.3	10	0	410	16	0	629	+ 53.4	+ 303.7	- 68.0
Textile mach. operator	5	2009	2	2323	2166	+ 15.6	13	7	520	7	0	638	+ 22.7	+ 286.4	- 70.5
Assemblyline worker	28	1926	12	2226	2076	+ 15.6	1	0	500	5	0	762	+ 52.4	+ 285.2	- 63.3
Welder	15	1851	8	2416	2134	+ 30.5	7	0	492	9	1	892	+ 81.3	+ 276.2	- 58.2
Electrician	6	1820	4	2615	2218	+ 43.7	10	1	548	10	0	988	+ 80.3	+ 232.1	- 55.5
Machine operators	26	1886	12	2199	2043	+ 16.6	22	0	590	20	0	845	+ 43.2	+ 219.7	- 58.6
Auto mechanic	8	1737	1	1995	1866	+ 14.9	6	0	796	7	0	784	- 1.5	+ 118.2	- 58.0
Driver	1	—	3	2090	2090	—	12	1	774	27	17	1388	+ 79.3	—	- 34.0
Averages =											+ 52.7 + 290.2 - 61.2				
											+ 20.4				

S = self-employed persons among the total number.

T.L. = Turkish Lira

F & L = first and last jobs abroad

Pre-Dep. = last pre-departure job

Post-Mig. = average of all post-migration jobs



With respect to the earning differential between first and last jobs abroad, it will be observed that income in last jobs was 20 percent higher on the average than in first jobs for the ten occupations being considered. Occupation-wise, the largest increments were reported by electricians and factory workers. Moreover, the average differential between last job before departure and jobs after return was an increase of 53 percent. In this instance, welders, electricians, drivers and miners apparently experienced the most sizeable increments, while auto mechanics and textile machine operators profited least.

Simply by leaving his job in Turkey and going abroad to work, the average worker in these occupations experienced an immediate increase in income amounting to nearly 300 percent. While the average was 290, for miners it was an unparalleled 490 and for metal workers about 400 percent. Auto mechanics reported an increase of only 118 percent, however, which would seem to reflect both a proportionately high income standard prior to departure as well as a proportionately low standard abroad.

In comparison to what he had been accustomed to earning abroad, the average worker in these vocations suffered an immediate reduction of 61 percent in his income upon return to Turkey. This is to say, in other words, that his earning power in Turkey was only 39 percent of what it had been abroad. Miners endured the most drastic cut—75 percent—while drivers, mainly due to their high level of self-employment, the least—34 percent. Metal workers and textile machine operators experienced decreases amounting to 70 percent in each case, and factory workers trailed closely behind with a 68 percent cut after return.

Monthly savings in jobs abroad averaged 808 T.L. for first jobs and 1,060 T.L. for last jobs. In computing these figures, cases reporting no savings were included. Whereas in first jobs 18 percent of the workers reported inability to save, in last jobs only nine percent said they were unable to do so. Average savings increased 31 percent between first and last jobs whereas earnings rose only 23 percent.

In jobs after permanent return to Turkey, on the other hand, 73 percent reported inability to save in first jobs and 57 percent in subsequent jobs. Including as above cases where no savings were reported, average savings for first jobs after return stood at 137 T.L. and for subsequent jobs 309 T.L.

Table 6 shows the figures which resulted when monthly earnings and monthly savings in jobs abroad were cross-tabulated. Here as elsewhere the figures would seem most reliable for those income brackets composed

of the largest numbers of respondents. Starting with the 700-999 T.L. income bracket, a steady increase in savings is observed up through the 3,400-3,600 bracket with one slight exception in the 2,800-3,099 range. Similarly, with minor fluctuations this same increase is noted when wages saved are computed as percentages of wages earned. Beginning already with the 700-999 income bracket, 27 percent of earnings were converted into savings, and when the 2,800-3,099 level is reached, savings constituted half of earnings. The progression continues through the 3,400-3,699 income bracket at which point 62 percent of wages earned were saved.

Table 6  
Net Monthly Wages by Monthly Savings in Jobs Abroad  
1968

Monthly Wages (T.L.)	Total Jobs (First and Last)	Average Savings for Income Group	Percent of the Average Wage Saved
100- 399	1	100	40.0
400- 699	4	0	0
700- 999	6	233	27.4
1000-1299	22	300	26.1
1300-1599	48	567	39.1
1600-1899	68	649	37.1
1900-2199	48	817	39.9
2200-2499	48	1075	45.7
2500-2799	41	1220	46.0
2800-3099	19	1495	50.7
3100-3399	6	1450	44.6
3400-3699	13	2208	62.2
3700-3999	5	1780	46.2
4000-4299	3	1267	30.5
4300 and above	1	2300	51.7

Note : Due to no answer or incorrect answers, 19 cases were undeterminable.

This section will conclude by briefly examining remittance patterns and investment of savings. In all, 82 percent of the sample remitted funds at some time during their stay abroad. Eighty-five percent of those who remitted did so in order to support family or relatives, 16 percent to pay for the purchase of real estate, nine percent to cancel debts, and ten percent to add to savings accounts in Turkish banks. Since multiple re-



sponses were possible, percentage figures here as below do not total 100. The extent to which worker remittances have contributed hard currency exchange to the Turkish economy is discussed elsewhere in this book.

By the time of their return to Turkey, 181 respondents, or 79 percent, reported having accumulated at least some cash savings. Of these 181, 23 percent chose to invest in a business enterprise, 41 percent in real estate, and 20 percent in consumer items. Another 20 percent retained at least some funds as cash savings. Post-emigration expenditures for customs tax and marriage were cited in six and nine percent of the cases respectively. Twenty-four percent of those who purchased real estate invested in an apartment or house and the remaining 76 percent in lots, business property and/or agricultural land.

Only 39 persons, or 17 percent of the sample, reported importing job-related tools or machines for which Turkish customs exemptions are available to returning workers. Paradoxically, the item most frequently listed—automobiles by one in every four migrants—is an item for which no customs exemption exists.

Radios were imported by two out of every three persons, and phonographs, tape recorders, and cameras by about one in three. It was not uncommon for multiple units of these items to be brought in by the same person. In such cases, one unit was often intended for retention by the worker and the others for sale or gifts. Like automobiles, these items are not, for the most part, duty-free. Eighty-one percent of the persons who imported radios, phonographs, television sets and tape recorders retained them for personal use. Nearly all household appliances imported were kept for private use.

8.3 In studying the socio-cultural dimensions of the migration experience, this section identifies some possible indicators of acculturation as manifested both in comparative cross-cultural observations made by returned migrants themselves and in comments describing their behavioral characteristics by the industrial managers employing them. Among the topics to be considered are managerial observations on differential performance and attitudes, the migrants' own assessment of both positive and negative aspects of their encounter with a previously unfamiliar culture, and lastly their views regarding readjustment problems engendered as a result of their dislocation from Turkish society.

It should be emphasized that the interviewing technique applied was that of the open-ended question. Interviewers recorded verbatim the respondents' replies and were not permitted to suggest possible answers. In

translating the responses from the original Turkish for classification purposes, a high degree of discretion was exercised to ascertain that the originally intended meaning was preserved intact. The classifications were formulated only after a careful content analysis was made of the specific responses.

With respect to interviews with industrial management, 41 out of 54 establishments contacted employed returned migrants either at the time of the interview or at some previous time. (Conversely, 46 out of the 54 reported having personnel terminate positions in the firm in order to accept positions abroad). Of these 41 establishments, 20 or half were clearly of the opinion, and were willing to so state, that noticeable differences in attitudes and work habits prevailed between employees who had worked abroad and those who had not.

When asked to describe these observed differences, management in 17 of 20 affirmative responses named attributes considered to be of a positive nature. Most frequently mentioned was the general concept of superior "work discipline." Other attributes cited, which could be viewed as facets of this same concept, were more "productive", "industrious", "orderly" and "use time more efficiently." Not unrelated to the concept of superior work discipline were the observations that personnel with European experience were comparatively more "bound" to and "interested" in their jobs, that they did not "leave their job sites as often as others during the course of the work day", and they "observe work hours more carefully" and "work to deserve the wages they earn."

Also frequently mentioned were attributes relating to superior knowledge and work techniques. Employees with European experience were viewed as more "specialized in their skills" and more "willing and able to assume responsibility." In the words of management, "they do not begin work without first understanding it", "make less mistakes while working" and "handle tools and materials more responsibly."

Regarding attributes related to the Turkish concept of *görgü*, variously translated "demeanor", "experience" or "manners" but for which no single equivalent exists in English, management described the worker returned from abroad as more "understanding", "gentlemanly", "refined" and "respectful." As one manager stated, "his manner of conducting himself is different." Others observed that "when he is right he stands up for it, but when he is wrong he does not argue to save face", that "when he is provoked with his supervisor, he does not take revenge by ruining his work." Also observed was the returnee's respect for cleanliness as manifested in his greater concern for proper work attire and in his reluctance to eat while in work clothing.



Among comments intended with a negative connotation were that the worker with European experience had become a more "robot-like" person who preferred only a specific, specialized job and who preferred not to work exceptionally long hours nor on Sundays. In the experience of two firms, the returned worker was "less deferential toward his supervisors", and not unrelated perhaps in another firm's view, the migrant-come-home "saw himself as superior to others even though just an assemblyline worker abroad." Other managers viewed the returnee as "more prone to complain about work conditions and equipment" and "cold toward his work if paid less than he was paid abroad".

Half of the establishments interviewed expressed preference for a job applicant with European experience, 30 percent for the applicant with only domestic experience and 20 percent expressed no preference. Management's reasons for preferring personnel experienced abroad to personnel with only domestic experience closely parallel the positive attributes cited above with respect to attitudes and work habits of returned migrants. Better work discipline and the various attributes associated with this general concept were again most strongly emphasized followed by the observation that persons with foreign experience have usually acquired superior technical expertise which theoretically can be transferred in the form of innovations to the benefit of the firm in Turkey.

Because not all establishments responding to this question had actually employed personnel with European experience, it is interesting to correlate management's preferences with first-hand opportunity for empirical observation. Among establishments which had actually employed personnel with European experience, 59 percent, or well over half, preferred personnel with this background. Nineteen percent of these establishments preferred personnel with domestic experience only and 22 percent expressed no preference. On the other hand, among establishments which had *not* employed personnel with European experience, only 18 percent preferred employees with this background. Sixty-four percent of these establishments preferred personnel with domestic experience only, and 18 percent expressed no preference.

Finally, the many-faceted concept of *görgü* was mentioned at some length, but in addition to the aspects noted earlier in this regard, one firm described the employee with European experience as "easier to deal with because of his greater experience in human relations." Another manager viewed his personnel experienced abroad as more "mature with respect to their approach to work and the importance they attribute to

work." Still a third manager noted that their "work morals are more in order" in the sense that "they recognize a direct relationship between earnings and work accomplished."

Table 7  
Managerial Preferences for Personnel Experienced Abroad

Preference	Firms having employed personnel with European experience		Firms not having employed personnel with European experience	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
European experience preferred	24	58.5	2	18.2
Domestic experience only preferred	8	19.5	7	63.6
No preference	9	22.0	2	18.2
Total	41	100.0	11	100.0

It is of some interest to observe that attributes seen by some managers as working to the firm's advantage were viewed by certain others as working to its disadvantage. Thus, new methods and skills learned abroad were considered by some managers as advantageous innovations but by others as irrelevant and too highly specialized to satisfy needs in Turkey. Reasons given for no preference between domestic and European experienced personnel were in most instances not dissimilar to those above which were interpreted by some managers as advantages but by others as disadvantages. Seeing both sides of the matter simultaneously, some preferred to take a neutral stand.

Having examined acculturative influences as witnessed from the standpoint of industrial management, the discussion now turns to a consideration of the subject as viewed by the migrants themselves.

When asked to assess their degree of satisfaction with foreign work experience, 79 percent of the sample expressed unreserved satisfaction with having made the decision to go abroad, eleven percent partial satisfaction, and six percent regretted their decision. Correlations between degree of satisfaction and duration of residence abroad showed that persons expressing unreserved satisfaction remained abroad an average of 34 months, those only partially satisfied 23 months, and persons who regretted having gone 19 months. The average duration of residence abroad for the sample at large was 32 months.

In the interviews, respondents returned from positions in Europe were



further provided with the opportunity to assess what, in their judgment, were the most significant consequences deriving from the period of residence abroad. They were also asked whether upon their final return to Turkey they found it in any way difficult to readjust to conditions of life and work in the home country. If difficulties were mentioned, an attempt was made to define them specifically and to determine their duration. Responses to these inquiries provide still further data for identifying possible acculturative influences affecting the lives of migrants.

Replies to the former question regarding significant consequences of the experiences abroad could, in summary, be categorized as follows. Those judged *most* relevant from the perspective of acculturation were: (1) realization of the importance of uniform standards and order in the social system; (2) realization of worker rights, of the dignity of worker status, and of basic human equality regardless of occupation; (3) acquisition of cross-cultural perspective of Turkish society in relation to other societies; (4) acquisition of occupational expertise including efficiency, discipline and integrity in work methods; (5) acquisition of *görgü* in its multiple dimensions, among them being culture, enlightenment, experience, strength of character, demeanor and etiquette; (6) acquisition of a knowledge of foreign language; and (7) acquisition of an understanding of human relations. Replies deemed *less* relevant to the subject of acculturation were (1) acquisition of material benefits, including such specifics as cash savings, occupational equipment and the realization of future security in the form of a private business or dwelling place, and (2) realization of a rise in domestic living standards.

From among the foregoing categories, material benefits were most frequently mentioned, followed by occupational expertise, cross-cultural perspective, knowledge of foreign language and *görgü*, in this order. Correlations between significant consequences and years of formal education disclosed that responses most closely associated with higher levels of schooling were (1) knowledge of foreign language, (2) appreciation for uniform standards and order in the social system, (3) occupational expertise including efficiency, discipline and integrity in work methods, (4) rise in domestic living standards and (5) understanding of human relations.

The learning of a European language was identified both as an important motivation for going abroad as well as an important result derived from the migration experience. Respondents were specifically asked in the course of the interviews about their ability to communicate

with foreign supervisors in matters pertaining to the work in the last job held prior to permanent return. Although based on self-evaluation, the results obtained seemed to prove rather reliable when tested.

Table 8

*Positive Results of Foreign Work Experience  
(multiple responses possible)*

Results	Responses	Percent of 228
I. — A. <i>Material Benefits</i> : savings, acquisition of occupational equipment	87	38.2
B. <i>Security for Future</i> : establishment of own business and/or home	19	8.3
II. <i>Rise in Domestic Living Standards</i> : change in "style" of life	14	6.1
III. — A. <i>Occupational and Industrial Expertise</i>	82	36.0
B. <i>Work Methods</i> : efficiency, discipline, integrity	43	18.9
IV. <i>Cross-Cultural Perspective</i> : view of own country and society in relation to other countries and societies	65	28.5
V. <i>Knowledge of Foreign Language</i>	43	18.9
VI. <i>Realization of Dignity of Worker Status</i> : basic human equality; worker rights	15	6.6
VII. — A. <i>Understanding of Life</i> (general)	13	5.7
B. <i>Understanding of Human Relations</i>	18	7.9
VIII. <i>"Görgü"</i> : acquisition of culture, refinement, enlightenment, strength of character, experience	52	22.8
IX. <i>Appreciation of Uniform Standards and Order in the Social System</i>	6	2.6
X. <i>No Important Results</i>	6	2.6
No answer	2	0.9

One test applied in an attempt to assess validity of the self-appraisals was a correlation between reported language proficiency and period of exposure to the language. Persons who estimated their degree of proficiency to be "good" experienced an average exposure of 41 months. Those who rated themselves in the intermediate range—that is, possessing the ability to speak "haltingly"—had been exposed an average of 26 months, and those who required an interpreter, only 14 months. It would thus appear that a minimum period of exposure to any one language approximating three years was essential for acquiring the ability to communicate in the language with any degree of fluency.



A further correlation would appear to exist between foreign language proficiency and years of formal education. Persons reporting "good" language ability also reported an average of 7.3 years of formal education. Respondents who mentioned either the ability to speak "haltingly" or the need for an interpreter had an average of only 5.3 years of education each. Correlations by educational institution attended supported the above—the higher the institution attended the greater the degree of proficiency.

When language ability was correlated with age at time of departure from Turkey, results showed that persons who departed at a younger age attained the better language proficiency. An intervening variable at work here is the tendency for younger migrants to remain abroad longer than others and thereby increase their period of exposure to the foreign language.

Correlations between language proficiency and important results achieved abroad showed further that those who reported "good" proficiency also mentioned "knowledge of foreign language" as among the most important benefits realized. High correlations also existed between "good" language proficiency and "understanding of human relations", "appreciation for uniform standards in the social system", and "occupational expertise." More than four-fifths of those reporting "no important results" cited low degrees of language proficiency.

Alongside important positive results derived from the experience abroad, respondents were encouraged to present a balanced perspective by mentioning any less desirable aspects as well. Out of 228 persons, 150 cited one or more negative aspects which individually covered a wide range but could nevertheless be grouped into three general categories: (1) aspects peculiar to the foreign country, (2) aspects peculiar to migrant workers resident in a foreign country, and (3) aspects manifested in or engendered by compatriots resident abroad. Specific points mentioned within each major category are shown in Table 9.

Within each of the categories, one and sometimes two perceived grievances stand out in particular. Among those constituting the first category, "non-national workers being viewed as inferior to nationals" is predominant followed by what were interpreted as "manifestations of immorality in the society." In the second category, "absence of customary food and drink" looms large as does "language problems." Most striking in the third category were perceptions of "lack of etiquette and obedience for law."

Table 9  
*Repugnant Aspects of Foreign Experience*  
(multiple responses possible)

	Persons	Percent
No repugnant aspects encountered	78	34.2
One or more repugnant aspects encountered	150	65.8
	228	100.0
Aspect	Responses	Percent of 150
<b>I. Aspects Peculiar to the Foreign Country (as perceived by non-national)</b>		
— Social relationships: role of women, family relations	6	4.0
— Manifestations of "immorality"	22	14.7
— Characteristics and values of the people	10	6.7
— General lack of religious beliefs	3	2.0
— Alien workers being viewed as inferior to nationals	41	27.3
— Lack of ample housing facilities to suitably accommodate migrant workers	6	4.0
<b>II. Aspects Peculiar to Migrant Workers Resident in a Foreign Country</b>		
— General hardships suffered by compatriots	3	2.0
— Difficulties arising from different religion and prayer methods	7	4.7
— Absence of customary food and drink	22	14.7
— Inability to take family abroad	6	4.0
— Homesickness	2	1.3
— Feeling of "foreignness"	7	4.7
— Language problems	11	7.3
— Imprisonment	2	1.3
<b>III. Aspects Manifested in or Engendered by Compatriots Resident Abroad</b>		
— Factory translators' misuse of authority	3	2.0
— Lack of etiquette and/or obedience for law	28	18.6
— Inter-personal hostilities: between compatriots and between them and other migrant groups abroad	6	4.0
— Ineffectiveness of official representation abroad	3	2.0

One out of four respondents saw fit to mention that, in their opinions, the guest worker was viewed by a significant number of West Europeans



as someone of inferior skills and someone, therefore, to whom the less desirable positions were allocated. Consequently, a basic incompatibility was often felt to prevail between the local populace and migrant groups. The idea cropped up in a number of cases that while the older generation in Europe understood Turks and Turkey well for the most part, the younger generation knew Turks much less well. This lack of in-depth understanding, it was believed, often contributed to feelings of incompatibility. Interpreted by respondents as "manifestations of immorality in European society" were, among other things, what they saw as "the social freedom and independence of women", "unrestrained acts of emotional self-expression in public", "holidays characterized by large-scale consumption of alcoholic beverages," and, in contrast to their society of origin, the "relatively relaxed state of morals in European society in general."

Although comments of this nature were not solicited, of no small interest was the migrants' objectivity in being critical of themselves as well as of their foreign environment as shown in category three. When noting the negative impressions certain of their compatriots were, in their opinion, making upon European society, they suggested that such persons be screened out before departure from the homeland.

Specific responses to the inquiry regarding re-adjustment problems experienced upon permanent return to the country of origin, like those pertaining to the question of significant consequences, again covered a wide range. Classified generally and listed insofar as possible in order of apparent relevance to the topic of acculturation, they were as follows: (1) dissatisfaction with the "way" or "style" of life; (2) recognition of a need for more uniform standards and dependability in the social order; (3) dissatisfaction with traditional social relations and with the tendency both on the part of business management and society in general to hold worker status in low esteem; (4) recognition of a need for more efficient, disciplined work methods and for increased sensitivity toward associated values; (5) dissatisfaction with living standards, earning power and ability to save; (6) dissatisfaction with work conditions inclusive of long hours, physical environment, and degree of mechanization; and (7) difficulty securing employment related to past training and experience.

Though reluctance to mention such problems was felt to be present in many cases, in all, 53 percent of the sample nevertheless did cite one or more readjustment difficulties. Here again, the problem most frequently noted—and this by more than half of those who cited problems—was

that of "lower living standards." "Recognition of a need for more uniform standards and dependability in the social order" was cited by one in four. Each of the remaining classifications listed above was mentioned with about equal frequency, this being, in each case, by approximately one out of every five respondents who noted problems.

Table 10

*Readjustment Problems Reported upon Permanent Return  
(multiple responses possible)*

	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Percent</i>
No readjustment problems reported	105	46.1
One or more readjustment problems reported	121	53.1
No answer	2	0.8
	228	100.0
<i>Problem</i>	<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percent</i>
I. <i>Work Conditions</i>		
— Long hours, manual labor, physical environment	26	21.5
— Difficulty securing suitable employment	22	18.2
— General lack of efficient, disciplined work methods and appreciation for associated values	19	15.7
II. <i>Living Standards</i>		
— Low earning power, inability to save	63	52.1
III. <i>Social Relations</i>		
— "Way" or "style" of life	19	15.7
— General lack of uniform standards, orderliness and dependability in the social order	31	25.6
— Low esteem for worker status by management and society in general	23	19.0
IV. Specific problems not stated	5	4.1

When duration of residence abroad was correlated with readjustment problems, it was found that persons reporting no problems remained abroad an average of only 28 months while persons mentioning one or more problems were outside their home country an average of 35 months. Migrants who noticed upon their return an "over-all lack of uniform standards, orderliness, and dependability in the social order" remained abroad longer than any other group—namely, an average of 41 months as compared to the average for the sample at large of 32 months. In second position were persons who upon their return were aware of an "over-all



lack of efficient, disciplined work methods and values attached thereto"—i.e., values which respect the potentialities of well-organized manpower and the attribute of diligence. In third place were those returnees who were sensitive to traditional social relations and the low esteem attributed to worker status. As might be anticipated from the preceding analysis, persons most proficient in foreign language ranked readjustment problems in this same order.

Finally, it was found that persons reporting no readjustment problems were far less disposed to go abroad again than were those who had experienced problems. Fifty-one percent of the former group asserted they would not return abroad under any condition while only 23 percent of the latter group took this position.

When asked about degree of satisfaction with current jobs in Turkey, 55 percent of those respondents who were employed at time of interview expressed satisfaction, 40 percent dissatisfaction, and about five percent did not reply. The most common reason for dissatisfaction cited in 75 percent of the relevant cases was inadequate wages. Approximately one in every four dissatisfied respondents mentioned "inefficient work methods", "low productivity", "unsatisfactory management-employee relations", and/or "recurring trouble in the work."

In conclusion, the empirical data gathered would seem to suggest that exposure to European industrial society had left its impressions upon migrants in no small measure, that these impressions had remained consciously present in the minds of migrants for significant periods of time following their return to the country of origin, and that these impressions were objectively discernible by others who themselves had not participated in the migration experience. Furthermore, it has been shown that the types of acculturative effects and value orientations European industrial society engendered in Turkish migrants were to a very high degree viewed by a cross-section of industrial managers in the country of origin as desirable effects.

8.4 As indicated in the introduction, a second major objective of the field study was to determine what effects the migration movement had had as of the summer of 1968 upon the Turkish labor market in general and upon economic and demographic trends in three regional markets in particular. The detailed results of the investigation were reported in *Emigration and the Labour Market in Turkey* (MS/M/404/301), OECD, 1969 and *Manpower Movements and Labour Markets*, OECD, 1971. In the present context, only the most salient findings emerging from that

investigation will be discussed—particularly those which are of enduring significance meriting further empirical inquiry in the future.

Four basic data sources relevant to labor market studies exist in Turkey: (1) general censuses of population taken each five years in years ending in "0" and "5", (2) general nation-wide surveys of industry and workplaces, (3) labor force surveys in selected main cities, and (4) various publications of the Turkish State Employment Service (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu), the chief one of which is the monthly *Work and Manpower Bulletin*. The first three sources mentioned are all published by the Turkish State Institute of Statistics, and except for the census, have not in the past appeared on a regularized basis. The quality of the data varies and reconciling the respective sources is often problematic. Frequently, the data is categorized in ways which do not lend themselves to specific functional concerns with which the analyst may be confronted.

Since the objective in the field study was to measure the effects of international migration on three specific regional labor markets, it was felt that first-hand interviews with industrial management in these areas might be one of the most dependable empirical indices available. Accordingly, in each area an attempt was made to interview top-level management in a representative cross-section of industries present there.

Industry in all major branches of the Turkish economy was contacted with the exception of the wearing apparel industry which is largely confined to Istanbul. As shown in Table 11 management at a total of 50 firms, or 54 individual workplaces was interviewed. Thirty-four of these firms were in Izmir, 14 in Kocaeli and two in Zonguldak. Firms interviewed in Izmir employed 16,501 persons, in Kocaeli, 14,234, and in Zonguldak, 37,814—in all, 68,549 persons.

Defined in the broadest sense, industrial employment in Turkey as a whole in 1968 was estimated from the official statistical sources to be in the vicinity of one million. Thus, the establishments interviewed employed approximately seven percent of all persons then employed in Turkish industry. Firms interviewed in Izmir employed about 28 percent of all industrially employed persons in that city, firms interviewed in Kocaeli employed about half of all industrially employed persons in that province, and the two firms contacted in Zonguldak province employed approximately three-fourths of all persons engaged in industry and mining there. Almost without exception, all of Turkey's major industrial workplaces were included in the research design.



Table 11  
Distribution of Firms Interviewed by Province and Industrial Branch

Branch	Izmir		Kocaeli		Zonguldak		Totals					
	No.	Employment %	No.	Employment %	No.	Employment %	No.	Employment %				
Mining					1*	33,906	89.7	1*	33,906	49.4		
Iron, Steel					1	3,908	10.3	1	3,908	5.7		
Metal Products	5	1,341	8.1	2	822	5.8		7	2,163	3.2		
Cement, Cement Products	2	1,038	6.3					2	1,038	1.5		
Construction Materials	2	189	1.2					2	189	0.3		
Ceramics, Glass					2	2,027	14.2	2	2,027	2.9		
Chemicals, Chemical Products	2	410	2.5	4	1,097	7.7		6	1,507	2.2		
Rubber, Plastics	2	218	1.3	2	1,346	9.5		4	1,564	2.3		
Paper, Paper Products	1	82	0.5	1	5,912	41.5		2	5,994	8.7		
Machine Tools	1	70	0.4					1	70	0.1		
Electrical Equipment	2	260	1.6	1	1,633	11.5		3	1,893	2.8		
Automotive Assembly, Parts	2	974	5.9	2	1,397	9.8		4	2,371	3.5		
Textiles	7	7,460	45.2					7	7,460	10.9		
Food, Beverage	7	2,861	17.3					7	2,861	4.2		
Tobacco Products	1	1,598	9.7					1	1,598	2.3		
Totals	34	16,501	100.0	14	14,234	100.0	2	37,814	100.00	50	68,548	100.0

\* One firm having five workplaces.

\* One firm having five workplaces.

In each interview industrial management was asked whether any personnel had severed employment relations with the firm in order to go abroad to work. Forty-six of 54 workplaces reported that some employees had terminated to go abroad, two reported that none had left for this reason, four had no way of knowing, and two did not reply. Of the 46 answering in the affirmative, eleven reported that at least some of the jobs vacated by workers terminating to go abroad were difficult to fill while 35 indicated that recruitment for these positions was not problematic.

Positions most frequently reported difficult to fill were of two types: (1) specialized types of machine operators peculiar to the textile industry, and (2) general types of machine operators required by many industries for maintenance purposes if not the production process itself. The latter category refers in particular to lathe, fitting, milling and planing machine operators. Also cited were electricians, welders, molders, blacksmiths and some types of skilled workers required for mining.

In all, management knew of 503 former employees who had quit jobs to go abroad. However, the mining and iron and steel industries, both the largest of firms interviewed, are not included in this figure since they reported having no way to estimate departures of migrants. If the same rate prevailed in these two industries as in all the others combined, it might be projected from employment levels that total departures were in the vicinity of 1200 rather than 500. One-half, or 253, of the 503 which were reported were in the textile industry, 95 in the electrical appliance, 34 in the food, 31 in the metal products and 23 in the chemical products industries. As far as positions then being held in these firms by workers returned from abroad were concerned, 375 were mentioned.

In the final analysis, it is the fluctuations in skilled personnel which are crucial. Unfortunately, management had no means to compare skills of departed migrants with skills of returnees. Among the latter, however, at least 68 percent possessed a skill of some type. Only 22 of the 375 were unskilled and five semi-skilled. Had one or two firms been able to report more precise information, the 94 whose skill level was unclear could have been classified. Due to the nature of the firms where they were employed, however, it is assumed that a sizeable proportion of these 94 would also fall into "skilled" or "highly skilled" categories.

To measure current demand for skilled labor in the three labor markets studied, firms interviewed were asked what job vacancies presently existed for skilled labor. A total of 364 positions were listed. Only the cement and tobacco products industries reported having no current vacancies. The paper, textile, and automotive assembly industries each had 50 or



more vacancies, while the mining, iron and steel, food and beverage industries each had 30 or more. Of the 364 vacancies, 103 were for machine operators as follows: fitters, 44; lathe operators, 32; planing machine operators, 14; milling machine operators, 10; and press operators, three.

For the period 1963-68, the firms interviewed reported 47,825 jobs vacated and 55,031 persons hired. Had all firms been able to report and report for the entire five-year period under consideration, new jobs created would undoubtedly have been substantially higher than the 15 percent increment shown. However, the high rate of turn-over in personnel indicated by these figures is not uncommon in the Turkish labor market and, under any circumstance, is attributable to international migration only to a small degree.

A prerequisite to any assessment of the effects of emigration upon the Turkish labor market is perspective on that country's total manpower resources. The latter, in turn, is by definition closely associated with the structure of Turkish population.

During the last several decades, Turkey's population has experienced unprecedented growth. Between the 1950 and 1955 censuses a 14.7 percent increase occurred followed by another in the amount of 15.1 percent between 1955 and 1960. Only during the last two inter-census periods—1960-65 and 1965-70—has growth begun to diminish somewhat. A 13.2 percent increment was recorded in 1965 and approximately 13.6 in 1970. In October, 1970, Turkey's population stood at 35.7 million, up from 20.9 million in 1950.

It follows that the population of Turkey is a predominantly young population. In October, 1965, 51.2 percent of all Turks were under 20 years of age. Nearly four-fifths, or 79.1 percent, were under 40 years of age. The overwhelming majority of emigrant workers are between ages 20 and 39. In 1965, there were 8.8 million Turks in this same 20-39 age cohort, and they represented 62.2 percent of the nation's total labor potential between ages 20 and 65. Thus, the 775 thousand persons who are thought to have migrated abroad between 1961 and the end of 1972 comprised about four percent of the working-age population and two percent of the nation's total population. It may be surmised that from among the entire Turkish population in the 20-39 year age range, approximately one person in 13 has at some time during his working career migrated abroad for employment.

According to the 1965 census, approximately 72 percent (9.8 million) of the nation's economically active population was engaged in the agricultural sector where hidden unemployment is generally recognized to be

quite extensive. Reasonably precise figures on unemployment or underemployment in Turkey are not available; however, Turkish estimates showing ten percent or more of the working age population as unemployed are not uncommon. It follows that, quantitatively in terms of absolute numbers, those Turks working abroad represent a rather small portion of the nation's total manpower resources.

This is the perspective as seen from a purely quantitative view. More important, particularly in the case of a developing nation, are qualitative considerations. Paradoxically, one of the most critical of all types of data is at the same time among the most difficult to obtain—namely, reliable information on skills of departing and returning migrants. No known large-scale research has as yet been undertaken in this highly crucial area. However, if the data from both the archival and interview samples of the present study may be taken as indicative of prevailing conditions, it is surmised that a significantly high proportion of all migrants are skilled and that the occupations they pursue in Turkey are in many cases crucial to the development of the economy.

It should be emphasized that the quality of the archival data varied considerably from one location to another and that the research staff had no means by which to refine it. Consequently, the figures cited must be taken as indicative only of very general trends. Be this as it may, when only the determinable cases (902 out of 1,433) are considered, 45.6 percent of persons sent abroad through official channels between 1961 and 1968 in the three provinces studied were shown to be personnel possessing skills which by Turkish criteria were skills at least equivalent to the "master's" level. The comparable statistic for the determinable cases in the interview sample (191 out of 228) was 44.1 percent. Additionally, the interview sample was composed of 15.7 percent technical and 4.2 percent clerical personnel which the archival sample was not. Presumably, if the same criteria applied in classifying the interview sample had been applied in the archival sample, many persons considered as unskilled in the latter case (53.1 percent) might instead have been classified as semi-skilled. In any case, that over 40 percent of all migrants in each sample had attained skill levels of "master" or higher is believed to be a significant observation as it relates to the qualitative profile of the Turkish labor force migrating abroad. Among the 50 industrial firms interviewed, 64.4 percent of returned migrants working in the firms were reported to be at the "master's" level or higher (again excluding technical and clerical personnel).



Table 12  
Skill Levels before Departure

	Archive Sample Percent	Interview Sample Percent
1. Supervisory (headmaster, head of shift)	1.9	4.7
2. Skilled (master)	43.7	39.4
3. Technical	—	15.7
4. Clerical	—	4.2
5. Semi-skilled	1.3	20.4
6. Apprentice	—	1.0
7. Unskilled	53.1	14.6
Determinable Cases	902	191

Even though 70 percent of Turkey's population resides in villages, contrary to what is sometimes supposed the majority of Turks migrating abroad are *not* villagers. The data collected by Aker over a one-year period during 1970-71 indicated that 27.9 percent of all respondents in a sample of 590 were residing in villages at the time of their departure. City dwellers constituted 46.8 percent of all departures and town residents 15.3 percent. In the archival and interview samples percentages for village and town were somewhat lower than this. That at the most only about one in three departures appears to be from the village would seem to strengthen the plausibility of the hypothesized over-all high skill levels prevalent among migrants.

Data from the interviews indicated that industrial management in Turkey is for the most part quite keenly aware of the potential dangers uncontrolled migration could present for the economy in general and the labor market in particular. Some managers expressed regret at having trained skilled workers only to have them migrate sometime later. Others felt that the type of work a migrant does abroad is often too specialized to satisfy the more generalized requirements of Turkish industry upon his return. A concern quite commonly expressed was that a sharp recession in the European economy could send migrants home *en masse* and thereby generate a crisis situation in the Turkish labor market. Still other managers felt that already now difficulties prevail in securing adequately trained skilled labor and that migration abroad only tends to aggravate an already problematic situation.

Be this as it may, the same group of managers elsewhere in their interviews indicated that they had current openings for only 364 skilled personnel. When placed alongside an employment level of 68.5 thousand in these same firms and when considering too the rather large numbers of presumably skilled migrants already returned to resettle in Turkey, the figure of 364 would appear rather inconsequential. Evidence leads the analyst to hypothesize that among her now quite large contingent of returned migrants Turkey does in fact possess skilled manpower resources which, primarily for want of systematic recruitment and necessary incentives, are currently diverted outside areas of prime need. It is further hypothesized that this potential supply of skilled manpower could very substantially satisfy specific demands in the labor market as they presently exist. Wages have indeed risen as has the cost of living, but it is highly doubtful that any correlation could be drawn with certainty at the national or regional levels between emigration and wages. As observed above, a high degree of turnover in personnel is characteristic of the Turkish labor market under any circumstance and not one engendered by emigration as such.

#### 8.5 Summary of Demographic Characteristics and Conclusions

At the outset, the dual objectives of the study were stated as follows: (1) to define demographic characteristics and motivations of the migrant and to learn what socio-economic and socio-cultural effects the emigration experience has upon the lives of migrants who return to settle in their home country; (2) to learn what discernible effects the emigration movement had had upon the Turkish labor market as of the summer of 1968, particularly with respect to economic and demographic trends in three regional markets. The following paragraphs will briefly summarize what would appear to be the most significant findings of the research.

First, with respect to the former concern stated above, it would appear probable that a comparison of the demographic data from the interview and archival sources discloses broad trends which in most instances are indicative of conditions applicable in the nation at large. Accordingly, from all available evidence it seems reasonable to characterize the most numerous group of Turkish migrants as being between 23 and 35 years of age at time of departure and having a median age in the vicinity of 29 years. Departures prior to age 23 and after age 35 are more the exception than the rule. While few women participated in the early stages of the emigration movement, at the present time approximately one in five workers abroad is a woman.



When departing, roughly four out of five migrants are married. More have two children as dependents than have three. Nearly all have been exposed to the equivalent of a primary school education (five years), but education in excess of eight years is rare. It is estimated that between five and ten percent have had at least one year of vocational training and that somewhat less than five percent attended the lycee or beyond. The majority are born in villages and towns (communities under 20 thousand population) but are residents of cities (communities over 20 thousand) at time of departure. About one in three migrants are village dwellers at time of departure.

It follows that for the large majority of workers going abroad, migration is not a new experience. In the interview sample, 70 percent of the respondents had changed their community of residence at least once prior to departure. Fifty-two percent had migrated across provincial boundaries, and another 28 percent had moved considerable distances either from what are now foreign territories or from remote regions within the Turkish Republic. Upon returning from Europe, the large majority of migrants would appear to re-settle in the community from which they originally departed.

While persons in the interview sample remained abroad an average of 32 months, economic conditions prevalent in Europe during 1967-68 were responsible in many cases for premature returns. Four to five years is believed to be the average preferred period of foreign residence. Moreover, there are indications that, conditions permitting, a substantial number of Turks at work in Europe would like to remain abroad indefinitely. This latter group, however, is at present thought to be a relatively small contingent of the whole.

Temporary returns to Turkey of about one-month's duration are quite common during the period of residence abroad. These seem to average approximately one return for each 18 months spent in Europe. About one in five migrants was accompanied by a spouse who also was employed in most instances. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents would be receptive to migrating once again under favorable conditions.

Persons interviewed were overwhelmingly successful in realizing the goals which motivated their original decisions to migrate. Only between four and nine percent were unable to attain their objectives. Multiple motives ordinarily underlay the emigration decision, but foremost among them were financial and educational goals. The former usually did not constitute an end in itself but rather a means to opening a private business, purchasing real estate or obtaining major consumer items in Turkey.

The latter most often pertained to acquisition of occupational expertise, foreign language skills and opportunity to travel.

Occupation-wise, at time of departure approximately 60 percent of migrants interviewed had worked as craftsmen, automotive equipment or machine operators, and production process workers. A similar percentage were, by Turkish standards, skilled workers. Averages for a nation-wide sample, however, would undoubtedly fall somewhat below this level. Nine out of ten migrants severed employment relations in Turkey in order to assume positions abroad.

Until now, there have been virtually no government controls placed on emigration. The prevailing philosophy seems to have been that domestic job vacancies created by emigration would provide others with the opportunity to secure employment. Emigration has often been viewed as a form of release for unemployment and under-employment pressures which inevitably come to the fore when rapid population growth offsets economic growth. Also, remittances and exchanges made by migrants serve to bolster the nation's hard currency resources in no small measure. As discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume, the export of labor has become in recent years Turkey's leading earner of foreign exchange.

If large-scale demand for Turkish manpower continues to develop in European labor markets, it would seem that in the best interests of the nation the Government of Turkey might seriously want to consider modifying its present manpower policy which permits virtually unlimited emigration. Guidelines for a comprehensive manpower policy which is in harmony with long-range economic development goals have already been laid down in Turkey's five-year development plans. As indicated there, quantitative projections of potential European demand for Turkish labor are only a minimal starting point. Maximally, a policy should be implemented which considers the qualitative dimensions of emigration and their implications for the domestic labor market—a policy which realistically weighs both the pros and cons of emigration and assesses what is in Turkey's best interests not only in the short run, but ultimately as well.

The experience of one decade is far too short a time span in which to assess cumulative evidence of acculturation in Turkish society at large resulting from the mass movement of Turkish citizens between different cultural spheres. Effects and influences of West European industrial society are indeed present and measurable in that restricted segment of Turkish society which has been exposed to life in Western Europe for extended periods of time, but "effects" and "influences" must not be



interpreted as "acculturation" *per se*. Rather, acculturation at the societal level is a phenomenon which lends itself to analysis in historical time exceeding the confines of one decade.

Suffice it to say that the mass migration of manpower across cultural boundaries could well prove to be as it develops in the course of time one of the more important media that circumstances peculiar to the present century have produced for transmitting not only the accoutrements of western industrial society to Turkey, but also the values responsible for and surrounding these accoutrements as well. To what extent Turkish society may choose to assimilate or adapt these values as its own is, for the present, an intangible variable which can be brought into focus only with the passing of time. Continued European economic prosperity and projected large-scale requirements for manpower from abroad are expected to substantially intensify the potential for mutual cultural interpenetration between West European and Turkish societies in the decade ahead.

## IX

# THE TURKISH BRAIN-DRAIN: MIGRATION TENDENCIES AMONG DOCTORAL LEVEL MANPOWER

TURHAN OĞUZKAN

## ABSTRACT

This chapter is concerned with the migratory behavior of Turkish citizens holding the Ph.D. degree who are professionally employed outside Turkey. Its purpose is to examine selected characteristics of the migrants, to relate these characteristics to migratory behavior, and to identify the main motives for migration. Presumably, such information could be used in attempts to control or regulate the migration of talent from Turkey.

Comparisons with the annual production of doctorates in Turkey, the present stock of Ph.D.'s, the growth rate of this stock over time, and the current need for Ph.D.'s suggest that loss due to migration is substantial. The study showed that the greatest loss occurred in sciences and engineering which together represent crucial areas for economic development.

In addition to the Ph.D.'s who leave their jobs in Turkey for employment abroad, there are also graduate students who frequently do not return to their homeland after foreign study. The decision to migrate from Turkey, or to remain abroad if already there, was found to be related to professional, economic, socio-cultural, personal and political reasons. Of these, professional reasons consistently weighed by far the heaviest. As expressed by respondents, these professional reasons were closely related to the immediate environment of work such as "opportunity for advanced training", "physical facilities" and the like.

Academicians constitute the largest proportion of migrant Ph.D.'s. Thus, it seems that the university is one of the more important types of institutions in which measures could be taken to control or regulate the migration of Ph.D.'s from Turkey. If Turkish universities are to increase their attracting and holding powers for talented staff, a review of personnel policies and practices may be advisable. Moreover, rules and practices governing the study abroad of Turkish graduate students might also be reviewed from the standpoint of controlling the drain of talent.

The international migration of talent is an old phenomenon but a new issue. One could cite numerous historical examples of scholars, writers and artists who sought their fortunes in foreign lands. It is interesting, however, that the movement has become an issue in many countries of the world only during the past ten to fifteen years.

Reasons underlying the attention given this phenomenon in recent times include the acceleration of the so-called "brain-drain" movement



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## SQUATTER SETTLEMENT (GECEKONDU) PROBLEMS IN ISTANBUL

BY

NEPHAN SARAN<sup>1</sup>

In 1961, Professor C.W.M. Hart, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Istanbul, decided to tackle the gecekondu<sup>2</sup> problem, which was then a big issue in Istanbul. His aim was to instruct his students in the field as to how social research and social survey is accomplished and also to instruct them in field research methods. Talks with the Municipality of Istanbul and various Ministries had shown that little was known about these places and the people who lived there. Where did the people who live in the gecekondu areas come from; what kinds of jobs did they have; where did they go to work; what kinds of houses did they live in; how many people lived in one room; why did they come to Istanbul; were they planning to go to their home towns; did they have electricity; did they have water in their houses—these and other similar questions had no solid and sound answers. Professor Hart chose the district of Zeytinburnu as the research site because it was the oldest gecekondu area in Istanbul and was close to the center of the city; therefore, transportation facilities were somewhat more improved. Field research in Zeytinburnu started in June, 1962, and lasted until January, 1963. During this period, over 10,000 families were interviewed.

After the Zeytinburnu area, in May of 1963, the same type of research was carried out in the Gültepe-Çağlayan areas of the Municipality of Kâğıthane, also in Istanbul. Field research in these areas was completed in September of the same year. The research done in Zeytinburnu and in Gültepe-Çağlayan is the first research of this size administered and completed by a social scientist in Turkey. Results of the Zeytinburnu research were published in 1969.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The term "gecekondu", literally "built in the night", is widely used to refer to the type of squatter settlements discussed in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> This research was financed by the Istanbul Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and was also published by these Chambers in 1969 with the title, "Zeytinburnu: A Gecekondu Settlement".



Even though the field research was completed in both areas in 1963, relations with the residents of these areas were continued; students went out to the field at intervals for follow-ups and to investigate in detail some problematic situations that came up during the preliminary survey. In addition, some anthropology students have prepared their graduate theses in these areas.

As a result, by 1968, in addition to the primary research carried out by the Department, nine other surveys covering various topics were completed.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to summarize the primary research done between the years 1962-1963 in Zeytinburnu, Gültepe and Çağlayan and the other surveys carried out later by the students of the Department.

#### *The Gecekondu Problem*

The population flow from Anatolia and Thrace into Istanbul is doubtless not a recent problem. In the 18th Century, several imperial decrees were issued at various times to stop the flow of the subjects who, for various reasons, left their land and villages and were rushing into the cities, especially into Istanbul.

Aktepe, in an article dealing with the movement to Istanbul in the 18th Century, summarizes the situation as follows:

The city of Istanbul had resided quite a mixture of population for various reasons within her boundaries for a long time. To settle, to feed and to administer this rather large and mixed population had become a problem especially in the 18th Century and hence forced the sultans and the government officials to agree on the principle of accepting as few people as possible into Istanbul and moving out some of the recent inhabitants as the possibility arose (Aktepe 1958).

But these measures had not been very effective, and the flow from Anatolia and Thrace into Istanbul had continued in varying degrees up until today.

However, the flow of large groups into some cities in Turkey and the birth of the gecekondu, which shelters these groups in the cities, became a serious problem in the second half of the 20th Century.

<sup>4</sup> These surveys, which were supervised by the Department of Anthropology, are in the form of unpublished graduation theses (see Bibliography at the end of this paper).

The rapid increase in Turkish population after 1945 and, again, the increase in the city population during these same years brought about a serious matter: the housing problem. This was especially felt in Istanbul since Istanbul is one of the most important cities receiving the immigrant groups. People coming from the rural areas into the city could only find housing in the old and peripheral sections of Istanbul and, even then, not very easily. These people were already in economic hardship, and the high rents asked for these houses, which offered very poor living conditions, led them into even more desperate situations. Thus these families, which already had various social and economic problems, started to build little huts on empty lands that were close to where they worked. Their aim was to have "at least a place to put their heads in". These shelters were later named "gecekondus".

Gecekondu has been described in various ways. It is necessary to mention a few of these to establish the basic characteristics of these shelters. According to Professor Yavuz (1953: 63), "Gecekondus are those buildings, constructed hastily, in a way violating construction regulations, and generally lacking even the most primitive facilities". According to legislation number 6188, which concerns the encouragement of construction and the defining of illegally built houses, "gecekondus are those residence units which are built on somebody else's property without obtaining permission from the owner; are against the city building and improvement plan; are usually non-hygienic and against construction regulations; and are built in a hurry".<sup>5</sup> Today some parts of the above descriptions have lost the

<sup>5</sup> According to the old Ottoman Legislation, construction activities were subject to the *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (Statute of Land) (1858) and to *Mecelle* (The old Ottoman Civil Code) (1869).

Article 31 of the Statute of Land states that unless official permits were obtained, new building could not be constructed or erected. If they were constructed contrary to legislation, they would be demolished. According to Article 93 of the same Statute, no one could construct a building on public roads, nor claim ownership rights in it. Any action against the law would be punished and the construction would be demolished.

Various articles of the Civil Code, on the other hand, emphasize that one could not take the rights of others by "force"; that it would be considered a nullity to seize by force somebody else's property. And that it would be against the law to claim rights in somebody else's property without the owner's consent.

However, it has to be said at once that a gecekondu type of construction is not found in Turkey either during the Ottoman Empire or until after the Second World War. This is why in the Old Ottoman legislation there were basic legal principles which intended only to prevent seizure of private property. (For a detailed discussion, see Demircioglu [1954: 103]).



truth in them. The research<sup>6</sup> done in these areas has shown us that most of the houses in these areas are not "non-hygienic" or are not built against the construction regulations. To clarify this point, it should be said that even though the houses might have been non-hygienic and built against construction regulations in the beginning, they were improved considerably once it became certain that the builders were going to be permanent residents in the area. Also, in some of the gecekondu areas, official permits were given for construction and, therefore, houses were not built "in a hurry". However, almost all of the above descriptions have one thing in common: "They are built on somebody else's property and without official permits".<sup>7</sup> These constitute the basic characteristics of the gecekondu.

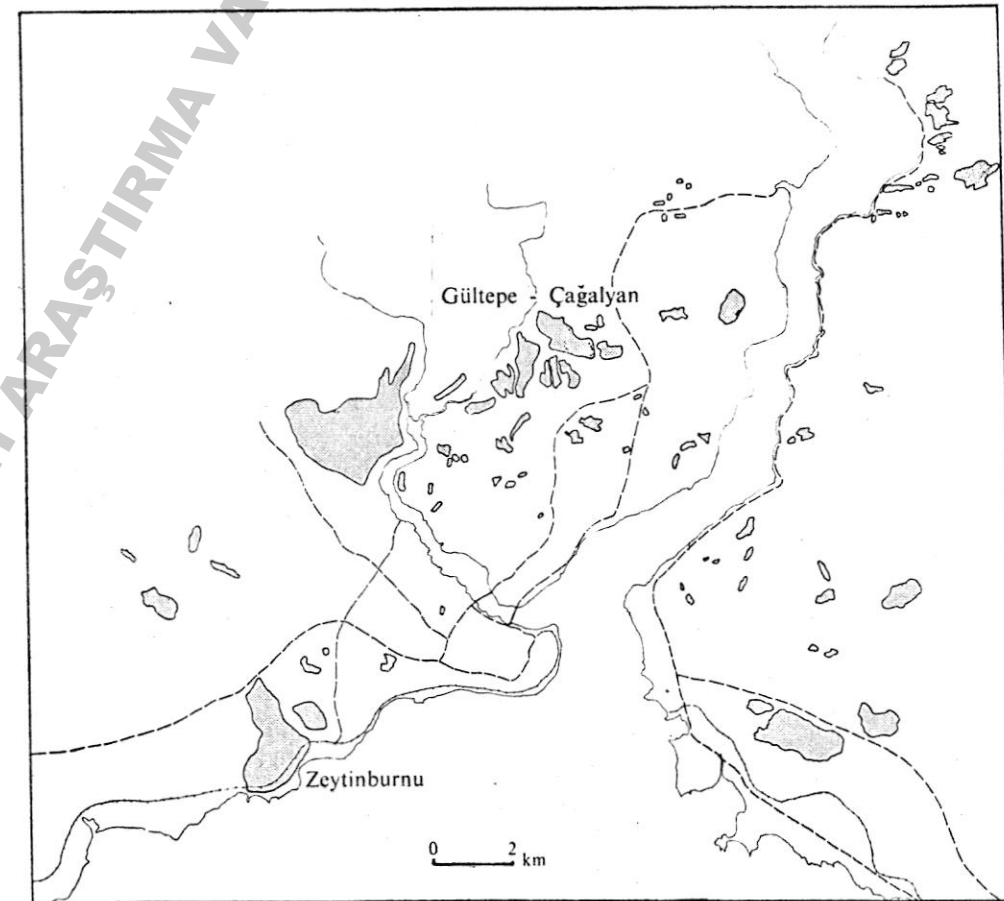
As stated before, construction of this type of housing was started in 1945 and has continued since then. According to Hart, this type of housing has both universal and special-to-Turkey characteristics. Gecekondu type houses can be found in other places in the world. They have various names; "shanty houses", "overnight houses", "maisons au Champignons", "favela", etc. The Turkish gecekondu seems to represent the mid-point between the British and the Indian (as found in large cities in India like Calcutta). In all three of these countries there is a flow of people from agricultural areas into the cities. These newcomers do need some kind of a shelter. In England, the government, through the municipalities, builds houses for the newcomers. In India, on the other hand, these newcomers reside in the streets, in the parks, and in the train stations. In Turkey, the newcomers do not expect any help from the government—either in the form of workmanship or material; they build their own houses. Only they build their houses on somebody else's property, preferably on the Treasury or Public land, without official permission (Hart 1963).

Because there is a constant flow of people into these areas, today we cannot say exactly how many people live in the gecekondu areas of Istanbul. Officials of the Ministry of Housing and Settlement, in one of their publications, once declared that they assumed that 45 per cent

<sup>6</sup> Hart (1969) and various research done in Gültepe by the Department of Anthropology, Istanbul University (unpublished manuscripts).

<sup>7</sup> We have seen some exceptions even to these characteristics in some of the gecekondu areas. In Gültepe, for example, the houses were built by official permission from the municipality; in the Istanbul districts of Bakırköy and Osmaniye, people have built their houses on their own property without the official permission for construction.

of Istanbul's population live in the gecekondu areas.<sup>8</sup> Even though these areas were situated on the periphery of the city when construction activities first started, as a result of the normal growth of the city itself,



Gecekondu Areas of Istanbul  
(After Tümerterkin "Manufacturing and Suburbanization in Istanbul" in *Review of Geographical Institute, Istanbul University* No. 13, 1970-1971).

today they are residential areas of Istanbul close to the center of the city. The oldest and most crowded gecekondu areas of Istanbul are on the European side of the city. Zeytinburnu is located in the southwest; Gazi Osman Paşa in the Northwest; Okmeydanı, which has shown a

<sup>8</sup> Yörükhan (1965). The population of the city of Istanbul, according to the 1965 census, was 1,742,978.



very fast growth rate since 1962, in the West; and Çağlayan and Gültepe in the North. On the Anatolian side, along the Bosphorous, starting from the North and going toward Pendik, a lot of gecekondu areas of various sizes have developed and still continue to grow (see map).

Obviously, gecekondu is some kind of solution to the housing problem of those who move into the cities from the villages. But at the same time, it creates many problems for the authorities. Today the city administrators are faced with a gecekondu problem that they have to solve: there is a fast increase in the number of the gecekondu areas; these areas are not included in the master plan of the city; the construction in these areas does not have any organization whatsoever; and the areas are against every construction and improvement regulation of the municipality. The first reaction of the authorities toward these areas has been quite negative, since the city administrators and the planners have looked upon these areas as those which will be pulled down eventually and look upon the people as those who do not belong to the city. In accordance with this view, there were times when the houses in the gecekondu were pulled down, but while this was happening, these areas were provided with electricity, water, municipal transportation services, and schools. A survey conducted in Zeytinburnu, the oldest and largest gecekondu area in Istanbul, shows us how this area was saved from total destruction between 1947 and 1948:

In Zeytinburnu the first gecekondu were built by the road. The gendarmes were quite surprised at this activity in the beginning, but as the number of the gecekondu increased each day, the gendarmes had to interfere and to inform first the *kaymakam* (county head) and then the governor of the city. The governor had then decided to pull down the gecekondu, but for political reasons this decision was not carried out. However, the governor had ordered the area to be encircled by the gendarmes and even drinking water was not let in. The winter of 1947 and the spring of 1948 were full of fights between the people and the gendarmes. On a Tuesday in May, 1948, it was declared, written and orally, to each household in the area that their houses were going to be pulled down the following Sunday. The people were in extreme panic. The residents were trying every possibility to change this decision when they were told in a newspaper office that they should try to see the Chairman of the National Assembly who was then visiting Istanbul. Representatives of the gecekondu area then visited the Chairman in his house and convinced him to come and visit the area. When he went to Zeytinburnu he

was met by the weeping residents of the area. The mud was knee deep, and the Chairman's car could not go very far into the area. But he promised them that their houses were not going to be touched and a few days later it was announced on the radio that the gecekondu were not going to be pulled down (Kurucu 1964: 3).

From this date on, construction of gecekondu in Istanbul was increased and the "Turkish governments have had different policies from time to time, strengthening or weakening the destruction policy for political reasons; the minor officials make exceptions for their friends, or those who will bribe them, kind-hearted kaymakams hesitate to enforce house-destruction orders, and there is never enough men, time, energy or belief in the policy to enforce it 100 per cent" (Hart 1969: 29). Therefore, in constant struggle with the authorities, the municipal regulations and laws, the gecekondu areas nevertheless continued to grow, and Zeytinburnu, one of the first to be established, became a county seat in 1957. Thus, for the first time a gecekondu area became an administrative unit within the boundaries of the province of Istanbul. Zeytinburnu covers an area of 40 km<sup>2</sup>; it is surrounded in the South by the Sea of Marmara, in the North by the county of Eyüp and the municipality of Sağmalcılar, in the East by the old Istanbul walls and in the West by the county of Bakırköy. The population of Zeytinburnu was 88,341 in 1960 and it reached 106,000 in 1965 (official census data).

#### *Land Problems in Zeytinburnu and Other Gecekondu Areas*

Zeytinburnu is only a small piece of two large *vakıf* pious foundations: the vakıfs of Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan and Sultan Beyazıd-ı Veli Han Hazretleri. In 1880, representatives of the Istanbul Armenians visited the Sultan and asked for permission to form an Armenian neighborhood in the Zeytinburnu region. The Armenian subjects of the Sultan had just recently donated a large sum to close the deficit in the budget. The Sultan did a favor in return and accepted their request. However, later, for political reasons, the permission for starting the construction was never granted. It is very possible that sometime during this period Zeytinburnu was registered in Priest Agop's name, a member of the Armenian church. When the permission for the establishment of the neighborhood was not granted, Priest Agop, between the years 1911-1914, sold some of this land which was registered in his name. Today most of the land that belongs to Armenians, Greeks, and



Germans in Zeytinburnu is the same land that Priest Agop had once sold. Of course, the land has changed hands a number of times since then. Priest Agop could not sell all the land that was registered in his name, and when he died without any heirs, this land once again became the property of *Vakıflar* administration.

We have said before that the first gecekondu constructions started in 1945 and grew in number until 1948. When they were saved from the destruction policy in 1948, this type of construction activity increased even more. According to the research of the Department of Anthropology done in 1962, the land occupations which started in 1945 increased between the years of 1950-1951 and, during this later period, 35.4 per cent of the houses in the area were built. From this period until 1960, 88.4 per cent of the houses in the area were built. In 1962, while the research was still in progress, the older neighborhoods of the area were almost all occupied. It was only in the newer regions that the illegal constructions were still going on. As can be seen in the above statement, Zeytinburnu is not a temporary residence area, and a great number of the inhabitants have been living there since 1950.

Some of the gecekondu owners in Zeytinburnu also own the land that their houses are built upon. These are the people who, after building their houses, have succeeded in buying the land from the previous owners. The vakıf land in Zeytinburnu was sold to gecekondu owners between the years 1954-1959. This was done in accordance with the article dated July 29, 1953, of legislation number 6188. But, because of political reasons, not all of the gecekondu owners who built their houses on vakıf land received their land titles. At that time, Vakıflar administration was selling the land for three T.L. per square meter. Some individuals who owned land in the area have also sold their land to the house owners, possibly thinking that it would be too much trouble or expense to try to save their land from the occupants. Sümer is one of the five districts of Zeytinburnu. Land in this district was sold for 76-80 kuruş per square meter in the beginning, but eventually these prices went up to 100 T.L. per square meter. Some big land owners, instead of dividing their land into parcels and selling these parcels, have sold "shares". As a result, 40-50 gecekondu owners "share" one big piece of land. This procedure has complicated the already problematic land situation in the area. In one section of the Sümer district it was found that, of the 286 house owners who said they have land titles, 124 do not, but do have shared titles. We have already said that the owner of the land is unknown to the gecekondu owner when he builds his house.

Sometimes it so happens that a house is constructed on the boundaries of more than one parcel of land. As a result, a person may have built his house on land that has three different owners: private land, vakıf land, and municipality land. Even though such a person can buy his land from the vakıf administration, he cannot do so from the individual or from the municipality, and ends up with having one room in his house with title, and therefore legal, and the rest without title and therefore illegal.

This complicated land situation in Zeytinburnu is somewhat simplified, if not completely solved, by the tendency of the vakıf administration and individuals to sell the land to the gecekondu owners, because once the land is owned by the house owners, that land title problem is also solved. This interaction between the land owners and the house owners is still going on in Zeytinburnu. In 1962, in Nuripaşa, one of the districts of Zeytinburnu, 38.3 per cent of the houses had land titles, whereas a follow-up survey has shown us that this percentage has gone up to 75.0 per cent in 1968 (Ekiz 1967: 15).

Land title is only one aspect of the land problem in Zeytinburnu. Another aspect, which is as important, is the fact that Zeytinburnu as a whole is not considered a legal neighborhood within the province of Istanbul as are other neighborhoods in the city. In 1957, Istanbul municipality engineers made a city plan for the district of Kazlıçeşme which included part of Zeytinburnu as well. This plan, however, was made without taking into consideration the present situation in Zeytinburnu and, therefore, had no feasible possibilities of actual application in the area. This was why Zeytinburnu was still considered as having been built against the present city plan until 1968. As a result of this thinking, permits for construction or improvement of houses in the area could not be given, not even to those with land titles. Therefore, a person who wanted to build a house or to improve his house would have to either bribe somebody to acquire a permit, or build it in secrecy and then bribe someone so that it would not be pulled down, or bribe a municipal police man who had seen this activity taking place so that he would not take any action against it. It was seldom certain whom to bribe; therefore, there were times when a person would bribe two of the officers, and yet a third one would still come along and order the destruction of the house or order them to stop the construction. Of course, there could have been a city plan for the area that was made according to the existing conditions of the area, thus making the application possible. This, at least, would have enabled those who



had titles to their land to get official permits to build their houses, or those who were capable of improving their houses to do so without having to bribe whoever came along. In 1962, while our research was going on in the area, one of the general complaints that the inhabitants had was the fact that there was not an applicable construction plan for the area and that the nonexistence of such a plan prevented any positive development and improvement of the area.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, what we have said about Zeytinburnu with regard to the land situation, construction, and complicated land title problems due to the various land ownerships in the area does not apply to all the gecekondu areas in Istanbul. For example, Çağlayan and Gültepe in the north show differences in these matters, not only in comparison to Zeytinburnu but also between themselves.

#### *Land Situation in Gültepe and Çağlayan*

The Gültepe gecekondu area is founded on quite hilly land and lies to the northeast of the city. It is situated on the left hand side of the hardtop road that goes down to the Bosphorous after going through Şişli, Mecidiyeköy, and Levent. It is located behind the Eczacıbaşı Pharmaceutical Factory. This area lies outside of the boundaries of the Municipality of Istanbul, and it is established on land that belongs to the Treasury and to the village of Kağıthane. Until 1955, parts of the village land were rented to some individuals for the purposes of stone quarries, agricultural farming, and chicken farming. According to the first contracts between the village and the leasing individuals, a person could not use the land for purposes other than those stated, nor could he sublet it to somebody else. However, after awhile, these regulations were abolished, contrary to the established rules and without any substantial reason. In 1957, when the road building activity started the authorities found themselves in the position of having to place or pay those people whose houses were being confiscated.<sup>10</sup> This obligation has led the Municipality of Istanbul to sign a contract with Kağıthane.

<sup>9</sup> A plan was prepared for Zeytinburnu in 1968. We do not know how successful this plan has been. However, during our last visit to the area, we noticed a number of changes, i.e. many of the gecekondu were pulled down and 3-4 story apartment houses were built in their place; many others were being improved; and the construction of a sewage system was begun.

<sup>10</sup> Some of the confiscated houses were gecekondu houses. In such cases the house owners were not paid but were given land where they could build their new houses.

This contract gave the right to administer a long and narrow piece of village land to the Municipality of Istanbul. This land is where Gültepe is located today. The Municipality then made a plan for the area, and divided the land into 62.5 m<sup>2</sup> parcels. These parcels were then given to those people whose houses were confiscated during the road construction activity so that they could build one story houses on these parcels. These people were given a document called the "parcel paper" but no land titles, since the land still belonged to Kağıthane and not to the Municipality of Istanbul. Now, going back to those people who have already rented land from the village for economic activities, and keeping in mind that now they were free to transfer their rights as renters to others, we see that they have found it quite profitable to divide this rented land into parcels and sell them to those who would like to build gecekondu. This activity, on the other hand, brought about another group of inhabitants who have, in their hands, a type of document with no legal value and who have come to occupy the land around the parcellized Gültepe area. Thus, Gültepe grew larger with houses, some of which were built by permission and some without. Even those people who have received parcel papers from the Municipality of Istanbul are not the actual owners of the land they live on, and therefore they are not entitled to land titles. As can be seen, the strange land puzzle of Gültepe is quite different from that of Zeytinburnu in essence.

The district of Çağlayan is also considered as a gecekondu area. It lies to the north behind the Şişli Mosque, and is connected to the city by a road that goes around the Hürriyet-i Ebediye Tepesi on the right. This area, too, lies behind the Municipality of Istanbul and, like Gültepe, is founded on Kağıthane village land. Most of the house and apartment building dwellers in this area, as in the previous one, do not have land titles. But the land situation is quite different than that of Zeytinburnu or Gültepe.

Kağıthane is the village vakıf of Taya Hatun, one of the favorites of Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512). After World War I, during the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied Powers, a member of the Greek minority group of the Ottoman Empire found a devious way of buying Çağlayan district which lies within this vakıf. Later, when the occupying forces left Turkey, this person, now left without any protection, quickly transferred his rights in this land to a Jewish citizen and escaped from the country. In accordance with the Lausanne Treaty, which was signed on July 24, 1923, this land passed to the Treasury and is



registered in the Title Bureau as such.<sup>11</sup> These events, in turn, have brought about a complicated legal situation with three different sides claiming rights in this piece of land:

1. Kağıthane—The village claims that this land was sold under great pressures of the Allied Powers and with the buyer forging the official records; hence the real owner of the land is still the village.

2. The individual—The Greek who had bought this land had sold it to a Jew before leaving the country, and the Jew claims that the land belongs to him since he was still living in the country.

3. The Treasury—The Treasury claims that this land had passed to the government in accordance with the Lausanne Treaty and therefore belongs to the Treasury.

In the 1930's this became a court issue, but nothing came of it for years, and in 1933 all the documents were burned when the House of Justice of Istanbul burned down. In 1966, a survey conducted in this area showed us that the dispute was still going on (Özüstün 1966: 7-10).

While the land in question was in a confused state, it was thought, in the village, that those families who live in the village but who do not own houses should be given land in the Çağlayan area. The villagers then, in 1953, established an organization and decided that the Çağlayan section should be divided among the villagers without favoring any one person. The Council of Elders of the village approved this decision. The land was then divided into 400 equal parcels and these were distributed among the people by way of a lottery system in the presence of a notary public. No land titles were given. However, the people who received this land were in no position economically to build houses for themselves; neither could they find bank credit to do so. The villagers had already invested 100 T.L. for the expenses and to sell this land to others seemed to be more profitable to them. So the villagers began selling this land and giving people receipts with no legal value. Of course, those who bought this land did not receive any land titles. In 1959, after the first distribution, a second parcelization took place in the area, and in spite of the principle that only those who were residents of the village could receive land, many outsiders did find a way of buying the land, and construction began in the area (Özüstün 1966: 7-10). There are mostly apartment houses on the main road, and today Çağlayan looks very much like a part of the city, with its many

<sup>11</sup> According to the Lausanne Treaty, governments could agree among themselves to confiscate the properties of those who leave the country.

shops, grocery stores, vegetable stands, doctors, dentists, and business offices. In spite of this fact, up until 1966, almost no one in the area had land titles. The buildings are sturdy and built according to a pattern, with construction regulated according to village laws.

We have tried to summarize the land problem of three different gecekondu areas in Istanbul. As can be seen, each one of these areas has considerable basic differences with regard to the land issue, and it is very possible that other differences will be found in other gecekondu areas in the city, depending on the area's history and its particular way of development.

Leaving this issue aside, we can now look at some of the characteristics of the people who live in Zeytinburnu, based on our research conducted in the area.

#### *Where do the Gecekondu People Come From?*

The results of the Zeytinburnu research show us that the people who live in this area can be divided into various major groups according to the characteristics they seem to have. First of all, it is possible to divide the population included in the research (40 per cent of the Zeytinburnu total population) into immigrant and non-immigrant. When making this distinction, however, we have to be careful to define exactly what we mean by "immigrant". Hart defines immigrant as follows: "If the person (man or woman) who is interviewed, his father or his father's father is born outside of the national boundaries of Turkey, he is considered as an immigrant. The mother's side is not taken into consideration" (Hart 1969: 11). The tabulation of the data has been carried out according to the above definition. Of the interviewed families, 51.8 per cent were thus classified as immigrant and the remaining 48.2 per cent as non-immigrant. The immigrant group either came directly from a foreign country and settled in Istanbul, or, as is the case for the majority, they or their families came from a foreign country, were shown a settlement place somewhere in Turkey by the government, and have left their original settlement places for various reasons and moved into Istanbul.

The immigrant families came from countries which were once within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The greatest percentage came from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, followed by Greece and Romania. There are some in this group whose birthplaces are within the boundaries of Turkey. This is the younger generation whose fathers were born out



Table 1  
Birthplaces of Interviewed People in the Immigrant Group  
(Zeytinburnu)

	Greece		Yugoslavia		Romania		Bulgaria		Kirkklareli		Tekirdağ		Edirne		Istanbul		Southern Marmara		Anatolia		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3504	492	14.0	750	21.4	394	11.2	741	21.1	240	6.9	246	7.0	145	4.1	129	3.7	205	5.9	86	2.5	76	2.2

Table 2  
Birthplaces of Persons Interviewed by Regions in Non-Immigrant Households  
(Zeytinburnu)

	Central		Black Sea		Anatolia		Aegean		Mediterranean		Eastern Anatolia		Southeastern Anatolia		Marmara Thrace	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3037	1480	48.7	337	11.1	80	2.6	58	1.9	367	12.1	69	2.3	281	9.3	365	12.0

of the national boundaries of Turkey today. According to the above classification, these, too, were classified as immigrant. Table 1, shows the birthplaces of this immigrant population and the provinces where they were settled by the government when they first arrived in Turkey; the children of these families, who were born in these provinces, later left these places and moved into Istanbul.

The highest percentage among the non-immigrant group comes from the Black Sea region. Of the 3,037 people who compose the non-immigrant group, 48.7 per cent came from this region. After the Black Sea region, are Eastern Anatolia and Thrace in decreasing percentages. Only 11.1 per cent came from the Central Anatolia region. These figures show us that Zeytinburnu is a residential area for a rural population which came from almost all over Anatolia, and that people from the Black Sea region are represented with a higher ratio (Table 2).

The percentages we have found in Zeytinburnu might not show the same pattern in all the gecekondu areas of Istanbul. For example, the majority of people in Çağlayan and Gültepe came from Anatolia, and the remainder is composed of residents of old Istanbul who were made to leave their houses during the confiscation of their properties for the road construction.

#### *Types of Occupations Held by the Zeytinburnu People*

According to the 1962 research, most of the people who live in Zeytinburnu today have come from villages. Therefore, they were engaged mostly in agriculture before they came to Istanbul. Actually, of the 6,531 families interviewed, 72.5 per cent said that their fathers were either farmers, shepherds, or farm hands (Table 3).

This percentage is the same for the interviewed men and for the husbands of the interviewed women. We should keep in mind here that the Zeytinburnu population, in 20 years, has abandoned agricultural occupations and engaged themselves in urban jobs; what is more, they adapted themselves almost perfectly to these jobs. A great majority of the interviewed men told us that they are pleased with their new jobs; the working women stated that their city jobs are much easier than the farm work they had to do in their villages.

There are 9,174 employed persons in the interviewed families. Of this population, 4,067 persons (44.4 per cent) work in factories; the rest have given their occupations as "government employees", "private enter-



Table 3  
Interviewed Zeytinburnu Person's Fathers' Occupations in Their Birthplaces

	Farmer		Shepherd		Farm Hand		Private Enterprise		Worker		Government Official		Not Working		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6531	4538	69.5	79	1.2	98	1.5	914	14.0	299	4.6	356	5.6	41	0.6	109	3.0

Table 4  
Occupations of the Working Population

	Zeytinburnu		Factory		Private Enterprise		Peddler		Government Official		Works at Home		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
N	9174	4067	44.4	1556	16.9	576	6.3	1215	13.2	262	2.9	1498	16.3	
Houseowners	5332	2214	41.5	1009	18.9	350	6.6	742	13.9	158	3.0	859	16.1	
Renters	3842	1853	48.3	547	14.2	226	5.9	473	12.3	104	2.7	639	16.6	

prise", or as "peddlers". Table 4 shows the types of occupations of the working population of Zeytinburnu. Here a distinction is made between the gecekondu owners and the renters. Of the household heads, 37.2 per cent are factory workers and, as can be seen in Table 5, they represent the highest percentage. The rest are typical occupations that can be found in any city.

Table 5

## Work Places and Occupations of the Household Heads

N	House-Owners		N
	Renters	2268	5266
Factory			
Government Official	5	10	15
Unqualified Worker	35	51	86
Qualified Worker	875	985	1860
N	915	1046	1961
Per cent	40.3	34.9	37.2
Government Office			
Non-Official	248	448	696
Government Official	129	117	246
N	337	565	942
Per cent	16.6	18.9	17.9
Private Enterprise			
N	202	432	634
Per cent	9.0	14.4	12.0
Construction Worker			
N	105	163	268
Per cent	4.6	5.4	5.1
Craftsmen			
N	271	288	559
Per cent	12.0	9.6	10.6
Unqualified Worker			
N	152	153	305
Per cent	6.7	5.1	5.8
Peddler			
N	134	168	302
Per cent	5.9	5.6	5.7
Knitting Machine at Home			
N	21	43	64
Per cent	0.9	1.4	1.3
Driver			
N	70	105	175
Per cent	3.1	3.5	3.3
Other			
N	21	35	56
Per cent	0.9	1.2	1.1



Women also work in Zeytinburnu families. Some of these women are the mothers in the family, but, as can be seen in Table 6, the percentage of working mothers is not very high. The number of working mothers in the renter group is slightly higher in comparison to the relatively better off house-owner group. A large percentage (70.9 per cent) of the working mothers are factory workers (Table 7).

Table 6  
Work Status of Interviewed Mothers

	N	Working N	Working %	Not Working N	Not Working %
N	6408	911	14.2	5497	85.8
Renter	2694	443	16.4	2251	83.6
House owner	3711	468	12.6	3246	87.4

Table 7  
Occupations of the Working Mothers  
(Zeytinburnu)

	N	Per cent
Factory		
Unqualified	10	
Worker	636	
Total	646	70.9
Government Office		
Government Official	7	
Non-official	38	
Total	45	4.9
Unqualified	97	10.7
Knitting Machine at home	61	6.7
Other	62	6.8
Total N	911	100.0

Other female workers are daughters in the family who are eligible to work and who, for various reasons, are not continuing their education. A large percentage of these women also are factory workers.

The factory workers work in the neighboring factories of Zeytinburnu, and, because they live nearby, they walk to work. Walking time varies between 10 and 30 minutes. Hart summarizes the facts presented thus far as follows:

Turkey is rapidly becoming industrialized and Istanbul is becoming increasingly an industrial city. Industrialization not only needs capital and machines and engineers; it also needs factory labor and in Istanbul the peasants recently arrived from Anatolia who live in gecekondu supply this. In their humble way they are contributing to the social and economic development of Turkey by taking their labor away from the farms where it is not needed and applying for modern factory jobs, where their labor is needed (Hart 1969: 100-101).

*House owner-Renter Situation in Zeytinburnu.* We can also divide the interviewed families in Zeytinburnu into house owner and renter groups. According to this classification, of the 6,777 families that were interviewed, 66.2 per cent are house owners and 43.8 per cent are renters (Table 8).

Table 8  
Distribution of Renters and House Owners  
in Zeytinburnu

	House Owners			Renters	
	N	N	%	N	%
Zeytinburnu	6777	3812	56.2	2965	43.8
Sümer	2501	1351	54.0	1150	46.0
Yenidoğan	1147	597	52.0	550	48.0
Nuripaşa	1406	663	47.1	743	52.9
Yeşiltepe	1723	1201	69.7	522	30.3

The house owners here are gecekondu owners who, on their arrival in Zeytinburnu, have either built their houses themselves or have had them built by experts who specialize in constructing gecekondu rapidly. They can also buy their houses if they have the money and if there is one for sale. Purchasing prices vary according to the year it was bought, whether the house has title or not, and the location of the house. Prices for gecekondu range between 5000 T.L. and 35,000 T.L. Over half of the immigrant families have preferred to buy rather than to build their houses.

Sometimes these house owners rent one or two rooms of their houses. One might think that in such a situation the owner has to share his hallway and kitchen with the renter. There are cases of this sort, but not very many. For example, 71.1 per cent of the house owners have told

demek  
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us that there is a hallway separate from the rooms in their houses. But only 9.6 per cent share this hallway with their renters. Usually the house owners build one or two rooms under the same roof, attached to their own house, with a separate main door, and then rent this section. There are other instances where the owner has one or two rooms built in some corner of the garden where the owner also has a house. Very seldom does one find a case where the owner lives somewhere besides Zeytinburnu, renting his house as a whole.

In almost all districts of Zeytinburnu there are more house owners than renters. The only two exceptions are found in Nuripaşa and Yeşiltepe districts. In Nuripaşa, there are more renters than house owners. In Yeşiltepe, on the other hand, the ratio of house owners to renters is exceptionally higher than it is in any other district of Zeytinburnu (Table 8). This is caused by the physical set up of the districts. The older districts, in comparison with the newly developing Yeşiltepe, are in many respects more developed; they have better roads, water, electricity, and better public transportation facilities. These are the factors that attract renters. Those who prefer Yeşiltepe are ones who either have the courage to build a gecekondu or are so poor that they cannot afford the rents that are asked in the older parts of the town. In fact, the rents in Yeşiltepe are the lowest in Zeytinburnu. In 1962, the average (median) rent in Yeşiltepe was 58 T.L. per month. The average for Zeytinburnu as a whole is 71 T.L. The highest rent in Yeşiltepe was less than 200 T.L. in that same year. Table 9 shows rents

Table 9

Rents Paid per Month by the Renters in Zeytinburnu

T.L.	Zeytinburnu	Sümer	Yenidoğan	Nuripaşa	Yeşiltepe
21-40	168	57	27	31	53
41-60	735	303	100	121	211
61-80	881	424	146	178	133
81-100	487	165	123	169	30
101-120	132	40	21	51	20
121-140	129	40	33	42	14
141-160	112	26	33	47	6
161-180	40	5	12	20	3
181-200	39	4	8	25	2
201-220	15	4	7	4	—
Total N	2738	1068	510	688	472
Median T.L.	71.0	69.0	78.0	82.0	58.0
Mean T.L.	77.0	72.9	86.1	89.3	60.0

per district and for Zeytinburnu taken as a whole. In those years, nowhere in Istanbul, save the gecekondu areas, could one find rents as low as these. The highest rent paid in the area in the summer of 1962 was 220 T.L.; only 25 per cent of the interviewed renters were paying above 92 T.L. These low rents show how important the gecekondu areas are in meeting the shelter needs of those who have just recently arrived from their villages.

*Family Structure in Zeytinburnu.* Zeytinburnu families come from villages, and in general are composed of a mother, a father, their children, and "others". These "others" can be grandmothers, grandfathers, and also consanguines or even affines of either spouse. This composition is similar to the extended families of the rural areas. Ertüzün's (1965: 10-15) follow up research on the children of specific age groups shows us that of the 291 house owning families, 36 per cent have "others" in them. This ratio is even higher in the immigrant families. "Others" are mostly daughters-in-law and grandchildren, and therefore it can be said that married children (sons) have a tendency to stay with their parents at least for some period of time. In fact, the same research has also shown us that 88.2 per cent of the married sons in these 291 families live with their fathers in the same house. Again, 5.9 per cent of the married sons open up new houses, and the remaining 5.9 per cent move in with their wife's parents. The situation is as follows for the married daughters: 15.9 per cent remain at their father's house after marriage; 43.5 per cent open up new houses; and 40.6 per cent move in with their husband's parents. As can be seen, in Zeytinburnu, married sons usually stay with their father and daughters marry out. But this does not mean that married sons stay with their fathers for a very long time. Usually after they achieve some kind of an economic independence, or when their parents do not need them any more, then very shortly after they get back from their military service, they prefer to establish a new house by themselves. Usually, however, there is one son who stays with his parents.

In Zeytinburnu the average size of the family is 4.7 persons, except in the newly developing Yeşiltepe where this number rises to 5.25. This is probably due to the fact that the newcomers are usually young families whose children have not left because they are not old enough either to be married or to enter the military service.

Actually, the ages of mothers and fathers, it was found, do vary between the different districts of Zeytinburnu. In Yeşiltepe, the average

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age of fathers is 31.9, and of mothers, 27.5. In Yenidoğan, an older district, the average age of fathers is 35.0 and of mothers, 31.0. In general, the fathers and mothers in the immigrant group represent an older group of people than the non-immigrants and so do the house owners in comparison with the renters.

Table 10

*Mean Ages of Mothers and Fathers at Time of Interview  
(House Owners)*

		Father's Age		Mother's Age	
		N	Mean Age	N	Mean Age
Zeytinburnu	N	3545	42.7	3712	38.1
	Immigrant	2035	44.4	2114	40.0
	Non-Immigrant	1510	40.4	1598	35.6

Table 11

*Mean Ages of Mothers and Fathers at Time of Interview  
(renters)*

		Father's Age		Mother's Age	
		N	Mean Age	N	Mean Age
Zeytinburnu	N	2561	36.1	2689	31.4
	Immigrant	1187	38.3	1241	33.2
	Non-Immigrant	1374	34.2	1448	29.8

It can easily be explained how the house owner group comes to be older than the renter group. They came to Istanbul, to Zeytinburnu, at an earlier date than that of the renters, have lived in the city or somewhere in Zeytinburnu as a renter for awhile and then managed to become house owners themselves. In general, the household heads were 30 years old on arrival in Zeytinburnu, which does not necessarily mean that this was their age on arrival in Istanbul. They could have been younger when they first came to Istanbul. Usually they work for some time in the city and, after making some money, they bring their families from their villages. Of course, this is not the absolute migration pattern for moving into the city. There are those who arrive with their families and these people, after staying with a relative for some time, rent a nearby gecekondu and settle in Zeytinburnu.

A great majority of the married people were married in their own villages before moving to the city. Those who were married in the city represent the first generation after migration. Even though these people do get married in the city, their marriages are usually arranged by their parents on traditional lines. As was shown in Ertüzün's research, 50.7 per cent of the marriages of those women who married in Zeytinburnu were arranged by the parents. For men this percentage is 29.5. Working daughters more frequently choose their spouses themselves. Thus, daughters, once they become part of the working group, seem to be somewhat more independent of family pressures. The bride price custom appears to continue. According to Ertüzün's research, 18.8 per cent of the married girls have received bride price when they married, and 58.8 per cent of the married men have paid bride price when they married. This custom seems to be more frequent in cases where the marriage is arranged by the parents, or when the girl for their son is brought from the village. In cases where the families are long residents of Istanbul, the bride price continues as a symbolic gesture.

The ages of marriage for girls in the city vary between 14-22. The age for men is, generally speaking, 22 or more, or sometime after they have completed their military service. However, during our interviews in Zeytinburnu, we came across some families whose sons were engaged when they were 18. Again, generally speaking, there is a four to six year difference between the ages of spouses, and it is preferred that the husband be older than the wife.

Zeytinburnu families continue to keep their traditional marriage ceremonies. The bride is taken from her home with the traditional music provided by a drum and a pipe, which are engaged by the husband-to-be's parents. The houses are usually small and thus the wedding party is conducted according to the city customs in a wedding "saloon" or parlor. This saloon can be in Zeytinburnu or it can be any other place in the city, such as Aksaray, Fatih, or Bayazid. Zeytinburnu thus reflects a combination of city and village life in the living customs, beliefs and social life of its residents.

Even though the Zeytinburnu houses are crowded (2.92 people per room), and the streets are muddy in rainy weather, the houses are extremely clean and neat inside. In most of the houses there is one room which is used both as a bedroom and a living room. At one corner of this room there is a bed with an embroidered white bedspread on it; across from the bed there is a divan where the children in big families sleep at night. This divan is covered with a clean, lace spread in the



summertime. On the floor, depending on the economic capacities of the family, there is either a rug, a *kilim*, or a *pala* (kinds of rugs of decreasing value). People usually sit on the floor around a big round tray to eat; if the room is big enough, it is preferable to eat at the table, which is placed at one end of the room. This city custom is favored more among those who have been living in Istanbul for a long time and those who have young children. Almost all of the residents have electricity and radios in their homes. Lately, natural gas stoves have been replacing the kerosene gas stoves for cooking purposes. There are families who own refrigerators and even washing machines. Like the majority of the rest of the city, the residents of Zeytinburnu, too, read the newspaper, *Hürriyet*, and go to the movies; a great many of them want to educate their children and see them go to the university. Girls, if they are in school, do not cover their heads, and dress according to the latest fashion; those who work, on the other hand, usually cover their heads with colorful scarves. This is not religious conservatism, but merely a custom. They busy themselves with various hand crafts while they sit around in their gardens with neighbors in the summer. Some of these hand crafts are sold to bring extra income to the family budget. Zeytinburnu people are a perfect representative of the hospitality that the rural population is so famous for. They always offered tea, coffee, or buttermilk to the students who visited them to interview during the research period.

Zeytinburnu people have their eyes and ears open to the outside world. There is a lot they want to know and learn. They want to know how the other residents of Istanbul live. The women are curious about

Table 12

Results of the October 15, 1961, Elections

Zeytinburnu: Number of Valid Votes	A.P.*		C.H.P.*		C.K.M.P.*		Y.T.P.*		Independent	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
32387	15215	47.0	8988	27.7	5080	15.7	655	2.0	2449	7.6

- \* A.P. Justice Party  
 C.H.P. Republican People's Party  
 C.K.M.P. Republican Peasants' Nation Party  
 Y.T.P. New Turkey Party

Source: Results of the October 15, 1961, elections of the representatives and the members of the Senate. T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (State Institute of Statistics). Publication No. 463.

birth control and the men are very much interested in politics. Even though they usually say that they are for the "Bread Party", most favor the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) (Table 12).

Food Consumption in Zeytinburnu Families. In the 1962 research conducted by the Department, detailed information on food consumption was not obtained. However, in the summer of 1965 the Department participated in a study (Palmer 1966), organized by the FAO and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, of the food resources of Turkey. The Zeytinburnu part of the research was conducted by Professor Hart, and information was gathered concerning the kind and amount of food consumed in the families, the family income, and other information required in order to compare families within the various income groups. One hundred and sixty families were asked to keep daily records of food they bought, the money they spent for it, and the amount of food they consumed. These families were visited every day for five weeks by the students, who scrutinized these records each day. These students, therefore, had a chance to get to know these families intimately, and to follow their daily routines, especially with regard to their dietary habits. According to the results of these daily records in Zeytinburnu, 160 families spent on the mean average, 508 T.L. for food in 35 days during the summer months of 1965. The median average was 485 T.L. Families in different income groups spent different percentages of the total spent for food in these 35 days for specific items of food. In those families where the per capita income was above 500 T.L., 18.0 per cent of the total amount of money spent for food went for such items as meat, fish, and poultry. In comparison with this, in families where the per capita income was between 100-199 T.L., only 9.0 per cent of the total amount was spent on such items. Money spent on bread, on the other hand, was only 10.0 per cent of the total amount in the 500 T.L. income group, while this percentage rose to 23.3 per cent in the 100-199 T.L. income group. In spite of the percentage differences spent on bread and meat by the various income groups, there is almost no difference in the average in what the groups spend on bread in terms of absolute amounts. In other words, both the rich and the poor families of Zeytinburnu spend the same amount of money for bread per person. Because the richer families spend more money on other food items than the poor families do, the percentage represented by expenditure for bread is lower for this group. In fact, the correlation between the per capita income and the money spent on



bread per capita in 160 families is  $r = .24$ . Therefore, it can be said that an increase in the income is not correlated with an increase in the money spent for bread. However, a high correlation is found between per capita income and per capita consumption of fruits and meat. The correlation for fruit is  $r = .60$  and it is  $r = .57$  for meat. Therefore, we can say that those food items whose consumption is closely related to income increase are meat and fruit.

In general, expenditures on grain, cereals and related food items are quite high in Zeytinburnu families. In families with high incomes, 17.0 per cent of the total food expenditure is for cereals like bulgur, flour, macaroni, noodles, rice, etc. This percentage is higher in the lower income group where it represents 29.0 per cent of the total amount of money spent on foods. The percentage for this particular food item was the largest of the percentages spent for various foods in both income groups.

Some of the interviewed families in Zeytinburnu also receive some food items like garbanzo beans, lentils, bulgur, *tarhana* (a special kind of soup preparation), etc., from their villages. These are the families who have maintained relationships with their villages or who still have either their parents or their siblings living in the village. The people living in the village provide some of the winter cereal needs of their close relatives who have moved to Istanbul.

On certain days of the week, open markets are held at several places in Zeytinburnu. Going to the market is an entertaining event for the women. In spite of the fact that there are quite a few grocery, vegetable, and clothing stores in the area, people usually buy whatever they need from these open markets. During the research, we asked a friend why she preferred to do her shopping in the market. She replied that some things were cheaper in the market than they were in the stores, but inasmuch as the prices were similar, it would seem that the real reasons are that she is used to going to the market and she is entertained there. It is true that there is a lot of action and entertainment in these market places: the salesmen try to attract customers by praising their goods at the top of their voices. Customers very carefully go through the food and clothing on display under colorful shades and bargain with the salesmen when they intend to buy the things they like. Usually they buy something after they walk all over the market and decide that they have found the best quality for the least price.

Zeytinburnu markets remind one of the vitality found in the market places of bigger towns of Anatolia, with all their variety and color,

except that the customers and the salesmen in Zeytinburnu are in transition from a village style of living to an urban one.

*Education in Zeytinburnu Families.* In the 1962 research, detailed information was gathered on the levels of education of the household heads (fathers), mothers and children. Primary education is obligatory for the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. We wanted to see the extent of application of this law in Zeytinburnu, and calculated the numbers and percentages of those who had primary education and beyond. In Table 13, because the figures in the "does have education" column indicate chiefly those who have had an elementary education only, we did not find it necessary to show in detail the levels of education. Those who finish elementary school are also those who know how to read and write. There are not many who have learned how to read and write outside of a formal schooling. Therefore, education percentages are almost the same as the literacy rates.

Table 13 gives information about the education or literacy among the mothers, fathers, and children in four districts of Zeytinburnu. When percentages for children were being calculated, the number of children

Table 13

*Literacy Among Mothers, Fathers, Sons and Daughters in Zeytinburnu as a Whole and in Districts of Zeytinburnu*

	Zeytinburnu		Sümer		Yenidoğan		Nuripaşa		Yeşiltepe	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fathers										
N	6123	100.0	2230	100.0	1046	100.0	1269	100.0	1578	100.0
Does have	3571	58.3	1389	62.3	604	57.7	830	65.4	748	47.4
Does not have	2552	41.7	841	37.7	442	42.3	439	34.6	830	52.6
Mothers										
N	6281	100.0	2308	100.0	1086	100.0	1241	100.0	1646	100.0
Does have	2117	33.7	879	38.1	363	33.4	494	39.8	381	23.1
Does not have	4164	66.3	1429	61.9	723	66.6	747	60.2	1265	76.9
Sons										
N	4923	100.0	1650	100.0	846	100.0	979	100.0	1204	100.0
Does have	4431	90.0	1518	92.0	784	92.7	925	94.5	1204	83.1
Does not have	492	10.0	132	8.0	62	7.3	54	5.5	244	16.9
Daughters										
N	3630	100.0	1279	100.0	646	100.0	713	100.0	992	100.0
Does have	3105	85.5	1128	88.2	591	91.5	656	92.0	730	73.6
Does not have	525	14.5	151	11.8	55	8.5	57	8.0	262	26.4



who were not yet eligible for formal schooling was subtracted from the total number of children in the area.

The first thing that will be noticed in this table is differences between the literacy rates of women and men, and parents and children. Literacy rates for boys and girls are almost the same in all of the districts, and together they are much higher than those of the parents. It seems, then, that those who move into the city can at least manage to give their children elementary school education. Besides, if we want to see the level of education of these children in detail, we will find that many of them are going to high schools and colleges. In fact, education has a very special position in the gecekondu life. Parents who have moved from the village to the city have high ambitions for their children. When we asked them, "How much education would you like your children to have?" about 70.0 per cent of them answered, "All the way to the end"; or "As much as I can afford". The answers show a small difference for boys and girls. It is preferred that the boys have a little more "education" than the girls. Those families who move to the city from the village want a better way of life for their children and see education as the solution to this end. "Why do you want to educate your children?" was another question that we asked. The answers seemed to favor the belief that in Turkey there are two classes of people: the educated and non-educated. And the gecekondu people have shown us with their answers that they, too, have noticed this. A great majority of them answered, "I do not want them to be like me"; "So that he will be a man"; "So he will be able to make a good living"; or "So he will be a good citizen of his country". All of these answers show the desire for education. In short, those who come to the cities from the villages want to be a part of the gecekondu rather than a part of the village, and from the gecekondu, they want to take another step forward and become a member of the educated class.

The second point that is seen in Table 13 is the difference between the literacy rates of mothers and fathers. This difference, found in Zeytinburnu, is merely a reflection of the difference between the educational levels of men and women in Turkey. In all four of the districts it was found that, while the illiteracy rate is between 52.6 per cent and 37.2 per cent for the fathers, it varies between 76.9 per cent and 60.2 per cent for mothers. The highest literacy rate, both for mothers and fathers, is found in the district of Nuripaşa. This district is one of the oldest in Zeytinburnu, and its residents are economically better off in comparison with the other districts and have been living in Istanbul relatively longer than residents of other districts.

The literacy percentages of mothers and fathers in Zeytinburnu show remarkable resemblance to the literacy figures of mothers and fathers of Gültepe, according to research done in 1963 in the Gültepe gecekondu. (Tekinel 1966: 10-15). As can be seen from Table 14, 777 fathers and 1,365 mothers were interviewed in Gültepe-Harmantepe, and their educational levels were calculated so that a comparison would be possible with Zeytinburnu data. In both gecekondu places, literacy rates of mothers and fathers were almost identical. These rates, found in two of the gecekondu areas of Istanbul, are probably valid for other gecekondu areas in the city, as well.

Table 14

*Literacy Among the Mothers and Fathers in  
Gültepe-Harmantepe Gecekondus*

	N	%
Fathers		
N	777	100.0
Does have	455	58.6
Does not have	322	41.4
Mothers		
N	1365	100.0
Does have	450	33.0
Does not have	915	67.0

*Economic Positions of Zeytinburnu Families.* We have tried to determine the wages and total incomes of the families interviewed in Zeytinburnu. But it has to be said at the outset that the economic data are the least satisfactory of all the data gathered in the area. The interviewers were sure at the time of the study that the people were concealing

Table 15

*Household Heads' Incomes and the Total Family Income in 1962*

a			b		
Monthly Incomes of Household Heads in 1962 (Median)			Total Family Income in 1962 (Median)		
N	N	Mdn T.L.	N	N	Mdn T.L.
	5170	369.08		6147	466.33
House owner	2930	392.75	House owner	3547	529.55
Renter	2240	338.13	Renter	2600	346.50



their true incomes for various reasons. In view of this, Hart indicates that he has compensated by raising the income figures of house owners and household heads by about 10-15 per cent (Hart 1969: 56-80). The revised incomes of the household heads and the total incomes of the families are presented in Tables 15a and 15b.

In 1962, the highest wage for fathers, who had a variety of jobs among themselves, was 700 T.L. per month. The wages of working sons are calculated separately, depending on whether they were sons of renters or house owners. Even though there are some among the working sons who earn 700 T.L. a month, this is unusual.

Table 16  
Mean Salaries of Working Sons

	N	Mean T.L.
House owner	1142	255.0
Renter	430	235.0

The differences between the total incomes of renters and house owners are due to various reasons. First of all, some of the house owners obtain an extra income by renting one or two of their rooms. In addition, house owners are a bit older than the renters and thus have more people working in their families. A third point is that they arrived in Istanbul at an earlier date than the renters and, hence, have been working for a longer period of time at their jobs and are earning more money per month than are the renters. Monthly incomes, established in 1962, were investigated again in 1965 when additional research was done in the area (Ertüzün 1965). Comparison of incomes of 1962 with those of 1965 have shown an increase in both the wages of household heads and in the total incomes of the households per month. In this later research, the average total income of households was found to be 780 T.L. There are several reasons for this increase in incomes. A great majority of the working population included in the above research were employed in factories. One of the reasons, then, is the raise in factory wages between 1962 and 1965; also, in 1965 there were more people working in a given family than in 1962.

The food research done in 1965 in Zeytinburnu shows the economic situation of Zeytinburnu at the time, and the income increases, very clearly and is quite reliable. The interviewers had visited each family

every day for five weeks, and they obtained reliable data on incomes. The incomes of household heads and the total family incomes, as found in this research, are shown in Tables 17a and 17b.

Table 17

Average Income of Household Heads and Total Family Income  
Per Month Found in 1965 Food Research (Median)

a			b		
Monthly Incomes of Household Heads in 1965 (Median)			Total Family Income in 1965 (Median)		
	N	Mdn T.L.		N	Mdn T.L.
House owners and Renters	107	663.50	House owners and Renters	159	953.50

As can be seen in the above tables, the average income in Zeytinburnu has increased considerably between the years of 1962-1965. The average income in Zeytinburnu in 1965, no doubt, is a lot higher than the average income in agricultural areas of Turkey. In fact, Palmer (1966), after calculating the geometric mean for income per month per consumption unit in five areas of Turkey,<sup>12</sup> states in his book, *Agriculture in Turkey*, that Zeytinburnu has the highest monthly income rate compared to the rest.

Average Monthly Income per Consumption Unit  
in Five Areas\*  
(Geometric Mean T.L.)

Areas	Income
Five areas	110.07
Erzurum	65.83
Polatlı	84.17
Çal	93.34
Tarsus	93.40
Zeytinburnu	264.44

\* Source: Palmer (1966), Tables 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> The direct quotation from Palmer (1966) reads as follows: Five regions were selected, widely spaced over the country ... One sample was picked in Zeytinburnu, which is a suburb of Istanbul largely inhabited by people from the country. A second was in the Çal region, near Denizli, ... A third was in the Polatlı region near Ankara, ... A fourth was in villages north of Tarsus ... Finally, villages near Erzurum were studied ... (Palmer 1966: 38).



One of the most important factors that encourage the flow from rural areas into cities, and especially to Istanbul, is the economic factor. Those who came to Zeytinburnu 10-15 years ago from the rural areas now have a much better way of life than they had in the villages. They have found jobs for themselves without getting help from others; they have managed to send their children to schools or to find jobs for them; and those who are brave enough have managed to own houses (even if they are gecekondu) in Zeytinburnu. Some who have successfully taken the step from the village to the city are content with their way of life in the gecekondu area and think themselves people who have succeeded in life.

Some of these "successful" people continue to climb the ladder for more successes. These people, while they improve their private life, also influence the development of the area they live in. Hart views this group the way Pirenne does, as the "new generation" in the cities, and he sees the gecekondu areas as environments in which this "new generation" comes into existence. Even though it is hard to establish the general characteristics of this group, it can, nevertheless, be said that their job patterns show they have one point in common: "They all have mechanical or technical skills" (Hart 1963: 10-12).

In 1962, we were not expecting to find very many people with bank deposits, because there was only one bank in Zeytinburnu at that date. In spite of this, thinking that it was an aspect of the economic situation of the area, interviewed persons were asked whether or not they did have bank deposits; the answers were quite as anticipated. Only 5.9 per cent of the house owners and 4.2 per cent of the renters had bank deposits at that time. We assume that this situation has changed considerably since 1962. It was noted that in the summer of 1970 almost all banks had branches in Zeytinburnu.

#### *Would Zeytinburnu Residents Want to Go Back to Their Villages?*

The gecekondu researches of the Department have made it possible for us to learn a lot of things about Zeytinburnu and its people. The most interesting of these are, no doubt, the answers given to the question: "Would you like to go back to your village?" In spite of the difference in details of the answers that various groups gave, 94.0 per cent answered "No" (Table 18).

As pointed out above, those who live in Zeytinburnu gecekondu believe they live a much better life here than they used to in their villages. The reasons why they do not want to return to their villages,

Table 18

*Answers Received From Men and Women to: "Would you Like to Go Back To Your Village?"  
(Zeytinburnu)*

	No		Yes		Not Certain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
N	6325	94.6	325	5.2	15	0.2
Men	2956	93.4	188	6.4	6	0.2
Women	3369	95.7	137	4.1	9	0.2

besides this belief, also give information as to why they left their villages in the first place. Most of the answers seem to cluster around such answers as: "I do not have anything in my village"; "This is where I make my living"; "It is better here than it is in the village". When they do not have land in their villages, or when the land they have there is not big enough to feed a large village family, and when the city offers them better possibilities for earning a living and is much more advanced in several aspects compared to the village, of course they will have no intention of returning to their village. As we have indicated above, the reasons for remaining are the same as those for leaving the villages in the first place.

Zeytinburnu and the other gecekondu areas shelter those people who come from Anatolia and Thrace in large numbers. These people, even though they live in "gecekondu" where living conditions, according to the standards of the middle and high classes of the city, are quite "bad", compare these conditions with what they had in their villages and consider their life in the gecekondu areas as a step forward. They can look at the future with more hope than can those who have stayed behind.

The Zeytinburnu gecekondu research is certainly valuable because it shows us the characteristics of those people who live in the gecekondu areas, their living conditions, their problems, and their aspirations. These studies also establish the fact that these places meet an important shelter need in the cities and, therefore, they are a permanent part of the city. It must be kept in mind that such places also provide the cheapest housing for those who flow into the cities from the villages. If the gecekondu are evaluated from this point of view, it will be apparent that the authorities and the administrators should try to improve these areas by implementing applicable and realistic plans which take into consideration the existing situation in the involved areas.



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Table 7.8. Population increase in migrant-receiving provinces

	1950	1955	% increase	1960	% increase	1965	% increase
Istanbul	1,166,477	1,533,822	31.5	1,188,092	22.7	2,293,823	21.9
Ankara	819,693	1,120,864	36.7	1,321,380	17.9	1,644,302	24.4
Izmir <sup>a</sup>	768,411	910,496	18.5	1,063,490	16.8	1,234,667	16.1
Adana <sup>a</sup>	508,518	628,505	23.6	760,803	21.0	902,712	18.7

Source: Population statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute.

<sup>a</sup> Adana and Izmir receive the migrants from the central and southeastern parts of the country.

Table 7.9. Population increase in migrant's provinces<sup>a</sup>

	1950	1955	% increase	1960	% increase	1965	% increase
Sivas	542,004	590,869	9.0	669,922	13.4	704,613	5.3
Trabzon	420,279	462,249	10.0	532,999	15.3	595,782	11.8
Giresun	299,555	334,297	11.6	381,453	14.1	428,015	12.2
Gümüşhane	203,994	211,563	3.7	243,115	14.9	262,731	8.1

Source: Population statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute.

<sup>a</sup> According to a study, the provinces in Turkey that receive the most migrants are Adana, Amasya, Ankara, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin (İçel), Samsun, and Zonguldak. The provinces that send the most migrants are Bilecik, Çankırı, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Tekirdağ, and Rize. These are exact figures but were rounded in Table 7.7 to obtain a simpler figure for comparative purposes. Erol Tümtertekin, *Türkiye'de İç Göçler*, pp. 103-4.

In Koyulhisar the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, notably tomatoes, was very advanced. Lately beehives were being successfully introduced. It was also estimated that the village of Kırıntı could double its annual income if it switched from wheat and oat growing to bee raising since its cultivable land, about 2000 dönüms, or 400 acres, was not sufficient to adequately feed its 780 people. Moreover, there was interest in opening a canning plant as well as in prospecting for minerals in the Koyulhisar and Süşehri districts. Some villagers asked the government specifically for carpet-weaving teachers so as to enable the girls and women to earn money by working in the village, at least during winter months. Already in 1974 some weaving machines were being tested in Şebinkarahisar. Some villagers, because of the increased income, began to use coal to heat their homes instead of *tezek* (dried dung), which had been for generations the chief source of heat for the Anatolian peasant. The manure was now used as organic fertilizer in the fields, which, along with chemical fertilizer, helped increase the quality and quantity of vegetables.

A rather striking development occurred in the villages of Kahrasan, Koyuncular, and Yağmurlu in the province of Trabzon. In the past the men in these villages had been seasonal workers while their wives raised corn and hazelnuts at home in rather negligible quantities; apparently hazelnuts produced satisfactory crops only once in four years. An experiment with raising tea shrubs began in 1953, and it proved to be very successful; consequently, a tea factory was established in the town of Sürmene. Employment provided by the tea-processing plants visibly ameliorated the economic situation in these villages. Consequently, migration from these villages not only came to an end but made employers apprehensive that the growing need for manpower would force them to hire people outside of the province. Nearly all the men above the age of 25 in these villages had been seasonal migrant workers at one time or other in the past and had acquired more pragmatic and flexible attitudes that proved instrumental in rapidly replacing their traditional crops with tea when the latter proved to be financially more rewarding.

The inhabitants in semimountainous villages acknowledge the positive impact of migration in general, and of the migrants in particular, in providing economic help to the village and in gen-



Table 7.7. Population shifts in migrants' districts, 1965-70

	the districts (in 1000s)			Population of rural areas, bucaks and villages (in 1000s)		
	Total population of		Annual increase (%)	1965		Annual increase (%)
	1965	1970		1965	1970	
<b>Turkey</b>	31,391	35,667	2.6	20,544	21,849	1.3
<b>Giresun Province:</b>	36	36		34	33	-0.6
Şebinkarahisar	30	30		21	20	-1.0
Giresun City and other towns	362	381	1.0	296	304	0.4
Bayburt	104	110	1.2	89	90	0.2
Şiran	30	29	0.7	28	26	-1.4
Gümüşhane City and other towns	129	143	2.0	114	121	1.2
Hafik	56	53	-1.1	53	53	
Koyulhisar	28	29	0.7	26	26	
Suğehri (the town expanded after 1970)	58	61	1.1	50	51	0.4
Sivas City and others	563	586	0.8	406	389	-0.8
Total of Giresun Gümüşhane, and Sivas	1,396	1,458	0.8	1,117	1,113	-0.07
<b>Trabzon Province:</b>	49	52	1.2	45	47	0.9
Araklı	47	49	0.8	42	43	0.5
Sürmene	500	561	2.4	400	433	1.6
Trabzon City and other towns	1,992	2,120	1.6	1,604	1,636	0.4
Total of Giresun, Gümüşhane, Sivas, and Trabzon						

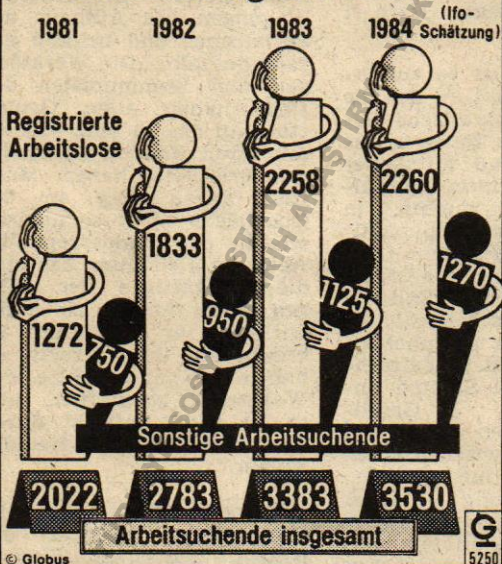
Source: 25 Ekim 1970 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, *Telgrafla Alman Geçici Sonuçlar*, Ankara, 1970. Figures rounded. A comparison of population shifts in the provinces that receive immigrants and those that send emigrants based on a longer period of time still shows that the increase rates in the latter were much below rates in the former, notably from 1960 to 1965. (See Table 7.8)

was being cultivated, which, economically speaking, brought a satisfactory return for the capital and labor invested in it. The food produced in the semimountainous villages after the departure of the emigrants provided the village population with a rather adequate diet and a small portion of it was sold for cash. Thus, the living standard in some villages improved to the point where peasants could work longer hours, produce more, save some money, and finally invest it in agriculture. Investment in agriculture was something the villagers living in the destitute northeastern region had not been accustomed to before.

In the past, land had been used to produce food, mostly corn and beans, nearly all of which was used to quell the villagers' hunger. The desperate peasants cut whole forests in one night and used the land haphazardly to plant corn or other crops, only to see the soil washed into the sea in a matter of years. Now, however, in semimountainous villages land was beginning to be used properly, and some crops were chosen because of their suitability to the soil and their cash value. For instance, in some villages, such as Kayacık, the poplar tree was being cultivated systematically for sale to furniture makers. (One full-grown tree sold for 500 to 2000 liras in 1974.) A *dönüm* (about one-fifth of an acre) may be planted with up to 200 poplar trees, depending on the quality of the land and the availability of water. But it takes about 20 years for the poplar tree to reach the cutting size. Some villagers grafted the wild pear tree, which grew abundantly in the region, and obtained fruit of excellent quality, which was sold to fruit dealers in Istanbul. Cherry, apricot, and other cold-resistant trees were also being successfully introduced. Some villagers raised livestock with the specific purpose of selling it to meat-consuming centers such as Istanbul and Ankara. Others were engaged in a lucrative business as livestock collectors and transporters. One such businessman – a villager with many relatives in the squatter settlements – said that he planned to buy a jeep to tour the neighboring villages to buy additional livestock and to sell them goods purchased in the city. He was already exporting the locally produced beans and potatoes to the *gecekondu* residents who preferred homegrown vegetables. Another villager, a former squatter, bought a taxi with the money earned in Istanbul and was engaged in the transportation business.



# Offene und verborgene Arbeitslosigkeit (in 1000)



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İşe girme şansı % 0,8

4.9.84

"Ulaştırma Bakanlığının  
aştığı memuriet sinavi  
bugün 19 Mayıs stadyo-  
munda yapıldı. 4740'ın  
katıldığı sinavi katanan  
40 kişi işe alınacak  
(25 Memur ve 15  
dahtilo)

Adaylar lise ve kısa  
sürekli yüksek okul  
mezunlarından oluşuyor.

Bakanlığa ulaşan, dağıtılan ve  
beklenilen işi dün yapılan  
(yine stadyum) sinava da  
2000 kişi katılmış.

Kaynak : Köln Radyosu



## İşsizlik Sorunu :

- 1.) Tarım dışında işsizler
- 2.) Mühendis ve bentleri düzeyde nitelikli iş gücünde işsizlik (D.B.Y.K.P. S. 254)
- 3.) Orta nitelikli iş gücü eksikliği bu nitelikteki elemanların dışı ile gelirleriyle ilişkili?
- 4.) Mevsimlik işsizlik
- 5.) gittik işsizlik

Mat-Mays  
aylarında taranda  
işsiz 3,6 milyon  
buna iş gücünü  
%40.  
(D.B.Y.K.P. S. 25)

Baki: D.B.Y.K.P., S. 249-51



## Türkiye'de İssizlik :

Türkiye'de değil işsizler, çalışanların sayısı bile tam bilinmiyor. Bu konuda güncel sayımlar yok, ancak bazı varsayımlara dayanan hesaplar var. İşsizlerin sayısı ise tamamen dolaylı yollardan "kestiriliyor." Bu biçimde hazırlanan "resmi tahminlere" göre Türkiye'de işsiz sayısı (tarım ve tarım dışında!) 1967'de 1,68 milyon iken 1978'de 2,3 milyon olmuştur (DPT verileri). Gerçek durumun bundan çok daha kötü olduğunu tahmin etmek gerekir.



# Statistische Übersichten

Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Arbeitsstatistik\*) Juni 1982 bis Juni 1983

Grundzahlen in Tausend

Merkmal	*)		1982								1983						
			Jan.	Febr.	März	April	Mai	Juni	Sept.	Ok.	Nov.	Dez.	Jan.	Febr.	März	April	Mai
Arbeitslose insgesamt	ME	i	1 650	1 757	1 797	1 820	1 920	2 038	2 223	2 487	2 536	2 386	2 254	2 149	2 127		
	ME	M	894	945	967	983	1 040	1 126	1 281	1 491	1 539	1 408	1 279	1 200	1 173		
	ME	F	757	812	830	837	880	912	912	996	997	978	974	949	954		
Arbeitslosenquote insgesamt	ME	i	6,8 <sup>1)</sup>	7,2	7,4	7,5	7,9	8,4	9,1	10,2	10,4	9,8	9,2	8,8	8,7		
	ME	M	6,0	6,3	6,5	6,6	7,0	7,6	8,6	10,0	10,3	9,4	8,6	8,0	7,9		
	ME	F	8,0	8,6	8,7	8,8	9,3	9,6	9,9	10,5	10,5	10,3	10,3	10,0	10,0		
darunter: Ausländer	ME	i	229	230	232	244	258	273	293	311	318	313	303	290	285		
Arbeitslosenquote	ME	i	10,9	11,0	11,3	11,8	12,5	13,2	14,2	15,1	15,4	15,2	14,7	14,1	14,0		
Jugendliche unter 20 Jahren	ME	i	135	169	185	187	187	191	203	213	216	203	175	158	168		
Arbeitslosenquote	ME	i	6,3	7,9	8,6	8,7	8,7	8,9	9,5	9,9	10,1	9,5	8,2	7,4	7,8		
Schwerbehinderte	ME	i	110	113	114	115	117	119	123	129	130	130	129	129	130		
59 Jahre und älter	ME	i	93	92	90	89	89	88	93	98	97	97	93	92	95		
Teilzeitarbeitsuchende	ME	i	233	233	230	231	237	239	246	254	253	252	252	246	242		
Arbeitslose	ME	M	2,4	2,3	2,3	2,4	2,3	2,2	2,3	2,3	2,2	2,3	2,3	2,2	2,2		
	ME	F	230	231	228	228	235	237	243	252	250	250	250	244	240		
Teilzeitarbeitslosenquote	ME	i	9,6	9,6	9,5	9,5	9,8	9,9	10,2	10,5	10,4	10,4	10,4	10,2	10,0		
	ME	M	1,6	1,5	1,5	1,6	1,5	1,5	1,6	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,4	1,5		
	ME	F	10,1	10,2	10,1	10,1	10,4	10,4	10,7	11,1	11,0	11,0	11,0	10,7	10,6		
Nichtarbeitsl. Arbeitsuchende	ME	i	362	350	335	320	303	312	329	302	316	342	332	360	393		
Arbeitsuchende	ME	i	2 012	2 107	2 132	2 140	2 223	2 351	2 552	2 789	2 852	2 728	2 586	2 509	2 520		
	ME	M	1 078	1 127	1 145	1 152	1 201	1 292	1 456	1 652	1 707	1 588	1 458	1 392	1 382		
	ME	F	934	980	988	988	1 022	1 058	1 096	1 137	1 145	1 141	1 128	1 117	1 138		
Offene Stellen insgesamt	ME	i	118	106	98	81	70	62	58	62	69	82	82	86	86		
darunter: nur für Teilzeitarbeit	ME		10	9	9	7	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7		
Zugang an Arbeitsuchenden	MS	i	343	435	363	380	414	390	448	548	350	332	326	277	347		
Zugang an Arbeitslosen	MS	i	247	358	289	307	363	327	375	515	287	252	269	201	255		
Zugang an Ratsuchenden (AV)	MS	i	159	162	155	166	177	172	173	191	193	206	198	194	204		
Zugang an offenen Stellen	MS	i	107	108	93	88	79	67	62	73	82	123	119	114	116		
Arbeitsvermittlungen	MS	i	130	139	115	118	109	92	93	91	95	134	140	140	141		
dar.: in kurzfristige Beschäftigung	MS	i	51	52	43	48	47	40	46	39	37	43	44	47	51		
Kurzarbeiter	MM	i	429	337	326	583	828	1 033	1 114	1 192	1 148	1 023	764	639	495		
Arbeitnehmer in Maßnahmen zur Arbeitsbeschaffung	ME	i	29	28	27	28	28	28	26	24	24	27	36	45	50		
Teilnehmer an Maßnahmen zur beruflichen Förderung	ME	i	195			179			202			204			195		
Eintritte in Maßnahmen zur beruflichen Förderung	MS	i	17	18	17	20	23	33	26	21	19	28	25	28	23		
Empfänger von Arbeitslosengeld	MM	i	782	812	814	837	867	932	1 045	1 264	1 328	1 249	1 097	966	902		
Empfänger von Arbeitslosenhilfe	MM	i	275	287	292	308	323	347	382	419	447	468	482	480	484		
Beitragspflichtige nach dem Arbeitsförderungsgesetz	MA	i	20690	20680	20649	20799	20893	20773	20623	20400	20140	19995	20 017	20 091			

\*) Abkürzungen siehe Vorblatt „Der Arbeitsmarkt“; nähere Erläuterungen enthalten die nachstehenden Einzelübersichten.

<sup>1)</sup> Die Abnahme der Arbeitslosenquote ist auf die Änderung der Zahl der abhängigen Erwerbspersonen nach dem Mikrozensus zurückzuführen.

↳ Antike Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit



**Übersicht I/12. Arbeitslose Ausländer nach Landesarbeitsamtsbezirken und Staatsangehörigkeiten**

Ende Juni 1983

Staats- angehörigkeit	Schlesw.- Holstein- Hamburg	Nieder- sachsen- Bremen	Nord- rhein- Westfalen	Hessen	Rheinl.- Pfalz- Saarland	Baden- Württem- berg	Nord- bayern	Süd- bayern	Berlin (West)	Bundesgebiet			
										ins- gesamt	Arbeits- losen- quote <sup>*)</sup>	Männer	Frauen
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Griechenland . . . . .	528	1 012	6 194	1 427	330	3 068	1 208	1 319	465	15 551	12,1	8 045	7 506
Italien . . . . .	651	2 109	13 919	4 271	3 269	10 935	2 284	3 142	464	41 044	13,9	26 409	14 635
Jugoslawien . . . . .	1 790	2 464	9 052	3 502	1 003	8 451	2 219	6 258	1 693	36 432	10,4	21 722	14 710
Portugal . . . . .	439	782	2 345	319	250	500	66	80	18	4 799	8,8	2 567	2 232
Spanien . . . . .	348	1 132	2 959	1 124	159	982	319	172	93	7 288	8,8	4 068	3 220
Türkei . . . . .	8 248	13 035	39 828	8 922	4 092	14 565	7 902	7 168	8 421	112 181	17,2	67 042	45 139
Sonstige . . . . .	7 582	7 752	22 112	5 810	3 683	6 341	2 908	6 147	4 877	67 212		47 537	19 675
<b>Insgesamt . . . . .</b>	<b>19 586</b>	<b>28 286</b>	<b>96 409</b>	<b>25 375</b>	<b>12 786</b>	<b>44 842</b>	<b>16 906</b>	<b>24 286</b>	<b>16 031</b>	<b>284 507</b>	<b>14,0</b>	<b>177 390</b>	<b>107 117</b>
Arbeitslosenquote . . . . .	18,4	19,7	16,9	11,7	13,4	9,6	17,1	10,3	16,1	14,0			

<sup>\*)</sup> Arbeitslose in % der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer.



# Karpat "The Gecekondu"

(1)

Gecekondular geleneksel sosyal düzenin ve bağların çözülmesi sürecinde önemli bir aşama olarak ele alınıyor (Introduction, s. 4-2)

"The squatter begins his social metamorphosis as a village dweller, changes into a rural migrant and low-paid worker in the city, turns into a squatter, and, finally, if successful, integrates himself into the city to become an urban dweller." (p. 3)

## Araştırma alanı ve yöntem

İstanbul'da Nafibaba (İtisarüstü), Baltaliman ve Ahmet Celaleddin Paşa (veya Celaleddin Paşa) gecekondu mahallelerinde 1968'de yapılan araştırma. Araştırma dönemi 1974 imbizoana kadar süren ek araştırma ile beslenmiştir. Aynı geleneksel köylerinde ve Ankara, İzmir, Bursa ve Adana'da da araştırmalar yapılmıştır.

1968'de 500 kadar hane ve 3500 kadar nüfus. 1973'te nüfus 6798'e ulaşmıştır.

949 kişi ile (430 evli erkek, 393 evli kadın ve 83 bekar erkek ile 37 bekar kız) mülakatlar yapılmıştır (1 saatlik 4 saatlik kadar!) Bekarların %95'i 16-20 yaş aralığında! (p. 1-6)



"Thus regardless of their cultural characteristics and history, the cities and the villages and towns in the third world today are economically and sociopolitically interde-  
pendent, more so than in the past." (p. 7)

For a recent report on housing conditions and slums in Turkey → New York Times, July 12, 1975

"In Turkey the urban population of towns with 10 000 or more increased by 409 per cent from 1927 to 1965."

Çevre geray "Urbanizasyon in Turkey" Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi 4, 1970, 158-59

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, 13 Büyük şehirde  
geçekendi. büyük araştırmalarında Ankara'da  
konutların %64'ünün, Adana'da % 48'inin,  
İstanbul'da % 40'inin, İzmir'de % 33,42'inin  
geçekendi niteliği taşıdığını belirtti (1960'ların  
başlarında). Nüfusun Ankara'da % 59,22'si  
İstanbul'da % 45'i ve Adana'da % 44,95'i,  
İzmirde % 33,42'i geçekendilerde oturuyordu.  
(p. 11)

İskenderun  
Erzurum ve



# Karpat The geokund

(3)

Population in  
villages or unincorporated  
settlements  
Part of city  
population

Year  
city  
population

Turkey		Total urban population		1965		1970	
Ankara		999.000		460.000		47	
		1.250.000		750.000		60	
Izmir		640.000		416.000		65	

(p. 13)

In smaller districts or villages  
unincorporated

Karpat, Kemal: Social Effects of Farm

Modernization in Turkish Villages" in: Social Research,  
20, 7 (Spring, 1960) 83-107

"In Turkey the new arrival [is the geokund - A.S.]  
worked mostly in small enterprises or had a  
variety of low-paying jobs including peddling food  
stuffs." (p. 22)

Karpat "English reader: 'Silun' Karpat's 'Shanty-  
town' Karpat's answer, geokund's ill-  
Karpat's data is not very good. But  
scholarly reader "Kaledon" mentioned in "Silun"  
Karpat's data is not very good.



"In the squatter settlements there is poverty but no culture of ~~the~~ poverty. On the basis of my own investigations in Turkey, I fully concur that the squatter settlements, with due exceptions, are not centers of crime, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, economic drain and radicalism, but associations of optimistic people striving to reach a higher living standard and a more satisfactory mode of existence." (p.25)

S. 26 Gerekoduların göç biçimi hakkında bilgiler! See also footnote 47, page 244

Gerekodularda erkeklerin ortalama yaşları 84 idi, Türkiye ortalaması ise 65!  
(S.26)

The gerekodu inhabitants are optimistic!

".... about 92 percent of the married men and women interviewed believe that their children will have a better life...." (p.35)

Ancak! Bu ilk kızak ışıltı görebilir. Şehirde (gerekodunda) doğup büyüyen diğer kızaklar belki de aynı dercede iyimser olmayacaklar.



İncelenen gerekonda mahallelerinde erkeklerin  
%7'si ve kadınların %70'i işsizdi! (p.38)

Bu çok düşük bir oran değil mi? Yoksa  
1968'de durum gerçekten böyle miydi?

"Thus the prevailing political ideology in the shanty towns is not hate and aversion toward the system, as romantic revolutionaries had speculated and hoped for. Attempts by radical groups to organize the squatters for violent and radical action have generally ended in failure." (p. 44)

"Now, we can visualize the opposite when these favorable conditions disappear, and the marginality of the squatters turns into cultural and political alienation and they are subjected to economic hardship and their families to social disintegration. Indeed, if the squatters' integration into the city is delayed their economic situation worsens, and their sense of alienation deepens, they may turn into a formidable radical political force." (p.45)

Özellikle sayfa 45-47'de Cezayir ve Fas'taki gelişmelerle dikkatli olarak ilgiliye işaret ediyor!



Sayfa 48-53 : Karadeniz, ölkeler Deyin Karadeniz

hölgeride 19. anda götoren ekmank ve angor  
degininler öetigyor. gayer ilginç! Fotokopi yapılmış!

Sayfa 53-55

Sekirde göt hareketin önün  
otank GURRETÇİLİK. Bu da ilginç!  
göt hareketinin mikro düzeydeki ilayinin götke bir  
otank otank, FAc'ye göt hareketini anlank için v.s.

"According to the census of 1970, 1975, 1980 and 1985, the  
the cumulative number of migrants in those years  
amounted to 4, 1 692 933, 2 507 454, 3 186 166 and  
4 018 770 people, respectively, rising from 8,1 percent  
of the total population in 1970 to 11,8 percent in 1985.  
(p. 58 f.)

Sayfa 59 : 1960 boylandı 13 binyıl sekide  
geokondn sayın ve wifon.

Sayfa 60 ve 61 'de de geokondnlak ilgil. önank.  
h. ilgil.

"The government estimated that the total number of squatters  
dwelling in Turkey was 500 000 in 1969 and 693 694 in  
1972 with an estimated annual increase of 70 000 dwellings  
in 1973-74. By 1974 the total number of dwellings in  
geokondns was estimated to have reached 709 000 inhabitants



by an estimated 3,5 to 4,5 million people, or about 9 to 12 percent of the total population." (p. 62)

S. 62-77 Gecekonduların oluşmasını sağlayan köyden şehire göç hareketi hakkında ayrıntılı ve ilginç bilgiler. Köylerin sosyolojik yapısını yansıtan ayrıntılardan da ilginç!

S. 78-82 gecekondu mahallelerinin kurulup gelişmeleri inceleniyor: Gecekondu mahallelerinin ilk kurulanlar en az bir kaç yıldır şehirde oturup çeyreği bilenler. Aralarında hatta eski İstanbullular da var. Bunlar ilk girişimi yaparken ve yaptıktan hemen sonra resmi devletle karşı kendi komünalının güçlendirmek için gecekondu sayısını ve nüfusunu arttırmak istiyorlar ve bunun için akıntı, tohumluk ve köylü hemşehrilerini getiriyorlar. Böylece gecekondu mahallelerinde daha baştan yoğun bir "birlik beraberlik" anlayışı, "lider" veya "imam" durumunda kişi ve aileler ve bunların çevresinde birleşen hemşehri ve akraba grupları oluşuyor. Bu yapı özellikle topolar alımı mülkiyet hakkı transisyonu kadar çok belirgin oluyor.



S. 89-

gecikenden yaparsak şehirde bir arsa ve ev sahibi olma arzusunu gecikendilerin artmasında bir rol oynadı. Ev sahibi olanların sayısının artmasıyla "örün arayanlara" kapılma tehlikesinin azalacağını düşünen hükümetler ve partiler de buna rol oynadı. Böylece inuellerin bölgede eskiklerin % 84'ü kendi ellerinde oturuyorlardı, % 9'u kirata, % 7'si ise akrabalarının yanında oturuyordu.

Ödeklerin kira eskiklerin % 76'sında 50-100 TL (ortalama kazananın 1/6'sı) % 21 101-150 TL ve % 3 daha fazla ödüyordu. (S.92)

Tayın verilince gecikendilerin değeri birde altı: 1968 de Nefibabab'da 150000 TL'e satılan gecikendiler vardı, 1974'te 300000 TL'ye (Baltalimamunda iki misli). (S.91)

1968'de tapusuz gecikendinin fiyati ortalama 4000-5000 TL idi. %17'sinin tek oda, %53'ünün iki oda, %30'unun üç veya daha çok odalı vardı. %98'inin helaya benzer bir şeyi vardı (çoğunlukla bahçede). (S.93-94)

hem tekniklik ve akrabalık gecikendilerde ve göste önemli rol oynuyor. (S.85)



# Karpat The gecekondu

(9)

Fotokopisi çıkanlar ve ya not alınarak ilgili bölümler:

S.25 ff. Migration patterns and causes S.25-27

"Equally important is the fact that if the shantytown dwellers eventually become the owners of the ~~sh~~ shack-houses they turn into champions of private property, free enterprise, and democratic politics. The role of house ~~of~~ owners in shantytowns is high. In Turkey, 84 percent of the squatters interviewed in this study owned their houses." (S.29)

Political preferences p. 215 - 219

Change in political behavior p. 219 - 225

"The belief that higher economic and social status can be achieved by political action coupled with ability and effort indicates that the old belief in the immutability of the social arrangement and ascribed social positions prevailing among the lower classes in Turkey has been drastically undermined." (p. 223)

The "gecekondu" is local politics p. 225 - 230





"In politics the main problem for gerekonda leaders was to convince the dwellers to vote in common as a bloc for a specific party or a candidate. The problem of voting in a united front was relatively more important in local than in national elections: water, electricity, sewage, and other amenities needed by the gerekondas could only be provided by the local government, consisting of the municipality and the muhtarlık, the main channels of communication with higher government authorities." (p. 225)

As will be seen below, the candidates' personal abilities rather than their party affiliation determine the outcome of the local elections for both muhtar and mayor. Hence political parties seek the most qualified candidates to fill these positions." (p. 226)

Bununla bağlantılı olarak <sup>daha yukarıda</sup> ~~bu testler de~~ öne sürülen şu tezleri de ele almak gerekir:

"The Turkish political parties maintain permanent organizations and have a number of members who are constantly active. These party "activists" play an important part in recruiting followers and voters for their party" (p. 215)

Dikkat: Parti aktivistlerinin çevrelerinde kazandıkları saygınlık dahil seçimin sonuçlarına yarranmasa bile onun ve ona içinde önemli değişikliklere yol açabiliyor! Bu, "partisiz" hiçbir işin de geçeri!



# Karpat The gecekondus

(11)

Chapter 4: The social and economic structure of the gecekondus S. 96 - 116

Chapter 5: Association and leadership in three gecekondus S. 117 - 136

## The status of women :

The inferior position of women in the village shows signs of change but ~~as~~ seems to have been preserved in the gecekondus as yet. (130)

" Inside families women assumed more authority than men and appeared in general pleased to settle in the city and take advantage of urban educational and cultural facilities." (130)

" The sense of outrage and revolt among women in general, because of their low status, seemed to be acute and violent, indeed. This may become more evident if the level of their social and political consciousness reaches an advanced stage." (131)



## Kazak The geekunder

"There was no evidence that the trade union members have yet had an ideological impact on the settlement. The prestige of factory workers as masters of technology ~~and~~ was high in the settlement but their trade union position did not seem to bear much weight on the internal affairs of the geekunder. ... On balance, the communal membership in the geekunder carried more weight than professional or class affiliation." (p. 135)

"The leaders involved in the struggle to control multitrade or the Demeke are engaged in establishing order in the geekunder or in conducting relations with the outside world." (p. 135)

"These leaders seldom come from established village families; they are, in other words 'self-made men', who often have a vested



## Karpat, The gecekondu

interest in the gecekondu; some own small business, such as a grocery store or coffee-house, or land still available for construction there." (pp. 135-136)

"The occupations of the squatters play an important role in determining their ranking in the settlement."

1. rank private successful entrepreneurs
2. rank industrial workers
3. rank service workers working for the municipality and other respectable establishments.
4. rank craftsmen and artisans such as masons and carpenters
5. rank service workers



## Urbanization

gerekonda sakinleri (ilk kusak) genellikle kendine guverene, ilerisi icin iytirler ve unlti, kirtel yeteneklere <sup>ogrenime</sup> ve bazyaya onem veren (gele- nektel toplumsal bazyalardan irk. Onemli ~~ve~~ <sup>oldu</sup> oraslet v.s gibi), elde ettiyi bazyaya bell. olunde guver duyan insanlar olarak tarif ediliyor. Ancak 2. kusak icin (gerekonda'da duyan veya kuitik yoztan gerekonduya geldiği icin kuitideki yozantıyı bilmege) bunlar ayni olunde gerakti değıl. Bu kusak kendi durumunun kuitideki yozantı ile değıl, diğerk "sehirhileri" yozantı ile karşılaştırdı- ğı icin, durumundan daha az nemunen ve gelecekle ilgili gütisleri ayni olunde iytirler değıl.

Dikkate alınarak diğerk önemli bir nokta: Karpat'ın incelenen emi olarak 1968'de tanınlanmas. Yani ekonomik gelişmenin hızlı ve ekonomik ve toplumsal bunalımın, işsizlik ve fakrhlığın henüz kendini güçlü bir şekilde göstermediği bir dönem. FAC'ye göre olarahtan azık v.s. v.s.



Village relations and rural change

"Field observation shows that the squatter-migrant changes his attitude and adopts a new outlook toward the village while living in the city and that he becomes a channel for new things new ideas and air for initiating changes in the rural area through relations with his native village. In other words, he assumes the role of an agent of change, not only in transmitting to the village outside ideas that have become his own but also by initiating initiating in the village - for a variety of personal and kinship reasons - economic, social, and cultural changes. The fact that the squatter-migrant is close to his relatives and friends living in the village increases his potential for influence among them, since he can interpret facts and ideas and transmit information and opinion through customary forms accepted by the village culture."



Karpat The yesterday

(11)

Moreover, he is trusted as a relative and as a member of the community, and consequently his personal impact may be greater than many elaborate "development" programmes imposed by impersonal and often mistrusted bureaucrats." (p. 166)

Dikkat Bu paragrafta özetlenen gerçekler kitlesel çalışma açısından çok önemli. Bir makale haline getirmeli.

Burada ele alınması gereken bir gerçek daha var: etkilenmek, değiştirilmek isteyen toplumumuzda "köy topluluğu" "mahalle" "(büyük) aile" önemli birimler dir. Birimler bu birimler içinde etken olabilmek için bu birimlerle olan bağlarını koparmamak, veya en azından, birer toplumsal olgu olarak toplumunda duran bu ilişkilerden yararlanmanın yollarını aramalıdır. Sık sık şöyle bir eğilimle karşılarız: "Devrimler" tüm bu ilişkileri koparıp, kendi aralarında yeni bir birim oluşturan.



mıyolar!

17

...

Effects of migration on the village:

Mountain village

1954  
~~1942~~  
gölve population 150 families  
or 900 - 1000 people

1948 1944  
36 families  
or 200 people

Anna  
(Yeni göl)

2000 people

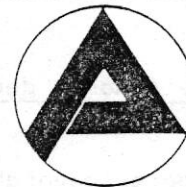
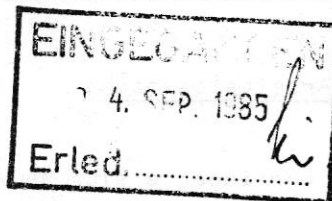
450 people

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI  
TÜSTAV



# PRESSE INFORMATIONEN

Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 8500 Nürnberg 1, Postfach



Bundesanstalt  
für  
Arbeit

Datum  
Regensburger Str. 104  
Telefon 09 11/17-1, Fernschreiber 06 22 348

## Arbeitsmarktzahlen für August 1985

Nummer: 53/85

Arbeitslose	2 216 600
Arbeitslosenquote bezogen auf	
-abhängige Erwerbspersonen <sup>1)</sup>	8,9 %
-alle Erwerbspersonen <sup>2)</sup>	7,9 %
Leistungsempfänger	1 348 800

Merkmale	Zahl	Veränderung gegenüber				Arbeitslose in %			
		Vormonat		Vorjahresmonat		der abhängigen Erwerbspersonen <sup>1)</sup>			aller Erwerbspersonen <sup>2)</sup>
		absolut	%	absolut	%	Berichtsmonat	Vormonat	Vorjahresmonat	
<b>Arbeitslose</b>									
1. Arbeitslosmeldungen im Berichtsmonat ....	298 865	- 72 532	- 19,5	+ 6 088	+ 2,1	—	—	—	—
von Personen									
60,5 % nach vorheriger Erwerbstätigkeit ..	180 915	- 39 342	- 17,9	- 182	- 0,1	—	—	—	—
7,3 % nach vorh. betriebl. Ausbildung ...	21 959	- 13 528	- 38,1	+ 468	+ 2,2	—	—	—	—
32,1 % ohne vorherige Erwerbstätigkeit ...	95 991	- 19 662	- 17,0	+ 5 802	+ 6,4	—	—	—	—
seit Jahresbeginn .....	2 499 622			+ 81 609	+ 3,4	—	—	—	—
2. Arbeitslose am Ende des Berichtsmonats ...	2 216 643	- 4 752	- 0,2	+ 14 814	+ 0,7	8,9	9,0	8,9	7,9
davon: 53,1 % Männer .....	1 176 460	- 17 300	- 1,4	- 16 861	- 1,4	7,8	7,9	7,9	6,9
46,9 % Frauen .....	1 040 183	+ 12 548	+ 1,2	+ 31 675	+ 3,1	10,7	10,5	10,4	9,4
davon: 36,4 % Angestellte .....	805 844	+ 917	+ 0,1	+ 20 018	+ 2,5	.	.	.	.
63,6 % Arbeiter .....	1 410 799	- 5 669	- 0,4	- 5 204	- 0,4	.	.	.	.
dar.: 10,7 % Ausländer .....	236 393	- 3 108	- 1,3	- 14 390	- 5,7	13,0 <sup>4)</sup>	12,9	12,6	.
8,2 % Jugendliche unter 20 Jahren ..	181 776	+ 13 271	+ 7,9	- 2 068	- 1,1	8,8	8,1	8,7	8,6
6,1 % Schwerbehinderte .....	134 110	- 890	- 0,7	- 4 062	- 2,9	.	.	.	.
4,6 % 59 Jahre und älter .....	102 409	- 1 487	- 1,4	- 2 933	- 2,8	.	.	.	.
10,7 % Teilzeitarbeitsuchende									
Arbeitslose .....	237 096	- 940	- 0,4	+ 3 173	+ 1,4	8,9	8,9	9,6	7,7
3. Leistungsempfänger - Monatsmitte - .....	1 348 839	+ 2 267	+ 0,2	- 16 082	- 1,2	Saisonbereinigte Zahlen in 1000			
<b>Offene Stellen</b>						Jahr/Monat	Arbeitslose	Offene Stellen	
1. Offene Stellen gemeldet im Berichtsmonat ...	137 443	- 16 006	- 10,4	+ 12 999	+ 10,4	1984 Jan.	2 225	81	
seit Jahresbeginn .....	1 068 674			+ 86 131	+ 8,8	Febr.	2 234	82	
2. Offene Stellen am Ende des Berichtsmonats	117 366	- 1 993	- 1,7	+ 22 651	+ 23,9	März	2 251	84	
davon: 41,6 % Angestellte .....	48 813	+ 738	+ 1,5	+ 10 491	+ 27,4	April	2 269	85	
58,4 % Arbeiter .....	68 553	- 2 731	- 3,8	+ 12 160	+ 21,6	Mai	2 269	85	
dar.: 8,1 % nur für Teilzeitarbeit .....	9 527	- 290	- 3,0	+ 1 462	+ 18,1	Juni	2 278	87	
<b>Arbeitsvermittlungen</b> im Berichtsmonat ...	167 369	- 16 237	- 8,8	+ 8 970	+ 5,7	Juli	2 293	89	
seit Jahresbeginn .....	1 268 936			+ 98 235	+ 8,4	Aug.	2 295	89	
<b>Kurzarbeiter</b> - Monatsmitte - .....	73 895	- 33 627	- 31,3	- 138 254	- 65,2	Sept.	2 291	92	
<b>Teilnehmer an beruflichen</b>						Okt.	2 272	95	
<b>Förderungsmaßnahmen</b> ... (Ende 6/85) ..	222 380	- 13 940 <sup>3)</sup>	- 5,9 <sup>3)</sup>	+ 8 859	+ 4,1	Nov.	2 263	98	
dar.: 62,0 % in Vollzeitunterricht .....	137 971	- 10 878 <sup>3)</sup>	- 7,5 <sup>3)</sup>	+ 3 125	+ 2,3	Dez.	2 252	101	
49,7 % waren vorher arbeitslos .....	110 513	- 8 374 <sup>3)</sup>	- 7,0 <sup>3)</sup>	+ 4 067	+ 3,8	1985 Jan.	2 307	102	
<b>Beschäftigte in Arbeitsbeschaffungs-</b>						Febr.	2 307	104	
<b>maßnahmen</b> am Ende des Berichtsmonats ..	97 097	+ 510	+ 0,5	+ 15 174	+ 18,5	März	2 324	102	
						April	2 316	101	
						Mai	2 327	102	
						Juni	2 324	105	
						Juli	2 310	108	
						Aug.	2 306	111	

1) Abhängige Erwerbspersonen (ohne Soldaten)

2) Abhängige Erwerbspersonen plus Mithelfende und Selbständige } nach der EG-Arbeitskräfteerhebung vom Juni 1983, bis Dezember 1984 nach dem Mikrozensus vom April 1982

3) Veränderung gegenüber Vorquartal

4) Abweichung der Arbeitslosenquote ist auf die Änderung der Bezugsgröße zurückzuführen.



## Leichte Abnahme der Arbeitslosenzahl

Die Arbeitslosenzahl verringerte sich im August um 4 800 oder 0,2 Prozent auf 2 216 600. Die Anzeichen für eine konjunkturelle Besserung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt blieben weiterhin sichtbar. Die saisonbereinigte Zahl der Arbeitslosen tendierte erneut etwas nach unten, und das saisonbereinigte Stellenangebot nahm weiterhin leicht zu. "Obwohl die Beschäftigung inzwischen deutlich ansteigt, folgt ihr der Abbau der Arbeitslosigkeit nur zögernd, weil mehr Berufsanfänger und mehr Personen, die vorher nicht erwerbstätig waren, mit den Arbeitslosen um offene Stellen konkurrieren", erläuterte der Präsident der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Heinrich Franke, auf seiner monatlichen Arbeitsmarkt-Presskonferenz am Mittwoch in Nürnberg.

Wie meist im August ist auch diesmal die Zahl der arbeitslosen Jugendlichen gestiegen. Hier machen sich alljährlich der Schulentlasstermin und das Ende von Ausbildungsverhältnissen bemerkbar. Insgesamt waren 181 800 Jugendliche unter 20 Jahren als arbeitslos registriert, 13 300 oder 8 Prozent mehr als im Juli, aber 2 100 oder 1 Prozent weniger als vor einem Jahr.

Insgesamt gab es noch 14 800 oder knapp 1 Prozent mehr Arbeitslose als vor einem Jahr. Die Arbeitslosenquote blieb bei 8,9 Prozent.

Die Zahl der Kurzarbeiter hat weiterhin deutlich abgenommen. Mitte August wurden noch 73 900 gezählt, 138 300 oder 65 Prozent weniger als vor einem Jahr. Die meisten Kurzarbeiter meldete mit 23 500 die Bauwirtschaft.

Der Zugang an offenen Stellen deutet laut Franke daraufhin, daß in nächster Zeit die Beschäftigung weiter ansteigt. Gegenwärtig belaufe sich der Beschäftigungsgewinn in diesem Jahr gegenüber 1984 auf über 100 000.

Wirtschaft und Verwaltungen meldeten den Arbeitsämtern im August 137 400 offene Stellen, 13 000 oder 10 Prozent mehr als im gleichen Monat vor einem Jahr. Die Zahl der Arbeitsvermittlungen konnte von den Arbeitsämtern gegenüber August 1984 um 9 000 oder 6 Prozent auf 167 400 gesteigert werden. In den ersten acht Monaten dieses Jahres vermittelten die Arbeitsämter 1 268 900 Arbeitsverhältnisse. Das sind knapp 100 000 mehr als von Januar bis August 1984.

Einen Anteil daran hatten die Vermittlungen in Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen. Die Zahl der darin beschäftigten Arbeitslosen konnte wiederum gesteigert werden. Sie beträgt jetzt 97 100 und liegt damit um 15 200 oder 18 Prozent über dem Stand von August 1984. Gegenüber dem Vorjahr gibt es auch mehr Teilnehmer an beruflichen Förderungsmaßnahmen.



## Der Arbeitsmarkt im August

Anzeichen für eine konjunkturelle Besserung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland waren auch im August sichtbar. Die saisonbereinigte Zahl der Arbeitslosen tendierte erneut etwas nach unten, während das Stellenangebot - ebenfalls saisonbereinigt gesehen - wiederum leicht zunahm. Obwohl die Beschäftigung inzwischen deutlich ansteigt, folgt ihr der Abbau der Arbeitslosigkeit nur zögernd. Maßgebend dafür ist, daß der Arbeitsmarkt eine wachsende Zahl an Erwerbspersonen aufnehmen muß. Auch im Berichtsmonat hielt der lebhafteste Zustrom von Berufsanfängern und von Personen, die nach einer Unterbrechung wieder eine Erwerbsarbeit aufnehmen möchten, an.

Die nicht saisonbereinigte Zahl der Arbeitslosen verringerte sich von Ende Juli auf Ende August um 4 800 auf 2 216 600. Vor einem Jahr war sie in der gleichen Zeitspanne praktisch unverändert geblieben. Den Stand von 1984 überschritt sie Ende August noch um 14 800, nach + 19 200 Ende Juli und + 47 800 zur Jahresmitte. Im Durchschnitt der ersten acht Monate beläuft sich die Zahl der Arbeitslosen auf 2 356 900; das sind 51 100 oder 2 Prozent mehr als 1984 in der entsprechenden Zeit. Die Arbeitslosenquote betrug Ende August 8,9 Prozent und blieb damit ebenso hoch wie vor einem Jahr.

Der Zugang an Arbeitslosen insgesamt war erstmals seit März wieder größer als im Vorjahr (um 6 100 oder 2 Prozent). Dies lag mit am Zugang von Arbeitslosen, die vor ihrer Meldung beim Arbeitsamt noch nicht oder seit längerem nicht mehr erwerbstätig waren. Im August belief sich diese Zahl auf 96 000; das waren 5 800 oder 6 Prozent mehr als vor einem Jahr. Die Arbeitslosmeldungen von Personen, die zuvor in Arbeit standen (August: 180 900), reichten an den Vorjahreszugang heran.

Der Abgang aus Arbeitslosigkeit, der sich im Juli sehr günstig entwickelte, verlor im August etwas an Schwung. Insgesamt meldeten sich 303 600 arbeitslose Arbeitnehmer ab, 10 500 oder 4 Prozent mehr als im August vorigen Jahres. Dabei ist wiederum die Zahl der Leistungsempfänger, die ihre Arbeitslosigkeit durch Aufnahme einer Arbeit beenden konnten, überdurchschnittlich gestiegen (um 5 Prozent gegenüber Vorjahr).

Die Beschäftigung steigt allmählich stärker an. Im Verarbeitenden Gewerbe übertraf die Zahl der Beschäftigten am Ende des zweiten Quartals den Vorjahresstand um 100 000, am Ende des ersten Vierteljahres war sie erst um 50 000 über das Niveau von 1984 hinausgegangen. Gleichzeitig verliert die



Abschwächung in der Bauwirtschaft an Gewicht. Ende Juni blieb die Beschäftigung im Bauhauptgewerbe noch um 100 000 unter dem Stand von 1984, nachdem sie am Ende des ersten Vierteljahres um 130 000 dahinter zurückgeblieben war. Im Dienstleistungssektor, für den vollständige Zahlen noch nicht verfügbar sind, scheint sich das Beschäftigungswachstum gegenüber Jahresbeginn etwas zu beschleunigen. Nimmt man die Entwicklung in allen Wirtschaftssektoren zusammen, so dürfte sich der gesamtwirtschaftliche Beschäftigungsgewinn gegenüber dem Vorjahr zur Zeit auf eine Größenordnung von über 100 000 belaufen.

Die Kräftenachfrage blieb am Ende der Sommerpause aufwärts gerichtet. Angesichts einer insgesamt günstigen Auftragsentwicklung und bei weitgehend ausgeschöpften Arbeitszeitreserven deutet der Zugang an offenen Stellen auf einen in nächster Zeit anhaltenden Anstieg der Beschäftigung hin. Wirtschaft und öffentliche Verwaltungen meldeten den Arbeitsämtern im August 137 400 offene Stellen, 13 000 oder 10 Prozent mehr als im gleichen Zeitraum des Vorjahres. Der Stellenbestand belief sich Ende August auf 117 400 und lag damit um 22 700 oder 24 Prozent höher als 1984 (Ende Juli 1985/84: + 20 700 oder + 21 Prozent).

Die Gesamtzahl der Arbeitsvermittlungen betrug im August 167 400 und war damit um 9 000 oder 6 Prozent größer als vor einem Jahr. Auf längerfristige Beschäftigungsverhältnisse von über sieben Tagen Dauer entfielen 107 700 Arbeitsvermittlungen; damit wurde das Ergebnis von August 1984 um 7 400 oder 7 Prozent übertroffen. 59 700 Arbeitsvermittlungen waren auf kurzfristige Arbeitsverhältnisse gerichtet, 1 600 oder 3 Prozent mehr als vor einem Jahr.

In Allgemeine Maßnahmen zur Arbeitsbeschaffung (ABM) vermittelten die Arbeitsämter im August 8 800 Arbeitslose. Unter Berücksichtigung von ausscheidenden Arbeitnehmern erhöhte sich die Zahl der in ABM Beschäftigten um 500 auf 97 100 (gegenüber Vorjahr: + 15 200).

Die Zahl der Kurzarbeiter nahm von Juli auf August um 33 600 oder 31 Prozent auf 73 900 ab. Ein deutlicher Rückgang ergab sich vor allem nochmals in der Holzindustrie (August/Juli: - 10 100) und im Baugewerbe (- 9 100). Der Vorjahresstand wurde im Berichtsmonat um 138 300 oder 65 Prozent unterschritten. Kurzarbeit in nennenswertem Umfang gab es noch im Baugewerbe (23 500 Kurzarbeiter) und in der Holzindustrie (8 700); aber



auch in diesen beiden Branchen liegt sie inzwischen niedriger als vor einem Jahr.

Die Zahl der Arbeitslosen in den gewerblichen Berufen unterschritt Ende August mit 1 410 800 den Vorjahresstand wiederum leicht. Im Bundesdurchschnitt des ersten Halbjahres war sie noch um 2 Prozent darüber hinausgegangen. Von Einfluß auf diese günstigere Tendenz ist vor allem die Besserung in den Metall- und Elektrikerberufen. Diese kommt bei der Gesamtentwicklung der gewerblichen Berufe auch deshalb mehr zum Tragen, weil die Abschwächung bei den Bauberufen jetzt weniger stark ist als im ersten Halbjahr. Die Arbeitslosenquote für Arbeitnehmer mit gewerblichen Berufen beträgt wie im Vorjahr 11 bis 12 Prozent. Dabei bestehen gravierende Unterschiede zwischen Facharbeitern (Arbeitslosenquote etwa 6 Prozent) und Nichtfacharbeitern (etwa 18 Prozent).

In den Angestellten-Berufen waren Ende August 805 800 Arbeitslose gemeldet, 3 Prozent mehr als vor einem Jahr. Dies ist nicht Folge einer rückläufigen Beschäftigung in diesem Bereich. Sowohl dem Trend nach als auch aktuell entwickelt sich die Beschäftigung in den Dienstleistungen günstiger als in den gewerblichen Tätigkeiten.

Vor allem der Beschäftigungsgewinn im tertiären Wirtschaftssektor kommt in erster Linie den Angestellten-Berufen zugute. Aber auch im Produzierenden Gewerbe wächst die Zahl der Erwerbstätigen in den Angestellten-Berufen kaum langsamer als die der gewerblichen Berufe.

Wenn die Arbeitslosenzahl in den Angestellten-Berufen gleichwohl über den Vorjahresstand hinausgeht, so deshalb, weil die Zahl der Personen, die in Angestellten-Berufen arbeiten wollen, insbesondere Frauen, gegenwärtig noch stärker zunimmt als die Beschäftigung. Die Arbeitslosenquote für Arbeitnehmer mit Angestellten-Berufen belief sich Ende August auf ca. 6 Prozent und war damit ebenso hoch wie im Vorjahr. Für das Gros der kaufmännischen, technischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Berufen liegt die Quote noch niedriger, für eine Reihe geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlicher Berufe geht sie weit darüber hinaus.

Die Zahl der arbeitslosen Männer betrug Ende August 1 176 500 und blieb so - wie im Juli - um 1 Prozent unter dem Vorjahresstand. Im Durchschnitt des ersten Halbjahres war sie noch um 3 Prozent darüber hinausgegangen. Die Zahl der arbeitslosen Frauen lag am Ende des Berichtsmonats bei 1 040 200; sie überstieg damit, wie im Vormonat, den Stand von 1984 um 3 Prozent.



Im Durchschnitt des ersten Halbjahres hatte sie den Stand des Vorjahres um 2 Prozent überschritten. Saisonbereinigt gesehen geht die Arbeitslosigkeit bei den Männern zurück, während sie bei den Frauen noch zunimmt.

Wenn eine Besserungstendenz nur für Männer zu beobachten ist, so drückt dies nicht eine ungünstigere Entwicklung bei der Frauenbeschäftigung aus. Die Zahl der beschäftigten Frauen dürfte im Gegenteil auch in letzter Zeit etwas mehr zugenommen haben als die der Männer. Wenn sich die Arbeitslosigkeit der Frauen gleichwohl ungünstiger entwickelt als die der Männer, so ist dafür vor allem von Einfluß, daß die Zahl der Frauen, die eine Erwerbsarbeit suchen, stärker zunimmt als die der Männer. Die Arbeitslosenquote für Männer belief sich Ende August auf 7,8 Prozent gegenüber 7,9 Prozent vor einem Jahr. Die Quote für Frauen betrug jetzt 10,7 Prozent; 1984 um die gleiche Zeit hatte sie bei 10,4 Prozent gelegen.

Die Zahl der arbeitslosen Jugendlichen unter 20 Jahren erhöhte sich im Berichtsmonat um 13 300 oder 8 Prozent auf 181 800. Damit hielt sich der Anstieg in der Größenordnung des Vorjahres. Von größerem Einfluß auf die Zunahme waren nochmals Arbeitslosmeldungen von Schulabgängern und Auszubildenden, die ihre Lehre beendet haben, insbesondere in den Bundesländern mit spätem Ferienbeginn. Den Vorjahresstand unterschreitet die Zahl der arbeitslosen Jugendlichen weiterhin leicht um 2 100 oder 1 Prozent.

Die Zahl der arbeitslosen Ausländer verringerte sich im August um 3 100 oder 1 Prozent auf 236 400. Vor einem Jahr hatte sie - im Zusammenhang mit der Inanspruchnahme der finanziellen Hilfen zur Rückkehrförderung - um 8 900 oder 3 Prozent abgenommen. Besonders deutlich ist der Unterschied in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Hier hatte die Zahl der ausländischen Arbeitslosen von Juli auf August vorigen Jahres um 3 900 abgenommen, diesmal ergab sich nur eine Abnahme um 1 200. Den Vorjahresstand unterschritt die Arbeitslosigkeit der Ausländer bundesweit jetzt noch um 6 Prozent, nach - 8 Prozent Ende Juli. Im Durchschnitt des ersten Quartals war sie gegenüber dem Vorjahr um 9 Prozent gesunken, im vierten Quartal 1984 sogar um 11 Prozent. Insgesamt ist die Entwicklung der Arbeitslosigkeit bei den Ausländern ein Hinweis dafür, daß sich die Rückwanderung verlangsamt hat.

In den Bundesländern, in denen die Sommerferien bis in den September hineinreichen, nahm die Arbeitslosigkeit noch deutlich zu. So erhöhte sie sich von Juli auf August in Baden-Württemberg um 4 Prozent und in den beiden bayerischen Landesarbeitsamtsbezirken um jeweils 3 Prozent. In Niedersachsen-Bremen blieb die Zahl der Arbeitslosen praktisch unverändert. Die anderen Landesarbeitsamtsbezirke verzeichneten einen Rückgang der Arbeitslosigkeit.



Über den Vorjahresstand hinaus geht die Arbeitslosigkeit weiterhin in Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg (August 1985/84: + 10 Prozent), in Nordrhein-Westfalen und in Niedersachsen-Bremen (jeweils + 2 Prozent) sowie in Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland (+ 1 Prozent). Dabei hat sich die Verschlechterung in Niedersachsen-Bremen und in Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland verlangsamt. In den ersten Monaten des Jahres war hier der Stand von 1984 noch wesentlich deutlicher überschritten worden als jetzt. Kaum abgeflacht hat sich demgegenüber die Zuwachsrate im bisherigen Verlauf des Jahres in Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg; auch in Nordrhein-Westfalen liegt der Anstieg der Arbeitslosigkeit in etwa gleichbleibend bei 2 Prozent.

Niedriger als im Vorjahr lag Ende August - wie schon in den Vormonaten - die Arbeitslosenzahl in Nordbayern (- 6 Prozent), Baden-Württemberg (- 4 Prozent), Hessen (- 3 Prozent), Berlin (West) (- 2 Prozent) und Südbayern (- 1 Prozent).

Deutlich über der Arbeitslosenquote für das Bundesgebiet (8,9 Prozent) liegen die Quoten in Niedersachsen-Bremen (12,1 Prozent), Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg (11,4 Prozent) und Nordrhein-Westfalen (11,0 Prozent). Deutlich dahinter zurück bleiben sie in Baden-Württemberg (5,3 Prozent) und in Südbayern (6,1 Prozent).

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI  
TÜSTAN



# DATEN ÜBER DEN ARBEITSMARKT

(vorläufiges Ergebnis)

## A. IM BUNDESGBEIT

### 1. Arbeitslose

### 2. Offene Stellen

Ende des Monats	Männer und Frauen		Männer	Frauen	Jugendliche unter 20 Jahren	Ausländer	Schwer- behinderte	Insgesamt
	absolut	Arbeits- losen- quote 1)						
1979 August	798 867	3,5	346 910	451 957	71 906	77 274	61 926	338 715
1980 August	864 519	3,7	389 500	475 019	81 781	92 474	68 098	323 775
1981 August	1 288 923	5,5	627 441	661 482	130 815	165 836	90 365	206 347
1982 August	1 797 100	7,4	967 284	829 816	185 042	232 096	113 861	97 581
1983 August	2 196 220	8,9	1 182 034	1 014 186	209 943	276 815	133 422	82 426
1984 August	2 201 829	8,9	1 193 321	1 008 508	183 844	250 783	138 172	94 715
Septemb.	2 143 486	8,6	1 154 782	988 704	172 875	246 831	136 133	90 537
Oktober	2 144 508	8,6	1 154 969	989 539	158 541	245 845	136 040	85 483
November	2 189 191	8,8	1 196 406	992 785	155 212	248 589	136 193	81 505
Dezember	2 325 183	9,4	1 318 505	1 006 678	162 899	260 440	138 828	79 972
1985 Januar	2 619 409	10,6	1 580 545	1 038 864	169 271	278 970	143 105	87 468
Februar	2 611 270	10,5	1 583 474	1 027 796	168 949	277 999	142 253	101 062
März	2 474 451	10,0	1 469 673	1 004 778	158 992	271 836	139 586	113 784
April	2 304 638	9,3	1 311 788	992 850	139 596	259 873	137 075	110 826
Mai	2 192 627	8,8	1 221 771	970 856	128 559	249 656	135 171	115 423
Juni	2 160 443	8,7	1 184 728	975 715	139 266	242 975	134 736	120 360
Juli	2 221 395	9,0	1 193 760	1 027 635	168 505	239 501	135 000	119 359
August	2 216 643	8,9	1 176 460	1 040 183	181 776	236 393	134 100	117 366

### 3. Kurzarbeit

### 4. Leistungsempfänger

Mitte des Monats	Betriebe	Kurzarbeiter	Männer und Frauen	davon (Sp. 3)		
				Arbeits- losengeld	Arbeitslosenhilfe	
					absolut	in v.H. von Sp. 3
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1979 August	611	23 089	519 381	398 240	121 141	23,3
1980 August	999	42 672	545 996	428 606	117 390	21,5
1981 August	4 203	166 866	830 905	657 845	173 060	20,8
1982 August	8 520	325 894	1 106 647	814 183	292 464	26,4
1983 August	8 170	379 182	1 392 925	902 678	490 247	35,2
1984 August	6 940	212 149	1 364 921	772 922	591 999	43,4
September	8 221	262 448	1 337 011	749 903	587 108	43,9
Oktober	9 911	300 538	1 312 376	733 045	579 331	44,1
November	11 657	257 383	1 365 363	770 771	594 592	43,5
Dezember	13 069	268 366	1 410 371	803 734	606 637	43,0
1985 Januar	18 508	465 833	1 677 302	1 044 313	632 989	37,7
Februar	22 780	432 333	1 753 333	1 106 281	647 052	36,9
März	22 376	397 272	1 686 995	1 024 463	662 532	39,3
April	17 912	375 052	1 530 998	885 230	645 768	42,2
Mai	13 866	228 361	1 404 566	773 320	631 246	44,9
Juni	10 917	161 705	1 346 495	727 471	619 024	46,0
Juli	8 160	107 522	1 346 572	742 365	604 207	44,9
August	6 567	73 895	1 348 839	750 669	598 170	44,3

1) Arbeitslose in % der abhängigen Erwerbspersonen (ohne Soldaten) nach der EG-Arbeitskräftestichprobe vom Juni 1983, bis Dezember 1984 nach dem Mikrozensus

2) Arbeitslose in % der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer



## B. IN DEN LANDEsarBEITsAMTsBEZIRKEN

### 1. ARBEITsLOSE am Monatsende

Landesarbeitsamtsbezirk/ Bundesland	Arbeitslose							
	Männer und Frauen		Veränderung gegenüber Vormonat		Jugendliche unter 20 Jahren		Ausländer	
	absolut	Arbeits- losenquote	absolut	%	absolut	Arbeits- 1) losenquote	absolut	Arbeits- 2) losenquote
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg	201 266	11,4	- 603	- 0,3	16 863	12,9	19 578	20,6
davon: Schleswig-Holstein	110 771	10,6	- 1 192	- 1,1	10 167	10,4	5 263	17,6
Hamburg	90 495	12,6	+ 589	+ 0,7	6 696	20,0	14 315	22,0
Niedersachsen-Bremen	376 553	12,1	+ 458	+ 0,1	31 508	12,5	25 429	20,6
davon: Niedersachsen	335 434	11,9	- 158	- 0,0	28 257	11,9	21 368	20,3
Bremen	41 119	14,8	+ 616	+ 1,5	3 251	22,4	4 061	22,4
Nordrhein-Westfalen	728 819	11,0	- 13 601	- 1,8	55 843	12,0	81 633	16,4
Hessen	159 477	7,0	- 1 735	- 1,1	12 710	7,3	21 771	10,9
Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland	168 499	9,2	- 4 327	- 2,5	17 333	9,9	11 513	13,8
davon: Rheinland-Pfalz	115 736	8,1	- 3 251	- 2,7	12 689	9,2	8 199	13,4
Saarland	52 763	13,1	- 1 076	- 2,0	4 644	12,6	3 314	14,9
Baden-Württemberg	206 973	5,3	+ 7 396	+ 3,7	17 011	5,2	34 054	8,3
Bayern	299 006	6,7	+ 9 012	+ 3,1	26 263	5,3	30 964	10,2
davon: Nordbayern	145 426	7,6	+ 4 327	+ 3,1	13 773	6,9	10 839	12,6
Südbayern	153 580	6,1	+ 4 685	+ 3,1	12 490	4,2	20 125	9,3
Berlin (West)	76 050	9,2	- 1 352	- 1,7	4 245	8,0	11 451	11,7
Bundesgebiet	2 216 643	8,9	- 4 752	- 0,2	181 776	8,8	236 393	13,0

### 2. OFFENE STELLEN am Monatsende

Landesarbeitsamtsbezirk/ Bundesland	Offene Stellen		
	Insgesamt	Veränderung gegen- über Vormonat	
		absolut	%
	1	2	3
Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg	5 776	- 940	- 14,0
davon: Schleswig-Holstein	2 769	- 293	- 9,6
Hamburg	3 007	- 647	- 17,7
Niedersachsen-Bremen	13 227	- 10	- 0,1
davon: Niedersachsen	11 644	+ 23	+ 0,2
Bremen	1 583	- 33	- 2,0
Nordrhein-Westfalen	23 980	+ 483	+ 2,1
Hessen	12 485	- 441	- 3,4
Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland	6 840	- 198	- 2,8
davon: Rheinland-Pfalz	5 206	- 37	- 0,7
Saarland	1 634	- 161	- 9,0
Baden-Württemberg	25 247	- 611	- 2,4
Bayern	24 105	- 287	- 1,2
davon: Nordbayern	8 921	+ 163	+ 1,9
Südbayern	15 184	- 450	- 2,9
Berlin (West)	5 706	+ 11	+ 0,2
Bundesgebiet	117 366	- 1 993	- 1,7



**Zugang an Arbeitslosen und offenen Stellen nach ausgewählten  
Wirtschaftsbereichen und Wirtschaftszweigen**

Wirtschaftsbereich/-zweig	1985			Veränderung gegenüber Vorjahr		
	Januar bis März	April bis Juni	Juli	Januar bis März	April bis Juni	Juli
				%		
Arbeitslose						
Alle Zugänge	1 095 499	733 861	371 397	+ 7,9	+ 0,1	- 1,6
darunter:						
"Witterungsabhängige Wirtschaftszweige" insgesamt	382 232	111 384	45 562	+ 32,3	- 0,3	- 1,3
davon						
Bauhauptgewerbe	189 721	44 121	17 415	+ 28,1	- 4,3	- 6,5
Ausbau- und Bauhilfsgewerbe	64 184	21 780	7 533	+ 32,8	+ 9,3	- 4,4
Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Gartenbau	42 929	8 373	4 305	+ 55,6	- 9,1	- 0,7
Industrie der Steine und Erden	25 912	3 229	1 428	+ 72,5	+ 3,5	+ 10,5
Holzindustrie	28 658	14 333	6 438	+ 36,5	+ 13,0	+ 8,5
Verkehrswirtschaft	30 828	19 548	8 443	+ 6,9	- 5,5	+ 4,4
Investitionsgüter produzierendes Gewerbe	93 552	68 371	30 226	- 10,9	- 15,8	- 16,1
Übriges Verarbeitendes Gewerbe 1)	76 512	65 449	27 630	- 4,3	- 7,9	- 8,7
Dienstleistungen (ohne Verkehrswirtschaft)	287 503	242 517	115 317	+ 1,8	+ 3,1	+ 0,5
Offene Stellen						
Alle Zugänge	357 207	420 575	153 449	+ 7,1	+ 7,6	+ 14,9
darunter:						
"Witterungsabhängige Wirtschaftszweige" insgesamt	64 022	101 165	32 194	- 9,2	+ 9,1	+ 18,2
davon						
Bauhauptgewerbe	21 433	46 748	14 011	- 24,8	+ 15,1	+ 28,2
Ausbau- und Bauhilfsgewerbe	9 855	15 830	6 178	- 14,4	- 5,0	+ 4,0
Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Gartenbau	6 867	9 288	2 340	+ 15,4	+ 9,6	+ 18,0
Industrie der Steine und Erden	3 235	3 807	972	- 11,3	+ 0,9	+ 12,1
Holzindustrie	6 745	7 904	2 708	- 12,1	- 1,0	+ 10,7
Verkehrswirtschaft	15 887	17 588	5 985	+ 20,1	+ 15,7	+ 18,0
Investitionsgüter produzierendes Gewerbe	64 009	74 320	31 609	+ 18,8	+ 20,6	+ 10,7
Übriges Verarbeitendes Gewerbe 1)	44 783	46 289	19 769	+ 7,2	- 0,7	+ 16,6
Dienstleistungen (ohne Verkehrswirtschaft)	183 064	197 036	69 199	+ 10,1	+ 4,5	+ 14,8

1) Verarbeitendes Gewerbe ohne Investitionsgüter produzierendes Gewerbe, ohne Industrie der Steine und Erden und ohne Holzindustrie



### 3. KURZARBEITER Mitte des Monats

in den Landesarbeitsamtsbezirken				im Bundesgebiet nach Wirtschaftszweigen			
Landesarbeitsamts- bezirk	Kurz- arbeiter	Veränderung gegenüber Vormonat		Wirtschaftszweig	Kurz- arbeiter	Veränderung gegenüber Vormonat	
		absolut	%			absolut	%
		1	2			1	2
Schleswig-Holstein- Hamburg	6 828	- 2 303	- 25,2	Bergbau	89	+ 27	+ 43,5
Niedersachsen-Bremen	11 703	- 4 785	- 29,0	Chemie, Kunstst.	1 441	- 951	- 39,8
Nordrhein-Westfalen	21 666	+ 2 653	+ 14,0	Metallerzeugung	98	- 274	- 73,7
Hessen	5 048	- 466	- 8,5	Metallverformung	1 665	- 1 180	- 41,5
Rheinland-Pfalz- Saarland	6 401	+ 349	+ 5,8	Maschinenbau	3 423	- 545	- 13,7
Baden-Württemberg	11 807	- 14 875	- 55,7	Straßen-, Fahrzeugbau	1 783	- 440	- 19,8
Mordbayern	5 148	- 8 675	- 62,8	Elektrotechnik	5 423	- 1 900	- 25,9
Südbayern	4 285	- 5 263	- 55,1	Eisen-, Blechwaren	2 399	- 1 638	- 40,6
Berlin (West)	1 009	- 262	- 20,6	Holz	8 734	- 10 105	- 53,6
				Textil, Bekleidung	4 565	- 2 737	- 37,5
				Bau	23 501	- 9 085	- 27,9
				Schiffbau	331	- 336	- 50,4
				Übrige Wirtschaftszw.	20 443	- 4 463	- 17,9
Bundesgebiet	73 895	- 33 627	- 31,3	Alle Wirtschaftszweige	73 895	- 33 627	- 31,3

### C. SAISONBEREINIGTE ZAHLEN im Bundesgebiet in 1000

Jahr/Monat		Arbeitslose			Offene Stellen
		Männer und Frauen	Männer	Frauen	
		1	2	3	
1983	Jan.	2 162	1 217	942	72
	Febr.	2 229	1 265	960	71
	März	2 252	1 276	974	74
	April	2 276	1 288	988	75
	Mai	2 291	1 298	994	76
	Juni	2 301	1 301	1 003	75
	Juli	2 297	1 294	1 005	75
	Aug.	2 295	1 290	1 007	77
	Sept.	2 291	1 287	1 005	80
	Okt.	2 274	1 277	997	80
	Nov.	2 259	1 269	990	81
	Dez.	2 262	1 274	987	81
1984	Jan.	2 225	1 245	980	81
	Febr.	2 234	1 253	980	82
	März	2 251	1 268	982	84
	April	2 269	1 285	984	85
	Mai	2 269	1 282	988	85
	Juni	2 278	1 290	989	87
	Juli	2 293	1 300	994	89
	Aug.	2 295	1 298	998	89
	Sept.	2 291	1 292	1 000	92
	Okt.	2 272	1 280	992	95
	Nov.	2 263	1 272	990	98
	Dez.	2 252	1 262	990	101
1985	Jan.	2 307	1 314	992	102
	Febr.	2 307	1 311	995	104
	März	2 324	1 322	1 001	102
	April	2 316	1 310	1 007	101
	Mai	2 327	1 312	1 014	102
	Juni	2 324	1 302	1 022	105
	Juli	2 310	1 285	1 024	108
	Aug.	2 306	1 278	1 027	111
	Sept.				
	Okt.				
	Nov.				
	Dez.				





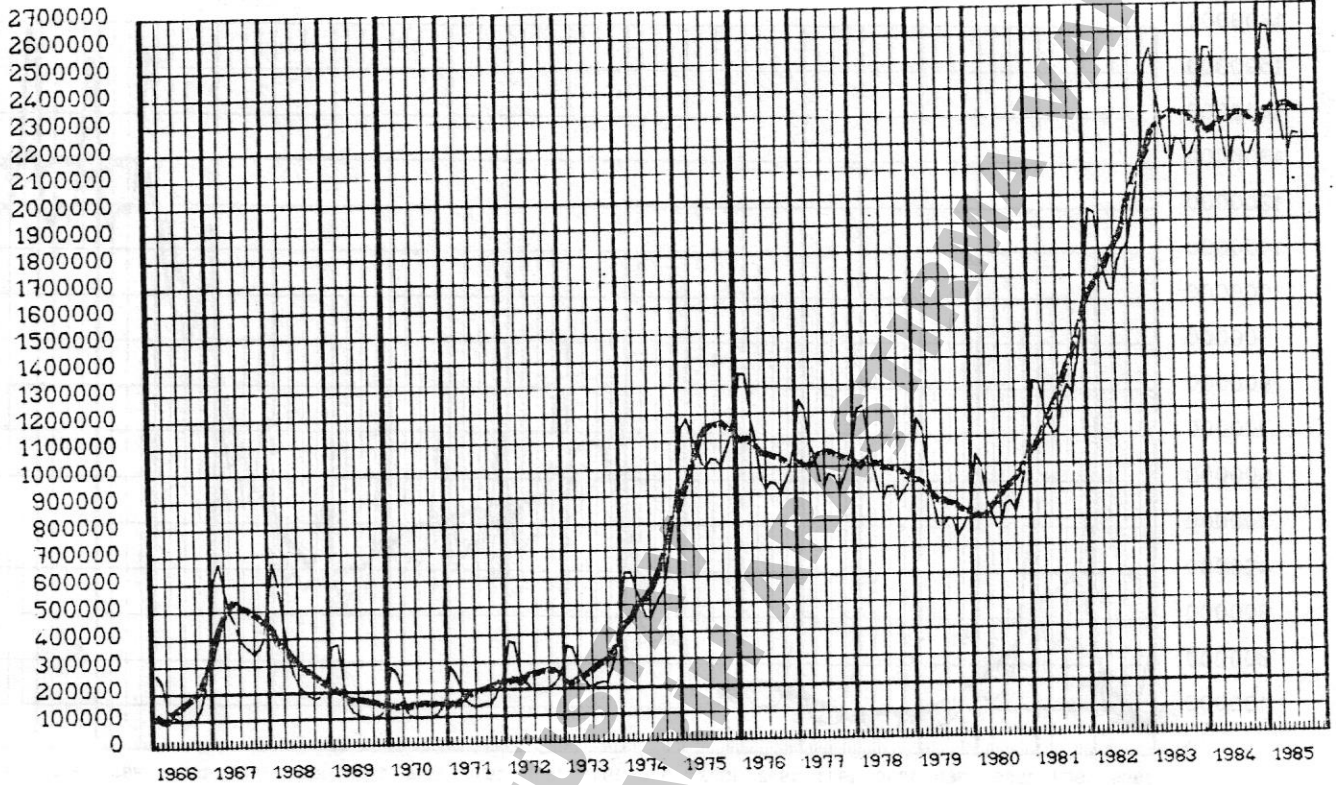
# Zur Entwicklung der Lage auf dem Arbeitsmarkt

— Ursprungswerte

— Saisonbereinigte Zahlen

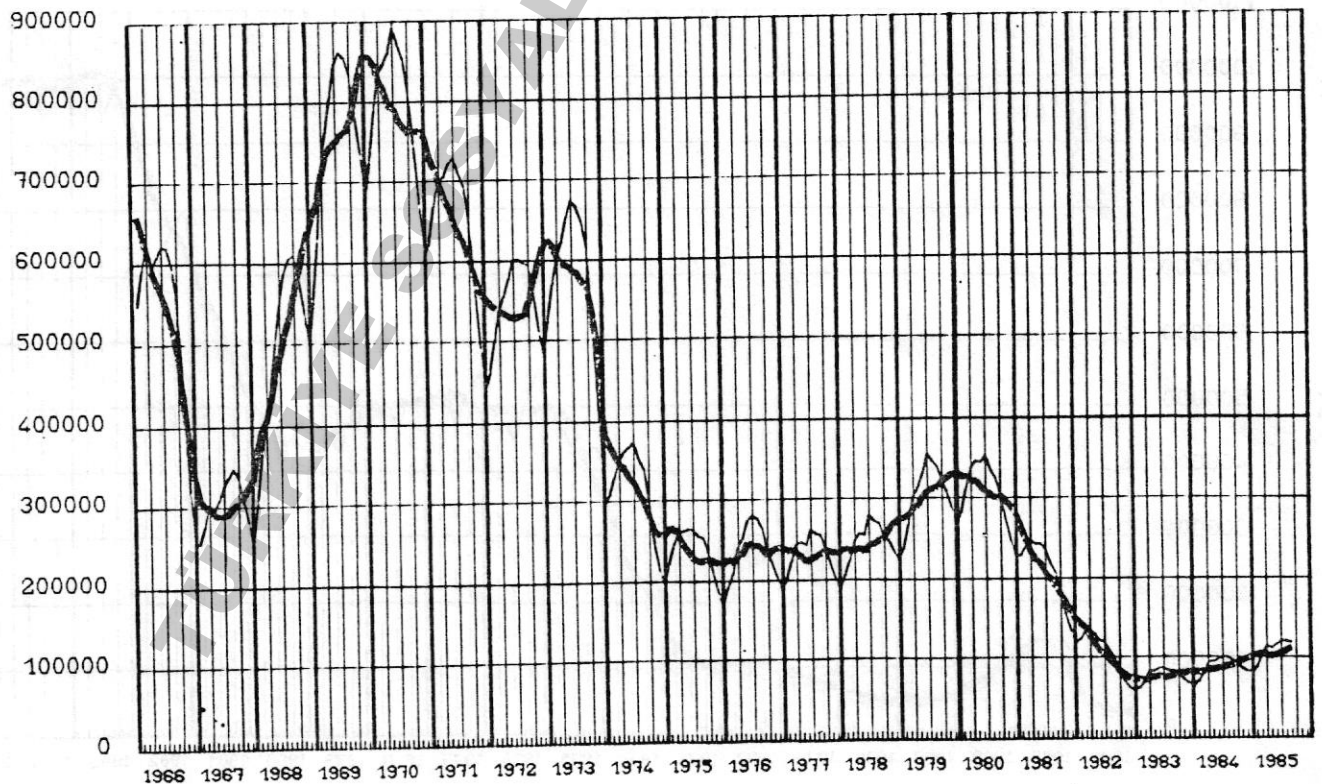
ARBEITSLOSE INSGESAMT

IAB(VI/DV)



OFFENE STELLEN INSGESAMT

IAB(VI/DV)







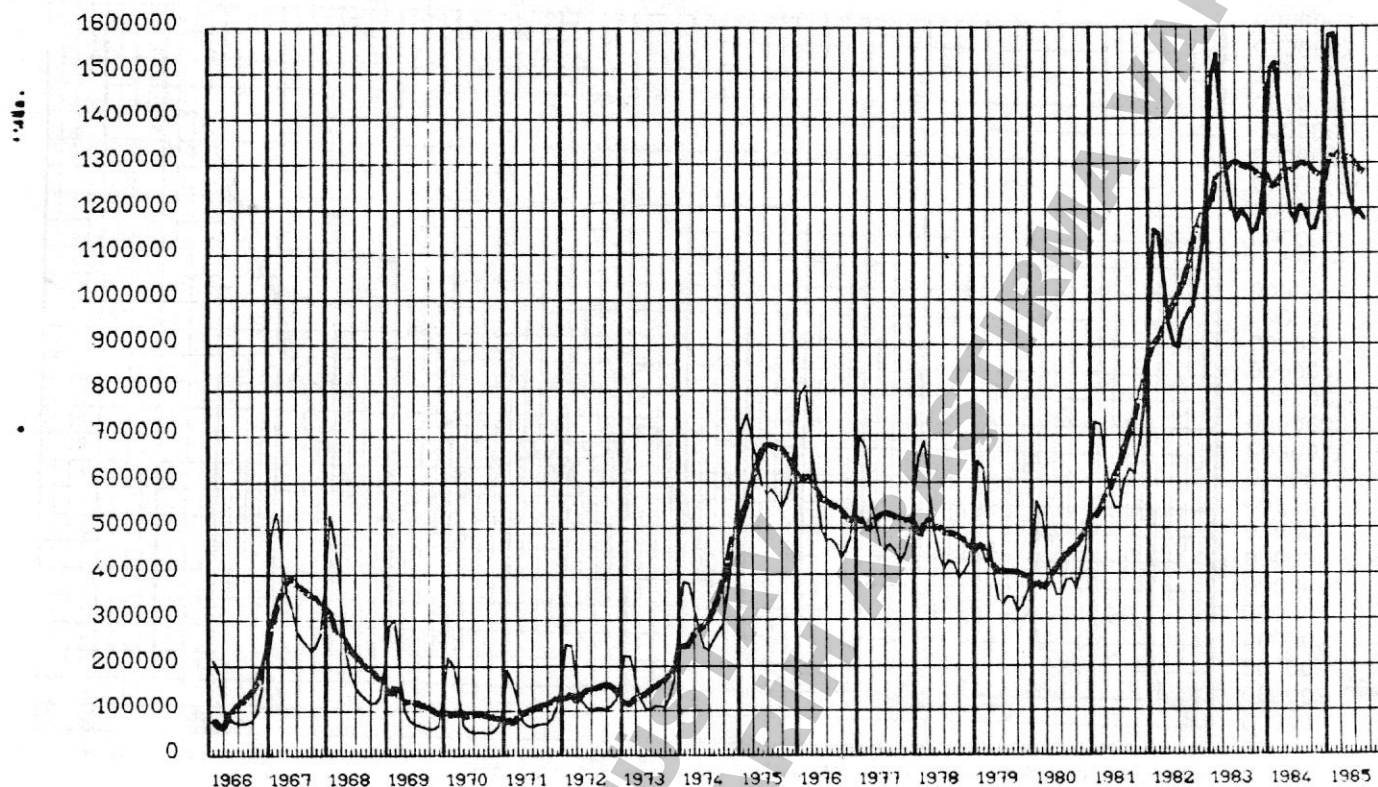
# Zur Entwicklung der Lage auf dem Arbeitsmarkt

— Ursprungswerte

— Saisonbereinigte Zahlen

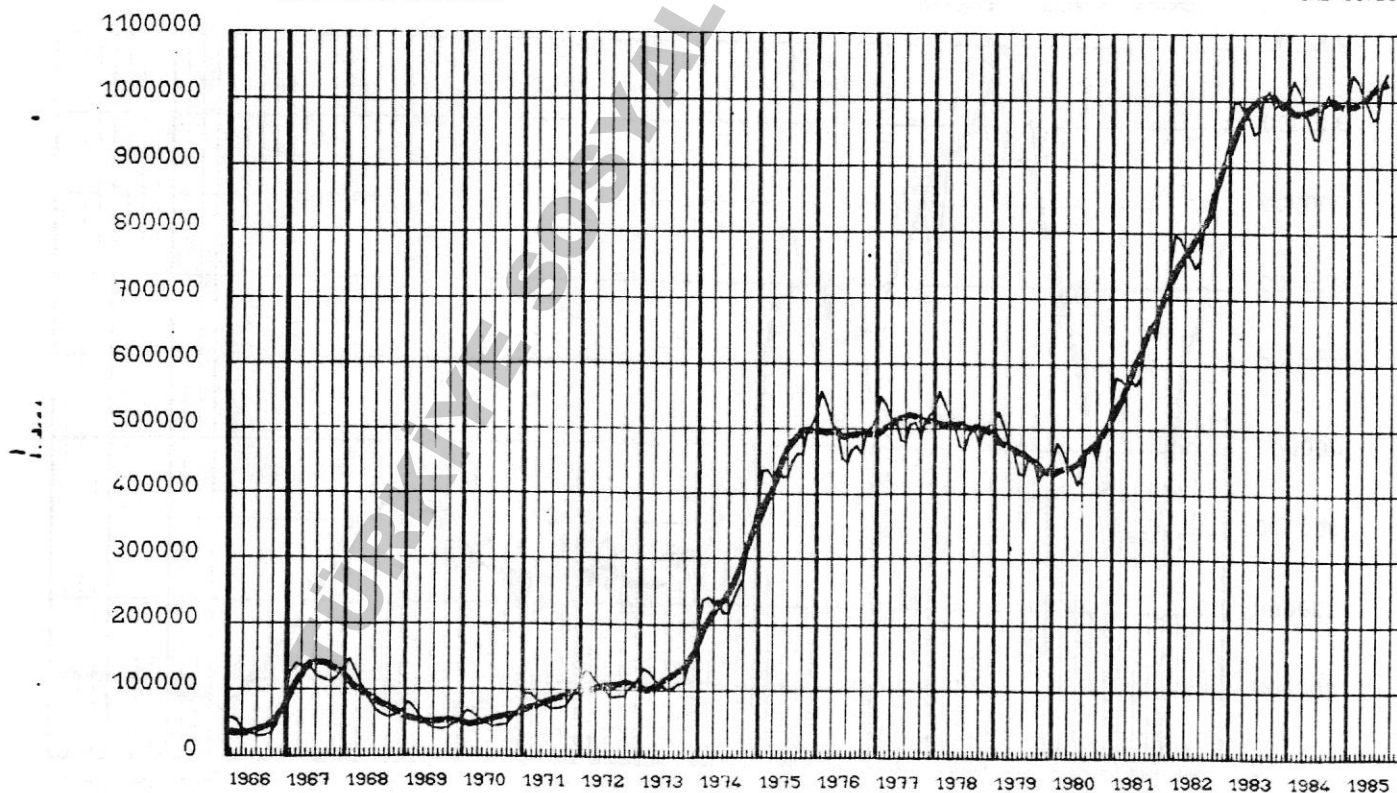
ARBEITSLOSE MAENNLICH

IAB(VI/DV)

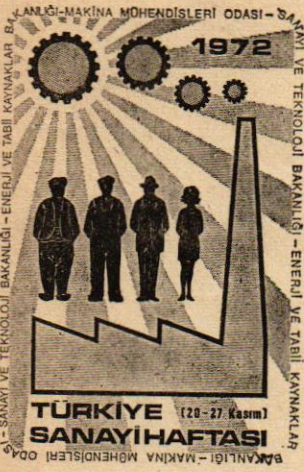


ARBEITSLOSE WEIBLICH

IAB(VI/DV)







## BEYİN VE İNSANGÜCÜ İHRACI

Erol GÜVENÇ

SANAYİ VE TEKNOLOJİ BAKANLIĞI  
ENERJİ VE TABİİ KAYNAKLAR BAKANLIĞI  
VE  
MAKİNA MÜHENDİSLERİ ODASI

1972 TÜRKİYE SANAYİ  
KONGRESİ (20-27 Kasım)  
tebliğlerdeki fikirler yazarlarına aittir



## ( SANAYİLEŞME İLE İNSAN GÜCÜ ARASINDAKİ BAĞINTI

İktisadi bünye deyince akla iki şey gelir : Bir yandan ülkedeki insangücü ve bu insan gücünün eğitim ve yeteneklere göre dağılımı; ülkedeki sermaye mallarını oluşturan malzeme, teçhizat, alt yapı tesisleri ve bunların içerdiği teknoloji ile ülkenin ham madde kaynakları; diğer yandan bütün bu kaynakların kullanımıyla ortaya çıkan üretim. İlkinde iktisadi bünyenin kaynak yönü, ikincisine de ürün yönü diyebiliriz. Bünyenin kaynak yönü ile ürün yönü, bir madalyonun iki yüzü gibi bir birini tamamlar. Kaynak yönü, ürün yönünün ne olacağını belirler. Yüksek yetenekli bir iş gücü ve gelişmiş bir teknolojiye sahip bir ülkenin ürünlerinde bu özellikler kendini gösterecektir; örneğin, elektronik hesap makinası yapımında, çok hassas aletler yapımında olduğu gibi... İşgücü yeteneği sınırlı, sermaye ve teknolojisi kıt bir ülkede ise üretim bu kıtlığın damgasını taşıyacaktır. Aşırı bir örnek olarak, bir ülkenin insanları eğitimsiz ve yeteneksiz se, ülkede hiç bir malzeme ve teçhizat yoksa, o ülkede ancak ilkel tarım ve hayvancılık yapılabilecektir.

Türkiye de istenen bir büyüme hızının elde edilmesi, doğal kaynaklar, sermaye ve insan gücünden meydana gelen tüm iktisadi kaynakların verimli kullanılmasına bağlıdır. Türkiye de özellikle sermaye kıt olduğuna göre, insan gücü kaynaklarının ekonominin ihtiyaçlarına uydurulması üzerinde durulması gerekir.

Gerçekte kalkınmanın en önemli unsuru insan gücüdür. Kalkınma planlarının başarıya ulaşması gerekli sayıda ve nitelikte insan gücünün kalkınma çabasına gereken zamanda katılmasına bağlı bulunmaktadır. Vasıflı insan gücü hem diğer kaynakları en rasyonel kullanması gereken bir kaynaktır, hemde kendisi kıt bir kaynaktır.

Aşağıdaki tablo, Türkiye de yıllara göre çalışabilecek durumdaki insan sayısını göstermektedir.



Yıl	Nüfus	Sivil	Ordu	(1000) kişi
				Tüm işgücü
1965	31.391	13.044	514	13.558
1970	35.667	15.043	615	15.658
1972	37.538	15.895	650	16.545
1977	42.675	18.064	700	18.764
1982	48.490	20.531	700	21.531

Türkiye geleneksel tarım ekonomisinden çıkarak sanayileşme temposuna girmelidir. Bu dönüşüm insan gücü yapısında ve mesleki bileşimde belirli bir bünye değişikliği gerektirmektedir. Kullanılan teknoloji ister en yenisi, ister en çok kullanılan olsun çeşitli faaliyet kollarına dağılan insangücünün, mesleki, nitelikleri değişen ihtiyaçlara ayak uyduracak şekilde gelişmek ve değişmek zorundadır.

Sanayileşmiş ülkelerin üretim artış hızları arasındaki farklar, genellikle işgücü içindeki yüksek vasıflı insangücü oranlarının değişik olmasından ileri gelmektedir. İşgücü vasfının ortalama seviyesindeki bir yükselme, yalnız daha yüksek verim sağlamamakla kalmamakta, teknolojik değişimlere de yol açmaktadır.

### **AZ GELİŞMİŞ ÜLKELERDE İNSANGÜCÜ İHRACININ NEDENLERİ ORTAYA ÇIKARDIĞI SORUNLAR ?**

Batı ülkelerindeki modern üretimin gelişme nedenlerini ortaya koymadan Türkiye'nin konumu belirlenemez. Batı ülkelerindeki modern üretimin gelişme nedenleri şöyledir :

a — Batı ülkelerindeki iş verenler devlete karşı, devletin dışındaki gelişmiştir.

b — Batı ülkeleri işverenleri içindeki sanayi kesimi ülke çapında müteşebbis kabiliyetini kullanarak baş rolü oynamıştır.

c — İşçi kesimi kendini ekonomik ve politik alanlarda kabul ettirmiş ve zorunlu olarak teknoloji gelişmiştir.

Geri kalmış ülkelerde, özellikle Türkiye de üretimin gelişmemesinin nedenlerini şöyle sıralayabiliriz :



a — 60 - 70 yıldan beri iş veren kesiminin devlet eliyle geliştirilme-ye çalışılması, bu kesimin teşebbüsçü yeteneğini körletmiştir.

b — İş veren kesimi içindeki ticaret bölümünün (mal ve para ticareti yapanlar) aşırı gelişmesi ve ülkede baş rolü oynaması sanayinin gelişimini engellemiştir. Çünkü bir ülkede mal ve para ticareti yapan kesim aşırı gelişirse, o ülkede işveren kesiminin sanayi bölü- mü kolay kolay söz sahibi olamaz. Sanayinin gelişmesi ve üretimin artması için maddi ve manevi şartların gerçekleşmesi gerekir.

Yurdumuza teknoloji niçin geç ve güç girmiştir ?

Osmanlı Türkiye'sinden bu yana yapılan her yenilik hareketine karşı çıkış tepkisinin altında yatan allerji, mal ve para ticareti ya- pan kesimin menfaatidir. Çünkü batı üretimi teknolojisi ve yenilikle- ri ne kadar fazla girerse, sanayimiz ve üretimimiz o kadar çok ge- lişirdi. Sanayimizin gelişmesi, mal ve para ticareti yapan tefeci - be- zirgan kesimin sonu demektir.

Modern üretimin gelişmesinin doğurduğu sorunlar :

1 — İşsizlik : Modern üretimin, özellikle sanayi kesiminin yurt çapında genişlemesi ve basit üretimi ortadan kaldırması ve yarı işsiz sayılan köylü yığınlarını (fabrika işçisi olarak) emmesi sosyal bir gerçektir. Büyük insan kitlelerinin modern üretime katılması, zo- runlu olarak küçük üretim çoğunluğunu eritir. Tüketim maddeleri- nin dağılımıda ister istemez büyük merkezler şeklinde oluşur. Es- naf kesimini de büyük çapta ortadan kaldırmak suretiyle işsizliğin azalmasını veya yok olmasını sağlar.

Türkiye gibi geri kalmış ülkelerde üretimin gelişmemesi, gizli ve açık işsizler ordusu çığ gibi büyür. İşsizlerin çoğalması, üretim alanlarının artmaması, göçü zorunlu kılar. Her yıl binlerce işçinin Almanya ya ve batı ülkelerine gitmek için sıra beklemesi bundandır.

2 — İşgücü ihracı : İşgücü, yurt dışına iki yolda ihraç edilir.

a — Canlı emek, Avrupa da beden ve kafa ile çalışarak üreti- me direk yada dolaylı yoldan katkıda bulunur ve karşılığında ücret alırlar. Üretime ne yolla katkıda bulunursa bulunsun yarattıkları metodlarda, ödenmemiş emek yada artı değer dediğimiz işgücü var- dır. Bu işgücü en tatlı kârdır ve o ülkenin sanayi kesiminin zengin-leşmesine sebep olur.



b — Cansız emek ihracı ise gelişmiş ülkeleri ile geri kalmış ülkeler arasında meta ve para alışverişi şeklinde olur. Sanayisi gelişmiş ülkelerin para birimide gelişmiştir. Çünkü dünya pazarlarında hangi ülkenin malları daha çok satılıyorsa en büyük kârı o almış olur. Dünya pazarlarından kâr almak demek, çeşitli ülkelerin çeşitli insanların cansız emeğini (işgücünü) almak demektir. Sanayisi gelişmiş ülkeler, dünya pazarlarına veya geri kalmış ülkelere özellikle makina satarlar. Bu alış veriş sırasında kendi para birimleri yüksek olduğu için zararı geri ülkeler görür.

Gelişmiş ülkeler gümrük duvarlarını mal ile aşamadıkları için geri kalmış ülkelerin cansız emek dediğimiz iç gücünü çekmek için uzun veya kısa vadeli faizle para verirler. Yabancı para, kolaylıkla gümrük duvarlarını aşıp geri kalmış ülkelere girer. Orada cansız emek gücünü, faiz karşılığında toplayıp kendi kasasına taşır. Böylelikle geri kalmış ülkelerin insan gücü dolaylı yoldan da, yani mal ve para alış verisinden yurt dışına taşınmış olur.

3 — Pahallık : Geri kalmış ülkeler dünya pazarından kâr alamadıkları gibi her alış verişte zarar ettikleri için geri kalmış ülke halkından bu zararı iki yolla çıkarırlar.

Dünya pazarlarında mal satabilmemiz için ucuza mal etmemiz gerekir. Örneğin, bir zamanlar İngiltere, Türkiye'den Buğday alacağına söz vermişti. Sonra caydı ve Buğdayı can düşmanımız Sovyetler Birliğinden aldı, bunun da sebebi, Sovyetler Birliğinin daha iyi ve ucuz Buğday satmasıydı.

Ofis, çiftçiden ve köylüden kilosunu 1 TL ye aldığı buğdayı 80 krş. a satar. Kilo başına 20 krş. zarar eder. Bu zarar da pahalı ekmek yedirerek karşılar.

Geri kalmış ülke mallarının dışarda satılması için ucuz olması gerekir. Fakat bir sanayi ülkesi olmadığı için damping'in (dışarda ucuz, içeride pahalı satma) yarattığı hava pahallıktır. Ve böylece Türk parası her yıl % 10 - 20 arasında değerinden düşer.

4 — Kalifiye işgücü kıtlığı :

Sanayi ülkeleri dünya pazarından geri kalmış ülkelerin artı değerlerini kâr olarak kasalarına çekerler. Bu artı değerlerinin bir kısmını üretimlerinin artmasında kullanırlar. Üretimin çoğaltılması,



a — Mevcudu bulunmayan yeni makinaların kullanılması b — kalifiye işçi kullanma, ile sağlanır. Bu iki neden eğitime dayanır. Eğitim ve bilim kurumları, üretimin (işgücü ve makinaların) daha çok gelişmesini sağlar.

Geri kalmış ülkeler dünya pazarlarından artı değer payı alamadıkları için büyük kitleleri eğitecek maddi olanaklardan yoksundurlar. Üstelik eğitilmiş en iyi işgücünü dışarıya gönderdiği için kalifiye işgücü kıtlığı çekerler.

### TÜRKİYE'DE İNSANGÜCÜ İHRACI, PLANLI DÖNEMDEKİ DURUM VE PLANIN GETİRDİKLERİ

Birinci beş yıllık kalkınma planında artan işgücünün istihdamı konusunda ortaya konulan çeşitli tedbirler yanında işgücü fazlasının işgücü kıtlığı çeken Batı Avrupa ülkelerine gitmesi de ön görülmüştür.

1961 yılında 1966 yılı sonuna kadar yurt dışında çalışmak için 1.033.500 işçi İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumuna başvurmuş ve bunların 195.000 nin (%18,5) Batı Avrupa ülkelerine gitmesi gerçekleşmiştir.

1971 yılında 1 milyon 250 bin kadar tarımda, 250 bini de tarım dışında olmak üzere 2 milyon civarında gizli ve açık işsiz tespit edilmiştir. Her yıl, işgücüne 400 bin kişi katılmış olmaktadır. Ekonominin yarattığı istihdam yılda ortalama 135 bindir. Son yıllarda dış ülkelere göç eden insan sayısı yılda ortalama 100 bin kadardır. Bu durumda her yılda 2 milyonluk işsiz stokuna 165 bin kişi daha katılmaktadır. Aşağıdaki tablo yıllara göre yurt dışına gidişi göstermektedir.

Yıllar	Dış ülkelere gönderilen	Sıra bekleyenler
1966	35.173	648.860
1967	9.700	707.265
1968	44.693	735.040
1969	107.244	807.019
1970	125.575	1.001.484



Yurtdışına işgücü ihracının üzerinde pek durulmayan çok önemli bir noktası da nitelikli işçi kaybıdır. Alınan kararlar çerçevesinde % 70 oranında niteliksiz ve % 30 oranında nitelikli işçi yurtdışına gidiyor görülmektedir. Ne varki İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumunun yetkililerinin gayri resmî olarak belirttiklerine göre nitelikli işçiler niteliksiz işçi olarak yurtdışına gitmek için müracaat etmekte ve bu yolla yurtdışına kaçmaktadır.

Gelişmiş batı ülkelerine Türkiye'den göçedenlerin arasında nitelik itibariyle büyük olmayan, sayıları işçiler gibi yüzbinler değil de binler dolayında olan teknik elemanlarda bulunuyor.

1968 yılında yapılan bir araştırmada teknik elemanlarımızın % 5,6'sının yurt dışında çalışmakta olduğu, ancak bu oranın meslek Odalarının kayıtlarına dayandığı, gerçek rakamın bunun daha da üzerinde olduğu belirtilmektedir.

Aradan geçen 3 yıl içinde yurt dışında çalışmakta olan teknik elemanlarımızın sayısında iki kata varan bir artış olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır.

Bu gelişme; sanayileşme, kalkınma çabalarında olan bir ülke için önemli sonuçlar getirecektir. Teknik elemanlar gerçekten kalkınmanın vazgeçilmez unsurlarıdır. Bunu aşağıdaki tablo daha iyi ortaya koymaktadır.

#### Toplam Mimar ve Mühendisler

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1977	1982
Talep	27.800	30.500	33.700	36.500	40.200	63.200	94.800
Arz	17.500	19.200	20.800	22.400	24.000	31.900	39.000
Açık	10.300	11.300	12.900	14.100	16.200	30.300	55.800

Belirtilen bu açığa rağmen mevcut teknik elemanlar dahi rasyonel bir şekilde, kalkınmanın amaçlarına yönelik görevlendirilmemektedirler. Özellikle kamu kuruluşlarında çalışanlar hizmet kesimine itilerek, değer üreten kişiler olmaktan uzaklaştırılmaktadır.



## **TÜRKİYE'NİN ORTAK PAZARA KATILMASI HALİNDE İNSANGÜCÜ AKIMININ ALACAĞI BİÇİM, KALİFİYE İNSAN- GÜCÜ İLE OLAN ÇELİŞKİLERİ**

Türkiye Avrupa, Ekonomik Topluluğuna (AET) katılma kararı almıştır. Bu kararın iktisadî yönü şu şekilde özetlenebilir : 1972'den başlayarak, yirmi iki yıl içinde, Türkiye ve AET karşılıklı olarak aralarındaki bütün gümrük duvarlarını ve sermaye ile işgücü akımını kısıtlayan bütün engelleri kaldıracak; üçüncü ülkelere karşı Türkiye, Türk lirasını konvertibl bir hale sokup, mümkün olduğu kadar miktar kısıtlaması olmayan bir dış ticaret rejimine geçecektir.

Bugünkü durumda Türkiye, dış ticarete, denge değeri üstünde bir döviz kuru uygulamaktadır. İthalât, yüksek gümrük vergilerine ve miktar kısıtlamalarına tabidir. İthalâtta alınan tüm vergiler cif. ithal değerinin % 65 i civarındadır; ancak miktar kısıtlamaları olduğu için, bu gümrük oranı, ithalâtın miktarını tayin etme bakımından etken bir önem taşımaktadır. Türkiye'ye sermaye girişi nispeten serbest, çıkışı oldukça zordur. İşgücü akımı ise Türkiye ile AET arasındaki bir anlaşmanın esaslarına göre yürütülmektedir. İşgücü akımı Türkiye'den dışa doğrudur.

İktisadî bünyeyi etkileyen, en az iç etkenler kadar önemli, dış etkenlerde vardır. Dış etkenler, değişik ülkelerin kalkınma seviyelerinde olmasından ortaya çıkar, bütün dünyada tamamen serbest bir dış ticaret rejimi uygulansa, yani gerek malların, gerekse sermaye ve işgücü gibi kaynakların akımına hiç bir kısıtlama konmazsa, geri kalmış ülkelerin bünye değişimleri, büyük çapta ileri gitmişler tarafından belirlenecektir. Gümrük duvarı, ülkede yetenek, teknoloji ve tecrübe birikimini kolaylaştıracaktır. Bundan gümrük duvarı arkasına sığınarak her mal yerli üretilir, sonucu çıkarılmamalıdır. İşin birde maliyet yönü vardır. Tabii ki, her mal üretilir. Ancak söz konusu mal ne kadar ileri bir seviyede ise, maliyetide o kadar yüksek olacaktır.

Türkiye'nin AET'na katılmasının ülkenin iktisadî yapısını ne yönden etkileyeceği üç açıdan incelenebilir.

① — Üretimin rekabetliliği : Uyguladıkları gümrük duvarlarını karşılaştırsak Türkiye'nin AET'dan çok daha korumalı bir ekonomi olduğunu görürüz. Aradaki gümrük duvarları sifıra inince



bazı Türk malları AET karşısında rekabet edemeyeceklerdir. Sonuç olarak ta bunların Türkiye üretimi duracak, burada kullanılan kaynaklar ya rekabet edebilen üretime aktarılacak, ya da, aktarma olanağı yoksa, bu kaynaklardan vazgeçilecektir.

Yer değiştirme konusunda, kaynakları sıra ile ele alalım. Ürettiği mal rekabet edemiyen işgücü, başka alanlarda iş arayacaktır. Söz konusu işgücü ne kadar uzmanlaşmışsa, başka alana kaymakla hem verimliliğinden hem de gelirinden o oran da zarara uğrayacaktır. Burada yalnız yer değiştiren işgücü değil, toplum da zararlı çıkacaktır; çünkü işgücünün verimliliğinin düşmesi, toplumun toplam üretiminin düşmesi demektir. Örneğin, ülkede ki makina sanayi rekabet edememe yüzünden kapanırsa, burada çalışan makine mühendisleri döküm sanayiinde de iş bulabilirler. Makina sanayiinde de üretilen değer ile döküm sanayiinde üretilen değer arasındaki fark, mühendislerin yer değiştirmesi dolayısıyla toplumun uğradığı zarardır.

Üretim gücü, ya da kaynak olarak işgücünden vazgeçilemez. Vazgeçmek demek, bir grup insanı işsiz ve gelirsiz bırakmak demektir. Çağımızda toplumlar, böyle bir yarayı uzun müddet taşıyamazlar. Sermaye konusunda durum böyle değildir. Sabit sermaye yani fiilen üretim de kullanılan makina ve teçhizat ancak amortisman yoluyla, yeni bir üretim dalına aktarılabilir. Gene makina sanayi, rekabet edemez durum da kaldı diyelim. Buradaki makinelerin değerini sermaye olarak iplik sanayiine aktarmak istersek ancak yıllık eskime payları olan amortismanları biriktirip, bu kaynak aktarmasını yapabiliriz. Eskime paylarını biriktirebilmek için makina sanayiinin fiilen üretime devam etmesi gereklidir. Makinaların ömrü ne kadar kısa ise bu amortisman birikimi de o kadar süratli olur. Böyle bir kaynak aktarmasını yapabilmek için epeyce ileriye görebilmek gerekir. Makina sanayiindeki sabit sermayeyi iplik sanayiine aktarma işi, makina sanayi rekabet edemez duruma gelmezden önce başlatılmaktadır. Ve en mükemmel şekliyle, makina sanayi rekabet edemez duruma geldiği anda bütün sermayesi, biriken amortismanlar yoluyla, iplik sanayiine aktarılmış olur.

② — Sermaye akımının serbestliği : Halen, sermayenin Türkiye'ye girmesi nispeten kolay, çıkması daha zordur. Sermaye akımındaki bütün kısıtlamalar kaldırılınca, sermaye akımının yönü ve hızı da değişecektir. Bugün, sermayenin Türkiye'ye girişi nispeten kolay, çıkışı zor ise kanun koyucu, serbest net akımın dışarıya doğ-



ru olacağı düşüncesile hareket ediyor, demektir. Aksi halde, zaten dışa gitmiyecek sermayenin çıkışını zorlaştırmanın hiç bir anlamı olamazdı. Tarihsel olarak da, net sermaye akımı, geri kalmış ülkelerden kalkınmış batı ülkelerine doğru olmuştur. Türkiye, bu kuralın dışında kalmasını sağlayacak hiç bir özellik taşımaz. Sonuç olarak sermaye akımındaki kısıtlamalar kaldırılınca, net sermaye akımının Türkiye'den dışa doğru olmasını bekleyebiliriz. Bu, bütün sermaye Türkiye'den dışa gidecek; Türkiye'ye hiç bir sermaye gelmeyecek demek değildir. Akım gene iki yönlü olacak, fakat dışa giden ağır basacaktır.

Giden ve gelen sermayenin hangi alanlarda olacağı, derinlemesine incelenmesi gereken bir konudur. Net sermaye akımı dışa doğru olacağına göre, bu süreç, Türkiye'de ki sermaye - işgücü ve sermaye - hammadde oranlarını düşürecektir. Üretim olanakları, üretim karışımını belirleyen başlıca unsur olduğuna göre, sermayenin dışa akımı, Türkiye üretimini, sermaye yoğunluğu nispeten düşük olan ürünlere kaydıracaktır.

Malların rekabet durumu ile, sermaye yoğunluğunu, bir arada ele alırsak, şöyle bir hipotez öne sürebiliriz: Türkiye'de üretilen mal ne kadar çok, sermaye yoğun ise, o malın serbest dünya pazarlarında rekabet etme olanağı o kadar azdır. Hipotez doğru ise, gümrük duvarlarının kaldırılması ve sermayenin dışa akışı aynı malları etkileyecektir. Bu mallar bir yandan rekabet edememeleri dolayısıyla satılamıyacak, diğer yandan da, sermaye kıtlığı dolayısıyla zaten Türkiye'de üretilmeyeceklerdir.

3 — İşgücü akımının serbestliği : Mart 172'de İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumunun bildirdiğine göre yurt dışına çalışmaya gitmek üzere baş vurmuş ve sıra bekleyen 1,4 milyon Türk vardır. Belli ki, işçi konusunda da, sermayede olduğu gibi, akım Türkiye'den dışa doğrudur. Bu akımın, Türkiye üretimini ne yönden etkileyeceği, giden işçilerin hüner, eğitim, meslek ve yeteneklerine bağlıdır.

Sermaye, homojen bir birim olan para aracılığı ile yer değiştirir. Oysa işgücü yer değiştirirken niteliğini ve değişik hüner ve meslek gruplarına ayrımını korur. Bu bakımdan sermayenin intibakı, işgücününkinden daha kolaydır.

İşgücünün değişik özellikleri arasında en önemlisi hüner dağılımıdır. Her meslek için, eğitim ve tecrübeye göre değişik hüner kademeleri düşünülebilir. Burada hünersizden hünerliye kadar, çok



kademeli bir ayırım yerine sadece iki kademeli, h nerli ve h nersiz ayırımı kullanılmıřtır.

W İřçi akımında iki  nemli fakt r rol oynar; biri, T rk ekonomisinin itiři,  teki de AET'nin  ekimi. T rk ekonomisi iřsizlik ve d ř k gelir yolu ile iř ileri dıřa itmekte, AET ise y ksek gelirle T rk iř ilerini  ekmektedir.

T rkiye  retimini en az etkileyecek durum, iři ve mesleęi olmayanların gitmesidir.  rneęin, gidenler T rk tarımındaki gizli iřsizlerse, sırf gidiřten dolayı, ne T rkiye  retim karıřımı deęiřir, ne de  retim seviyesi d řer.

T rkiye  retimini en  ok etkileyecek durum, iři olan h nerli kiřilerin gitmesidir. İkamesi g   veya imk nsız iř ilerin gitmesi,  alıřtıkları sekt rde  retim d řmesine yol a acaktır. Had safhada, bu  retim sıfıra bile d řebilir.

Rekabet, sermaye ve iřg c    l s n  bir arada ele alırsak, T rkiye  retim karıřımını en  ok etkileyecek olay, uluslararası rekabet yoluyla T rkiye'de ileri sanayi  r nlerinin artık yapılama-ması, sermaye ve yetenekli iřg c n n dıřa akıřının bu imk nsızlıęı daha da kam ılamasıdır.

## X 5 — BEYİN VE KALİFİYE İNSANG C  İHRACININ YARATTIęI EKONOMİK SORUNLAR

İřsizlięi yurt dıřına iřg c  ihracı ile  nlemenin ge ici bir yol olduęu a ıktır. Kısa d nemde potansiyel birikimini minize eder gibi g r n yorsa da, yapısal,   z mleyici tedbirler i ermedięi i in iřsizlięin kaynakları kurutulmamakta, yeni ve daha b y k iřsizler ordusu řehirlerde yıęılmak zorunda kalmaktadır. Bu yıęılma batının geliřmiř  lkelerindeki, uzun vadede ka ınılmaz krizlerle birleřtięi anda   nk  kriz durumunda batının geliřmiř  lkeleri gelmiř iř ilerin iřlerine son vererek krizi atlatmak yollarını denemektedirler)  nlenmesi olanaksız sosyal patlamalar ortaya  ıkarmaktadır.

T rkiye a ısından; iřg c  ihracının bir dięer  nemli yanı d viz transferidir. T rkiye bu yolla dıř ticaret d viz dengesini kurmaya  alıřmakta ve ayrıca sermaye aktarımını m mk n kılmaktadır. Ancak bu sermaye aktarımı planlı bir řekilde  retici yatırımlara ka-



nalize edilememektedir. Ve olgu tamamen bunun tersi bir noktada düğümlenerek tüketim harcamalarını körüklemekte ve giderek enflasyonist bir durum ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Tüketim harcamalarının körüklenmesi batının gelişmiş ülkeleriyle bütünleşmenin bir fonksiyonu olduğu da gözden ırak tutulmamaktadır. Bu gelişimde ortaya çıkan kaba durum bizi enflasyon - devalüasyon kısır döngüsüne getirmektedir.

Sağlıklı bir kalkınma süreci içinde olmamanın genişlettiği hizmet kesimi, artık niteliksiz işçi artışı yutamadığı gibi teknik eleman artışı da geçiştiremez duruma gelmektedir.

Eğitimi Türkiye'de tamamladıktan sonra yurt dışına çıkan teknik elemanların eğitimleri için yapılan yatırımları da birlikte götürdükleri, bu bakımdan teknik eleman göçünün Türk ekonomisine bir maliyeti olduğu açıktır. Örneğin 1968'deki rakamlar, Türkiye'nin o yıldaki bilim adamı ve teknik eleman göçü dolayısıyla uğradığı parasal kaybın 383 milyon TL civarında olduğunu göstermektedir.

İstihdam ve işsizlik plan döneminde çözümü gereken birinci sorun olarak ele alındığı halde ancak bugüne kadarki gelişme, bu varsayımın gerçekçi olduğunu kanıtlayamamıştır. O halde işsizliğin, çözümü mutlaka gerekli bir sorun olarak ele alınması zorunludur. Birinci ve ikinci planlarda öngörülen politikaların gerçekçi olduğu kanıtlanamadığı ve gelişmiş ülkelerin yaklaşımları aynen alınamayacağına göre Türkiye'nin üçüncü plan döneminde kendi koşullarına uygun yaklaşım biçimleri araştırması gerekmektedir.

Birinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı döneminde, insangücü yetiştirilmesi konusunda, öğretmenler hariç tahminlerin çok altında kalmıştır. İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı döneminde de istenilen sonuca varılamamıştır. Durum böyle devam ettiği takdirde Millî Ekonominin gelişmesi güçleşecektir.

Ülke ölçüsünde kıt kaynak olan vasıflı işgücü bile verimli olarak kullanılmamaktadır. Çalışan nüfusun çeşitli meslek kollarına bölünüşünde dengesizlik vardır. Bunlar geçmişteki eğitim politikalarının bir sonucu olduğu kadar, geçmişteki ve bugünkü ücret politikalarının da bir sonucudur.



Bugün yabancı ülkelerde çalışmakta olan işçilerimizin, o ülkelerde başgösterecek ekonomik kriz karşısında Türkiye'yi yeni problemlerle karşı karşıya getirecektir.

Türkiye'de tarımla uğraşan nüfus genel nüfusun % 70'i iken Ortak Pazar ülkelerinde bu oran % 15 dir. A.B.D. nde nüfusun ancak % 5'i tarımla uğraşmaktadır. Tarım kesiminde tam istihdam şartları yaratmak olanaksızdır. Bu nedenle bu kesimde şahsen insanların sanayiye kaydırılmaları gerekmektedir.

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