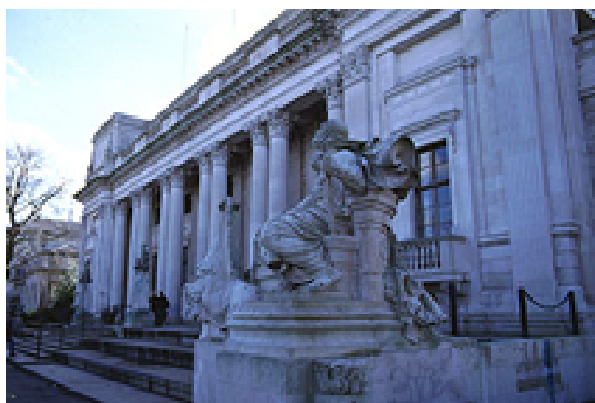


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**The Emergence of A New Generation of Workers in Turkish
Industry: An Examination of Age Related Differences**

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Centre for Research into Economic and Social Transformation

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the possible effects of the increasing exposure to modernity on younger workers in some sectors of developing countries with special reference to those employed in advanced manufacturing in Turkey. In recent decades Turkey has undergone considerable urbanisation, improvements in literacy and rising levels of formal education. The paper systematically examines differences in the work-related attitudes and expectations, commitment and aspirations of younger and older workers, who have been exposed to these processes to different degrees. The hypothesis is broadly confirmed that younger workers have higher expectations and aspirations that make them relatively less satisfied with a number of aspects of their work and which are likely to make for a less committed more critical workforce.

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the discrediting of Marxism associated with this and the rise of post modernist discourse have all contributed to a neglect amongst sociologists of the working class and the world of work in advanced capitalist societies. As is well known, there are some outstanding exceptions to this tendency especially in the United States (Burawoy 2001, Milkman 1997, Wright 2000). What is less well known is that this process has also characterised social science in developing social formations. This paper focuses upon one such developing country, Turkey, where a consequence of this neglect has been that little attention has been devoted to examining what differences may be emerging within a workforce which itself has been constituted out of different degrees of exposure to formal education and urbanisation¹.

Turkey has undergone important changes in its social structure over the last decades. In 1960 68 per cent of the population lived in rural areas. By the end of the century about the same proportion lived in urban areas. In 1960 literacy was under 40 per cent. By the end of the century the proportion was twice as high. Indicative of the general shift that has taken place is that the urban settlement that followed extensive migration from the rural areas into the cities has meant that less young people now have peasant origins.

It is in the context of the formation of an urban, better educated working class that this paper draws upon a study of over 350 workers employed in seven firms in the modern sector of Turkish industry situated in or adjacent to the Izmit triangle in an attempt to explore possible differences between younger and older workers in their work-related attitudes and expectations, commitment and aspirations. In addition, at various points in the paper comparison is made with British survey data to help assess to what extent the Turkish data are distinctive. The results of several logit models are also provided in order to examine differences in the attitudes of workers in different age groups.

The paper begins with a brief section, 'Hello to the Factory', which contrasts the situation of these Turkish workers to that of the workers described in one of the very best recent monographs on workers in a developed capitalist society (Milkman 1997).

It then provides a more detailed account of the Izmit triangle and the social characteristics of the workers in its modern sector. Following this, we consider whether younger and older workers differ in their satisfaction with various aspects of their work, their working conditions and pay and their evaluation of their jobs as suitable for themselves; and whether younger and older workers differ in the degree of influence they perceive themselves to have. Broader questions are then considered related to their commitment to management and the trade union.

HELLO TO THE FACTORY

A recent work by Milkman has presented American auto workers as being attracted to the world of self employment (Milkman 1997). In this respect Milkman's study follows in the steps of a much earlier sociological study of American auto workers by Chinoy (1955). The idea that there is or has been a widespread yearning for self employment on the part of American workers stands in need of some qualification. Chinoy himself, whose research took place in the early post world war years of labour shortage, made it clear that talk of leaving the factory rarely lead to positive action. In his view, such talk served a psychological function for workers employed in large mechanised plants. What was being expressed was 'the desire to escape from the factory' (Chinoy 1955, pp. 94,119). For her part, Milkman was also writing with reference to a time when the local labour market was favourable to workers but she was reporting on workers whose position was special in another way too. Their management had actually offered them the financial means to make embarking on micro business ventures appear more realistic. Despite this special circumstance, the book's title evokes the general idea - *Farewell to the Factory* (1997).

Did Turkish workers want to say 'Farewell to the Factory'? We asked Turkish workers an open-ended question - 'what is your plan for the future?' - precisely in order to see whether plans to go into self employment were prevalent and to see also whether workers had other plans to return to the villages whence they, their fathers or other near family had come. In the Turkish context these question are particularly interesting ones in view of the fact that many workers saw themselves to have escaped the very sector, the informal economy, in which much self employment is situated.

This is the sector in which some writers, using the term ‘Brazilianisation’, have seen the future of work in the west generally (Beck 2000, pp. 1-9). In Turkey though, it is a sector that spells insecurity – as is very well understood by these workers. Many of them have only recently said ‘Hello to the Factory’. A key objective has been to escape just such a past. In such a context it is not surprising that when we talked to them about the future their most often expressed plan – irrespective of age - was to stay in the big company sector as long as they could.

Only a handful of the workers we spoke to planned to become self employed (these few wanted to do such things as open a coffee house, a mini market, an internet café or engage in various forms of trade). As for the attractions of the rural life, in his much earlier American study Chinoy (1955, pp. 82) had found that six workers out of the 62 he interviewed said they wanted to become independent farmersⁱⁱ. By contrast, just one Turkish worker out of 356 said they hoped to go back to farm in their village. Compared to the informal sector, and the small company sector, their experience of the big company sector spells relatively regular work. Importantly, it also means regular payment for that work. In the case of these seven plants it also means social insurance, a pension, with the exception of the one of the textile companies relatively good pay and sometimes a physical working environment that compares well with other plants inside Turkey and beyond. Extra benefits can accrue from working in the big company formal sector in developed countries (Milkman 1997, pp. 94) – but they make an even more considerable difference in a country like Turkey.

It is to a brief description of the area in which these plants are situated and the characteristics of the workers employed in them that we now turn.

THE MODERN SECTOR AND ITS WORKERS.

The Izmit triangle is an area that runs from Istanbul at its apex to Izmit and Bursa. Situated within the Marmara region, it was the site of extensive industrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s as industry spilled out of Istanbul. The region’s geographical proximity to the European market has made it the centre of economic growth and employment in Turkey. The region contributes a third of GDP and over half of all

exports. Among the main industrial goods produced are processed food items, textiles, ready-to-wear clothing, cars, white goods, machinery, cement, paper, petrochemical products, and ships.

Millions of new migrants have been attracted to the region since the 1950s. Thanks to internal migration, the population of Istanbul, Izmit and Bursa now makes up around 20 per cent of Turkey's total population, with annual population increases for the triangle still running at twice the rate for Turkey as a whole at the end of the 1990s. In addition to the internal migration, these cities also received many of the 350,000 immigrants from Bulgaria who went to Turkey in 1989. 268 of Turkey's 500 top industrial companies were located in the triangle (ISO 1999).

In 1999 and 2000 research was conducted in seven plants in or adjacent to the İzmit triangle. Three of these plants at Bolu, Çayırova and Çerkezköy were in the whitegoods industry; two, at Bursa and Gebze, were major car plants; a further two, both at Bursa, were in textilesⁱⁱⁱ. All these plants are located in the midst of Marmara's extensive informal sector to which they are linked to different degrees by subcontract relations but they themselves constitute an emergent modern sector.

Workers in these plants are not part of 'globalisation's paradigmatic labour force' – the 'non-unionised, horribly underpaid, permanently "temporary" female workers in the export processing zone' who have come to stand for all of developing country labour in some popular accounts (Bello 2001, Klein 2000). Part of an emergent working class (Keyder 1987, pp. 160-1), they are employed in large-scale manufacturing concerns, which use modern technology and which in the majority of cases have foreign investment. They are generally full time, outside of textiles male, unionised and relatively well paid. Compared to the labour forces of many developed economies they are also relatively young. In Britain for example 25 per cent of the manufacturing workforce surveyed in a recent major national study were 50 years old or over^{iv}. In our Turkish sample the oldest worker is 46. Given this skew in the age structure we have classified workers throughout this paper into four age categories: those aged 25 or under; those aged 26-30 years; those aged 31-35 years old; and those aged over 35.

The relatively compressed age range needs to be borne in mind when evaluating the results of our attempt to examine age-related differences. Any assessment of the ideology of these workers also needs to take into account something else - that those in our sample have been selected not once but twice by management. Management took care not to hire union “militants” or those engaged in left-wing political activities in the first place. A second selection procedure then operated by virtue of the fact that the workers in our sample have escaped dismissal (workers themselves frequently told us how militants were the first to go when redundancies were declared). Before we get to our examination of these workers’ views, however, it is necessary to report on their social characteristics.

Briefly, most workers were men (77 per cent) and most were married. Ninety six per cent of all male workers had been conscripted. Almost 30 per cent of the sample had been unemployed, the proportion rising from about a quarter of those 25 and under to about the third of those over 35. Just over 10 per cent of the sample had been self employed, the proportion rising regularly with age from 5 per cent of those aged 25 or under to 9 per cent of 26 to 30 year olds, to 14 per cent of 31 to 35 year olds to 16 per cent of those aged over 35. About 15 per cent of all these workers were born outside Turkey, in Bulgaria^v. Of those born inside Turkey, approaching half had migrated from regions outside the Izmit triangle. Most of these had come from the Black Sea Region and Central Anatolia with a smaller number from Eastern Turkey.

As can be seen from Table 1, workers in the younger age groups were more likely to have come from big cities than those in the older age groups. Vice versa, those in the older age groups were more likely to have been born in villages. The differences between the younger and older age groups extend to other important sociological characteristics. Workers in the younger age categories were also more likely to have had fathers who were workers themselves and workers in the older age categories were more likely to have had fathers who were peasants. Not least important, workers in the younger age categories were also more likely to be better educated. Over 80 per cent of those 25 years and under had attended either high school or technical college as had over 75 per cent of those aged 26-30. This compares to 55 per cent of those aged 31-35 and only 40 per cent of those over 35. Further such differences appear to apply with reference to religion. We asked workers whether they thought it was

important that workers should be allowed to pray at work (that is, in any factory not specifically in their own). Answers to such a question cannot be treated as unproblematic measures of religiosity but younger workers might be thought more secular in so far as a lower tendency to endorse the majority view can be considered evidence of this.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKERS BY AGE

	25 and under	26-30	31-35	Over 35	all
Ages Per cent	21	34	30	15	100
Birthplace (N=303)					
Big city	33	30	16	9	23
Village	30	35	51	49	40
Town	21	14	14	21	17
Small city	16	21	19	21	20
Father's occupation (N=356)					
Worker	67	60	46	38	54
Peasant	15	22	28	40	25
Public servant/teacher	7	7	16	11	10
Petty producer, trader	9	9	9	9	9
Other	1	1	1	1	1
No answer	1	1	0	1	1
Education (N=356)					
Primary	12	19	28	29	22
Secondary	7	5	17	31	13
High school/technical college	81	76	55	40	65
Whether important to pray at work (N=348)					
Important	57	62	72	71	65
Not important	43	38	28	29	35

Briefly, then, the profile that emerges is one in which younger workers are more likely to be better educated, have come from an urban, especially big city background and perhaps to be more secular. As commonly understood, these are some of the basic attributes associated with modernity – some of the correlates of which are often thought to be a rejection of traditional authority and the development of an

independent criticality. The question arises of whether younger and older workers, who share these attributes to different degrees, may differ in other respects. For example, do the generally better educated and more urbanised younger workers have higher expectations and aspirations than older workers? Are they more reluctant to comply with management's objectives? These are some of the questions addressed in this paper.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER WORKERS CONCERNING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF WORK

If younger workers have higher expectations it might be expected that they would be relatively less satisfied than older workers with a number of aspects of their work. Starting from this working hypothesis, it makes sense to consider whether differences exist with respect to their assessment of physical working conditions, how they rate the job for someone like them and their pay.

Modelling and Notation. To test various hypotheses about age related differences in the attitudes of Turkish manufacturing workers, we propose the following response model:

$$y_i^* = \beta' x_i + \varepsilon_i$$

where y_i^* is unobserved and represents the underlying behaviour of the worker and x_i are explanatory variables which are grouped as individual and plant related characteristics. The parameters that will be estimated in the model are β_i , and ε_i are unobserved factors and are symmetrically distributed with zero mean and their cumulative function is defined as $F(\varepsilon)$. What we do observe is a dummy variable y , a realisation of a binomial process, defined by

$$y = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

From these relations we derive the probability of a particular response occurring as

$$\text{Pr ob}(y = 1) = \frac{e^{\beta'x}}{1 + e^{\beta'x}}$$

and the probability of the absence of this as

$$\text{Pr ob}(y = 0) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\beta'x}}$$

The conventional Logit model can be specified as

$$\log \left[\frac{P(y = 1)}{1 - P(y = 1)} \right] = \beta' x$$

and taking the antilogarithm we have the odds

$$\frac{P(y = 1)}{1 - P(y = 1)} = e^{\beta'x}$$

The right hand side gives the marginal effect of x on the odds indicated by $\exp(\beta)$.

The odds ratio is the ratio of two odds.

Physical Working Conditions. The percentage of workers in each age group who are satisfied or very satisfied with their working conditions is reported in the top line of Table 2, below.

TABLE 2
SATISFACTION WITH PHYSICAL WORKING CONDITIONS

		25 and under	26-30	31-35	Over 35	Total
Percent very satisfied or satisfied (N=356)	Observed.	65	79	81	85	78
	Predicted.	71	83	83	89	82
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	1.91*	1.99	3.13*	

Notes: Stars show significance levels for the estimated parameters, which are used to compute the odds ratios; ***:0.01, **:0.05, and *:0.10^{vi}.

These data are consistent with the idea that younger workers have higher expectations about the way they should be treated than older workers do, and that this makes them less satisfied than older workers are with a given level of working environment. To put this idea on a firmer footing however it is necessary to examine whether such

differences persist when account is taken of the possible role of certain other factors – for example the workers’ length of service (referred to below as ‘seniority’) which itself tends to vary with age; whether they are operatives or higher level workers since to compare the conditions of these two groups is not to compare like with like^{vii}; whether there are differences between the plants in which these workers work; whether the results are a function of gender differences; and whether the workers are locals, internal migrants from elsewhere in Turkey or immigrants from Bulgaria. An attempt to control for such possible effects suggests that the age differences with respect to assessment of working conditions are relatively robust.

The second row in Table 2 shows the predicted proportions of the binary Logit Model estimates. These predicted probabilities are computed employing parameter estimates of the multivariate logit models for satisfaction with physical working conditions, from the column ‘Mobility and Plants’ in Table 3. These probabilities also indicate the same tendency as the observed proportions do.

TABLE 3
PARAMETER ESTIMATES OF BINARY LOGIT MODELS FOR SATISFACTION
WITH PHYSICAL WORKING CONDITIONS

Explanatory Variables	Univariate Models	Multivariate Models with			
		Birth Place and Plants	Birth Place and Industries	Mobility and Plants	Mobility and Industries
Constant		2.76 ^{***} (0.83)	1.30 ^{***} (0.53)	2.75 ^{***} (0.83)	1.23 ^{**} (0.55)
Age cohort – 25	0	0	0	0	0
26 – 30	0.70 ^{**} (0.33)	0.65 [*] (0.37)	0.77 ^{**} (0.36)	0.65 [*] (0.37)	0.76 ^{**} (0.36)
31 – 35	0.82 ^{**} (0.35)	0.72 (0.47)	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)	0.69 (0.47)	0.89 ^{**} (0.44)
36 –	1.14 ^{***} (0.45)	1.17 [*] (0.64)	1.20 ^{**} (0.60)	1.14 [*] (0.64)	1.15 ^{**} (0.60)
Seniority * 10 ⁻¹	0.51 [*] (0.29)	-0.74 (0.47)	-0.27 (0.41)	-0.72 (0.48)	-0.23 (0.42)
Male	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.48 (0.44)	0.45 (0.43)	0.51 (0.44)	0.47 (0.43)
Birth place Turkey	0	0	0		
Bulgaria	0.03 (0.38)	0.67 (0.48)	0.38 (0.44)		
Mobility Local	0			0	0
Migrated	-0.08 (0.28)			0.06 (0.32)	0.14 (0.30)
Immigrated	0.06 (0.39)			0.78 [*] (0.47)	0.52 (0.44)
Operative	-1.04 ^{***} (0.34)	-0.85 ^{**} (0.34)	-0.88 ^{**} (0.37)	-0.88 ^{**} (0.39)	-0.89 ^{**} (0.37)
Plant Bolu white goods	0	0		0	
Çayırova white goods	-0.49 (0.76)	-0.52 (0.78)		-0.55 (0.80)	
Çerkezköy white goods	-2.00 ^{***} (0.67)	-2.00 ^{***} (0.70)		-2.01 ^{***} (0.71)	
Gebze car plant	-1.71 ^{***} (0.68)	-1.97 ^{***} (0.75)		-2.09 ^{***} (0.76)	
Bursa car plant	-1.09 (0.71)	-0.98 (0.73)		-0.99 (0.73)	
Bursa textile plant 1	-2.25 ^{***} (0.66)	-1.93 ^{***} (0.78)		-1.95 ^{***} (0.79)	
Bursa textile plant 2	-1.81 ^{***} (0.67)	-1.48 [*] (0.77)		-1.49 [*] (0.79)	

Industry White Goods	0	0	0	0
Cars	-0.36 (0.33)	-0.35 (0.35)	-0.38 (0.35)	-0.38 (0.35)
Textiles	-0.97*** (0.31)	0.48 (0.42)	0.50 (0.42)	0.50 (0.42)
Log likelihood function		-167.72	-175.31	-167.20
Restricted log likelihood	-188.44			
Chi-square		41.43	26.26	42.47
Number of parameters		13	9	14

Chi-square statistics indicate that the estimated factors do contribute to the relationship in the multivariate models. We made similar tables to estimate the results for other worker responses. In each table, the univariate models present parameter estimates of single effects, and the multivariate models are displayed with four different alternatives. Each alternative uses a different combination of birth place and work place. For birthplace, 'Mobility' has three categories (local born, internal migrant, migrant from outside Turkey) and is an alternative to 'Birth Place', which has two categories (born in Turkey or Bulgaria). For workplace, 'Plant' (which has seven categories) is an alternative to Industry (which has only three categories). Instead of presenting many separate tables such as Table 3, only the Mobility and Plant column results from such tables are presented in Appendix A Table A1. The Mobility and Plant Model alternative includes most factors from the Multivariate Models.

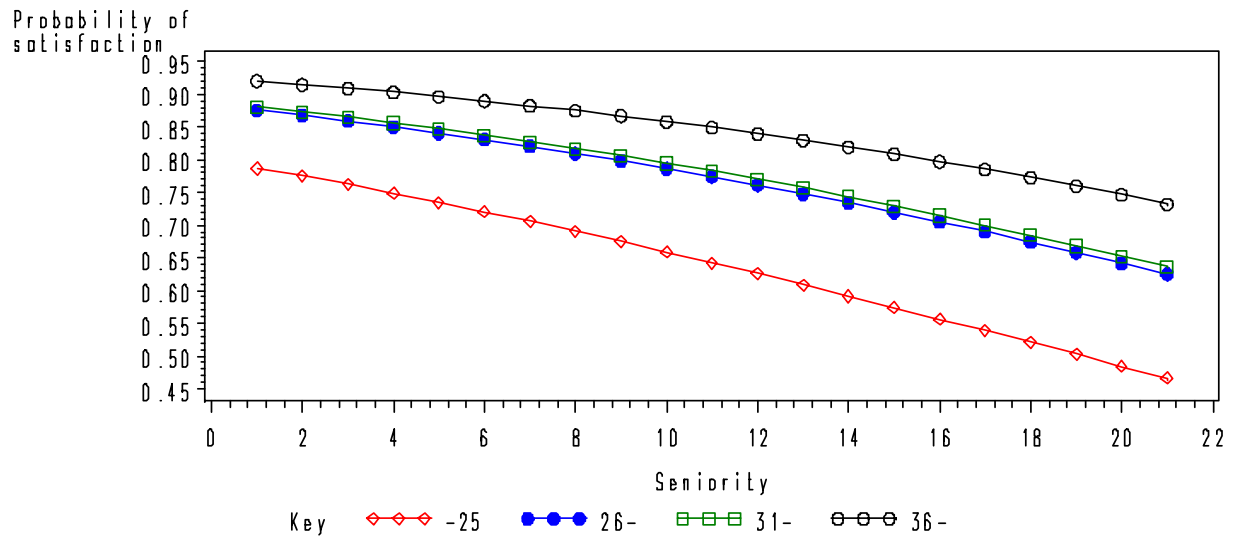
The odds of workers in older age categories being more satisfied than those in the youngest category when these other factors are controlled for can be seen in the third row of Table 2. For example, the log-odds of being satisfied with physical working conditions are higher for a worker who is 35 or older than for a worker who is 25 year or under. The odds of being satisfied versus dissatisfied for a 35 year old worker is $\exp(1.14)=3.13$ times as high as for a 25 year old or under worker.

In the case of seniority, the effect of this on satisfaction with physical working conditions ceases to be significant when an attempt is made to control for other factors and, if anything, satisfaction with working conditions tends to fall with seniority, which is the opposite of the case with age. We may be fairly confident therefore that the apparent relation between age on the one hand and satisfaction with

physical working conditions on the other in row 1 of Table 2 is not a simple function of older workers having more seniority.

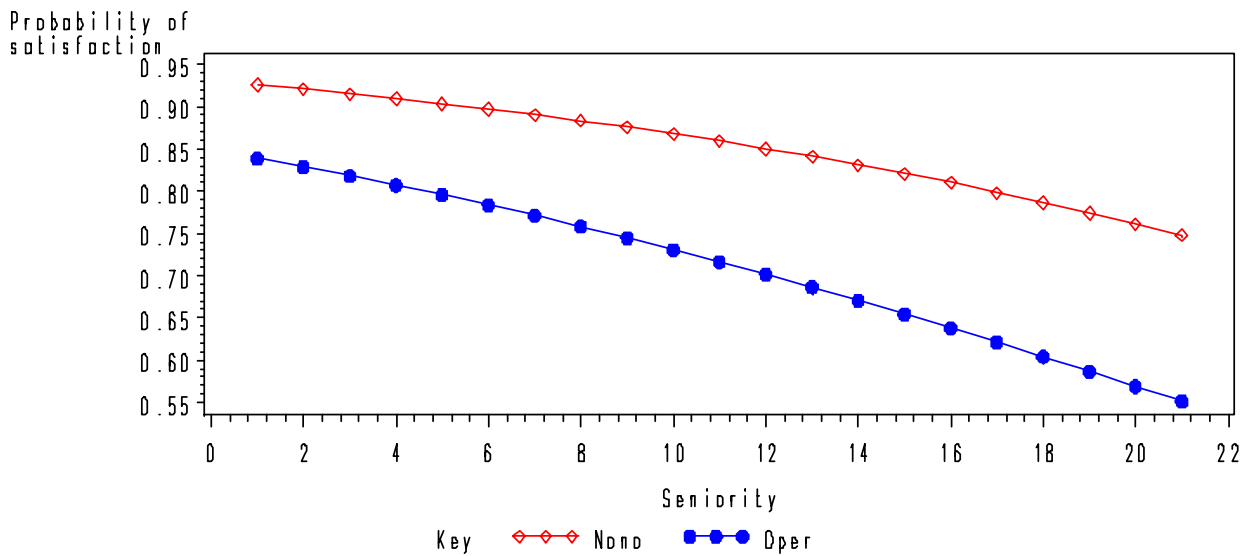
As indicated in Figure 1 satisfaction with physical working conditions tends to fall with seniority for all age groups but with satisfaction itself being stratified by age^{viii}.

FIGURE 1
SATISFACTION WITH PHYSICAL WORKING CONDITIONS BY AGE AND SENIORITY



worst physical working conditions and it is consistent with this that they are less satisfied. This can be seen from Figure 2 which shows the operatives and non-operatives' satisfaction probabilities with physical working conditions against seniority years.

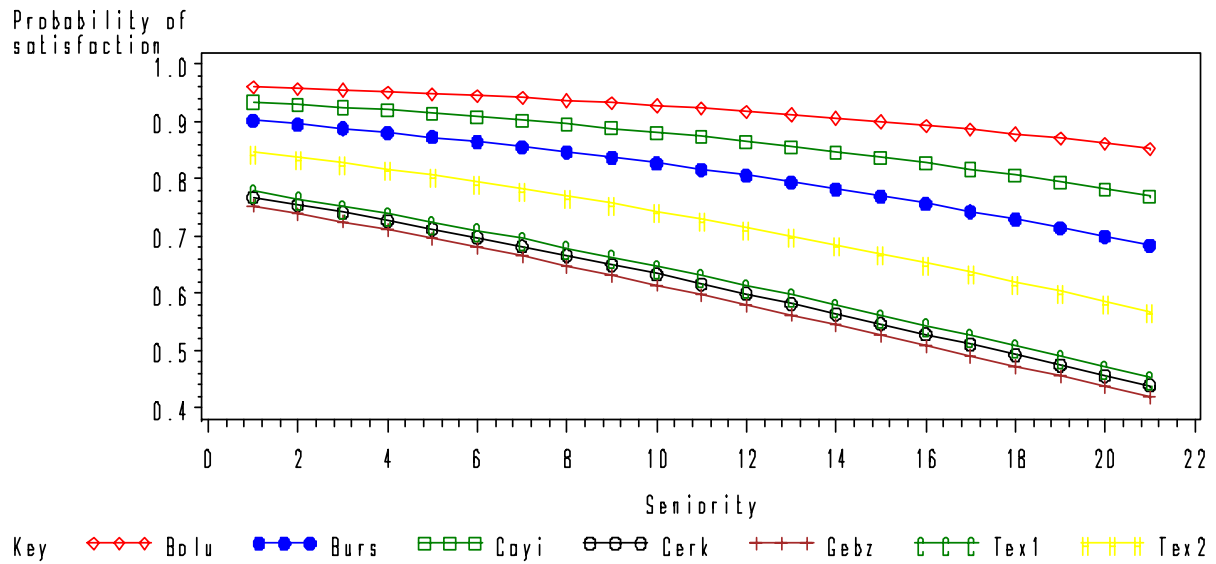
FIGURE 2
 SATISFACTION PROBABILITIES OF OPERATIVES WITH PHYSICAL
 WORKING CONDITIONS BY SENIORITY



There are clearly some plant-related differences. As can be seen Figure 3, the workers in all other plants are less satisfied with their physical working conditions than those at Bolu but despite this the relation between age and satisfaction with physical working conditions remains generally positive: older workers are more satisfied in this respect, younger ones less so.

FIGURE 3

SATISFACTION PROBABILITIES FOR WORKING CONDITIONS BY PLANT



Pay: In the case of pay, Binary Logit was not used because there was a direct correlation between the satisfaction alternatives and plants. Consideration of possible age-related differences on an other things being equal basis was therefore attempted by Ordered Logit models. The last column in Appendix A Table A1 shows the ordered logit parameter estimates.

An ordered model can be written using some threshold parameters for unobserved ordering index:

$$\begin{aligned}
y_i = 1 & \quad \text{if } y_i^* \leq \mu_1, \\
y_i = 2 & \quad \text{if } \mu_1 \leq y_i^* \leq \mu_2 \\
y_i = 3 & \quad \text{if } \mu_2 \leq y_i^* \leq \mu_3 \\
y_i = 4 & \quad \text{if } y_i^* > \mu_3
\end{aligned}$$

where y_i^* is the underlying response model and it is unobserved. Its observed counterpart is y_i and shows the group to which the respondent belongs after his or her beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are gathered where the threshold values are: 0:Very Dissatisfied, 1:Dissatisfied, 2:Satisfied and 3:Very Satisfied. X is the set of explanatory variables and ε_i is the residual value which is assumed to have a standard logistic distribution where μ s are free parameters and there is no significance to the unit distance between the set of observed values of y . These are ranks for workers' behaviour. All significantly estimated threshold values in column 11 in Table A1 indicate that ranks from 0 to 3 exist in reality.

Exponentiation of the parameters gives the estimated effect on the odds. The effect of the explanatory variable would induce a change in the odds of responding to category 1 instead of 2,3 and 4 or 1,2 or 3 instead of 4, by a factor of $\exp(\beta)$. For example, we see in the last column in Table A1 that the log-odds is high for age group 31-35 at value 0.91. The odds for persons in this age group to rate usual take home pay as very good instead of good, poor or very poor are about $(\exp 0.91) = 2.5$ times higher than those in age group 25 and under, holding all other effects constant in the model.

Four of the seven plants are covered by the same collective bargaining agreement between the trade union, Turk Metal, and the appropriate employers' association, MESS. The management of Gebze car plant deliberately bases its pay on the same

deal and a sixth plant, textile plant 1, provides a not dissimilar deal, which rates well in its industry. Prima facie it might therefore be thought that age-related expectations would have a particularly strong bearing on levels of satisfaction with pay, young workers being less satisfied with the same pay than older ones.

The results in Table A1, column 11 are consistent with the fact that workers at Bolu are in a significantly different pay situation than workers in other plants. It is important here that the industry agreement applies both to plants situated in the environs of Istanbul and to Bolu, which is situated in a much more rural area with a considerably lower cost of living and a marked lack of any other comparable employment opportunities. Such are the differences in the position of Bolu workers and those at other plants that 100 per cent of Bolu workers rated their pay as satisfactory or very satisfactory compared to only about half of workers overall.

In addition, it should be noted that the industry deal makes pay a function of seniority. The seniority differential is substantial. A worker with 15 years service might expect twice as much as one with 5 years service. The difference in relation to a worker in his first year, which is usually paid at only the minimum wage, is yet more pronounced^{ix}. In short, this means that in the case of satisfaction with pay, age related differences in expectations would have to be very strong indeed to remain significant when seniority was held constant and generally speaking they are not. However, we would suggest that it is plausible to assume that the differences reported between workers of different ages in Table 4 are compatible with the view that these may be a function of their different, socially formed, expectations.

TABLE 4
SATISFACTION WITH PAY

		25 and under	26-30	31-31	Over 35	Total
Percent very satisfied or satisfied (N=356)	Observed.	39	50	73	67	57
	Predicted.	51	58	71	64	62
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	1.35	2.48**	1.72	

Good Job. Jobs like the ones that these workers have are in high demand. Queues are likely to form round the factory if word gets out that there are vacancies and these firms all usually advertise only internally, partly to save themselves the amount of administrative work which otherwise results. Whatever their age, the majority of these workers regard such jobs as good ones for people like them (Table 5). However, workers aged 25 and under do seem less likely to do so and this pattern persists when seniority is allowed for and when account is taken of the lower levels of estimation found amongst the narrower and lower status occupational category of operatives only (column 9 in Table A1 in Appendix A). In short, the responses to this question fit with the idea that younger workers have higher expectations, so that younger workers are less likely to feel that they have achieved as much as they could.

TABLE 5
SATISFACTION WITH JOB

		25 and under	26-30	31-31	Over 35	Total
Good job for someone like me						
Percent very satisfied or satisfied (N=356)	Observed.	64	84	92	87	82
	Predicted.	74	87	92	86	87
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	2.36**	4.05***	2.12	

Comparison with British Workers

The data in Table 6 derive from the answers to three questions about perceived job influence that were used in the British WERS survey (Cully et al 1999). This makes it possible to compare the responses for Turkey with those for Britain or more precisely for British manufacturing. Such an exercise has something to recommend it because our examination of age differences in Turkish manufacturing is partly driven by the recognition that the rate of change in that society has been considerable, and much more pronounced with respect to educational provision, literacy and urbanisation over the last decades than has been the case in Britain. In the light of this it might be expected that the difference between younger and older workers would be

much more pronounced in Turkey than in Britain. This is indeed the case. With respect to perceived influence over the range of tasks in the job, the youngest and oldest age groups in Britain are separated by 9 percentage points; for Turkey they are separated by 28 percentage points. For pace of work the difference in Britain is 4 percentage points, for Turkey it is 21. For 'how work is done' the difference in Britain is 2 percentage points, for Turkey it is 26. It appears then that age differences are more pronounced in Turkey^x.

There are also important differences in the *level* of perceived influence. British workers report very considerably more influence than Turkish workers. In the case of the most pronounced difference concerning the level of perceived influence, only 25 per cent of Turkish workers aged 25 and under claim to have 'a lot' or 'some' influence over 'how work is done' compared to 82 per cent of British workers in a comparable age group^{xi}. However, with respect to each one of these three measures of perceived job influence it can be seen that young Turkish workers generally perceive themselves to have less influence than older workers and that the percentage claiming 'a lot' or 'some' influence increases step by step with age.

TABLE 6
PERCEIVED JOB INFLUENCE OVER VARIOUS ASPECTS OF WORK:
TURKISH AND BRITISH MANUFACTURING WORKERS

Range of tasks in the job		25 and under ¹	26-30 ²	31-35 ³	over 35 ⁴	total
British manufacturing workers (N=6432)		58	60	68	67	66
Turkish workers						
Percent saying	Observed.	27	37	45	55	40
a lot or some	Predicted.	23	34	40	51	36
(N=356)						
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	1.73	2.18*	3.45**	
Pace of work						
British Manufacturing workers (N=6393)		67	71	69	71	71
Turkish Workers						
Percent saying	Observed.	25	38	42	46	38
a lot or some	Predicted.	22	36	38	42	34
(N=356)						
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	1.99*	2.14*	2.51	
How work is done						
British Manufacturing workers (N=6409)		82	80	82	84	83
Turkish workers (N=356)						
Percent saying	Observed.	25	38	45	51	40
a lot or some	Predicted.	21	36	44	49	37
(N=356)						
odds ratio compared to 25 and under		1.00	2.01*	2.77**	3.75**	

Source: Secondary analysis of WERS data

Notes: 1 For British data age is up to 24. 2. For British data age is 25-29. 3. For British data age is 30-39. 4. For British data age is 40-49.

Clearly in evaluating the results for the Turkish data it is necessary to address the possibility that age is likely to coincide with longer service. This could mean that it was a difference in length of service that accounted for the difference in the degree of influence perceived by younger and older workers - and not, as we have been assuming, a process whereby younger workers, who were born of a different generation, expect more than older ones and are less likely to put much value on the amount of influence that they actually have. To consult the British data a little further

and to consider the case of a group of British workers who were not included in Table 6 is to find what looks like the result of just such a length of service-related process at work. These particular workers are aged 60 and over and they therefore lie far outside the Turkish age range. It is undeniable that these particular older workers were highly likely to claim they had influence over their work: 75 per cent of them responded that they had ‘a lot’ or ‘some’ influence over the range of tasks in the job, 82 per cent that they had such influence over the pace of work and 90 per cent that they had such influence over how work is done^{xii}. We would suggest that these particular workers might not have continued to be employed if they had not had something of special value to offer management and that decades of service might indeed have brought them influence. But these workers are so old that they had often started work before the workers in the very oldest Turkish age category had even been born. In Turkey, by contrast, there is considerably less time to accumulate influence (as well as there being considerably less influence to be had, as Table 6 also suggests) and it is by no means so easy to argue that the differences in the perception of influence between the younger and older Turkish age groups can be accounted for in this way. To return to our underlying theme: there are in any case other age related differences in the Turkish work force which relate to the experience of education and urbanisation, both processes that are often assumed to help generate higher expectations.

Systematic data that is consistent with this interpretation are forthcoming from Appendix A Table A1 columns 2 and 4. These show that there are significant plant effects for all three measures of perceived influence (other plants usually recording lower levels than Bolu and, as would be expected, operatives perceiving themselves to have significantly less influence with respect to all three measures. But perception of influence remains inversely related to age after these effects have been controlled for and in none of the three cases is seniority a significant factor when the effect of other variables is accounted for.

Overall, then, the evidence would seem to confirm that differences do exist between younger and older Turkish workers with respect to various aspects of their work and that these operate in the direction assumed. Younger workers are less satisfied with various aspects of their work conditions and are less likely to perceive they have influence.

COMMITMENT TO MANAGEMENT AND TRADE UNION AND WORKER IDENTITY

Thus far the evidence has tended to confirm the underlying idea that younger Turkish workers have higher expectations and that these may translate into differences in the way they and older workers evaluate different aspects of their working environment. But nothing has been said of workers' relations to management and the trade union or about how workers regard themselves.

In an attempt to consider how Turkish workers regard management we asked a question that was asked in the British WERS survey: 'In general, how would you describe relations between managers and employees here?'. A comparison of the Turkish and British results suggests Turkish workers generally are more likely to depict relations between management and employees in positive terms than British workers are (Table 7). The general tendency for Turkish workers to rate their managements higher than British workers has to be understood in relation to the fact that the big company sector in Turkey generally provides better conditions than the small private and informal sectors of the economy which form the backcloth against which these workers' expectations have often been formed (Nichols, Sugur and Demir 2002a). It should also be noted here that the fieldwork in the cars and white goods industries was largely completed before the earthquake of August 1999. Workers in some of these factories were both astonished and extremely grateful for the assistance that management offered them at this time. Such assistance ranged from the provision of blankets, tents, food, and visiting workers' flats to, in one case, company provision of flats for a year together with the payment of rent, electricity, water and other services. We are quite convinced that had most of the fieldwork in these companies followed shortly after the earthquake the overall response toward management would have been yet more positive, at least in the short term.

The evidence in Table 7 that younger Turkish workers are less inclined to rate relations between management and employees as 'very good' or 'good' than older ones is suggestive only. But it should be noted that if there is any difference at all in the British data it is that younger workers are more – not less - favourable to management than older workers are. In the light of this it is difficult to claim that the

pattern found in Turkey is a function of some ‘natural’/universal age related tendency that applies in all societies. Moreover, further inspection of Table 7 suggests that the difference between the British and Turkish percentages steadily increases with each younger age group. Reading Table 7 from left to right, there is no obvious difference between Turkish and British workers at age 25 and under but a difference of over 20 per cent for those aged over 35. The predicted probabilities also indicate the same tendency. Intriguing as the information in Table 7 may be, however, the age differences in the Turkish sample on management-employee relations are not significant and are in fact dominated by powerful plant effects. Workers at all the plants are significantly less likely to rate their management highly than those at Bolu, with the possible exception of those at the second Bursa textile plant (Column 5 in Table A1). This is understandable since the factory owner at the latter plant still follows the traditional practice of recruiting workers from his home area (Makofsky 1977, p. 69) and many workers are tied to him by personal relations.

TABLE 7
IN GENERAL HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE RELATIONS BETWEEN
MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYEES HERE?

Very good and good percent	25 and under	26-30	31-35	over 35	total
Britain (N=6433)	52	48	42	41	44
Turkey Observed (N=356)	53	57	62	65	59
Turkey Predicted	57	50	65	64	62

Source: secondary analysis WERS Employee Survey

Notes: categories are as used in Table 3 above

TABLE 8
EVALUATION OF TRADE UNION AND MANAGEMENT

per cent	25 and under	26-30	31-35	Over 35	total
Trade union good or very good all union members (N=256)	41	35	49	42	42
operatives only (N=178)	39	30	46	43	39
management relations with employees good or very good all union members (N=256)	46	49	61	62	55
operatives only (N=176)	45	45	58	61	52

Assessment of these workers' trade union consciousness on the basis of their views on their present trade union is difficult. The particular union that organises most of these factories, Turk Metal, is an authoritarian union and resented as such by many of its members^{xiii}. Indeed, the union is characterised by a politics and a practice which makes it open to question whether disaffection with it should be considered at least as progressive in democratic terms as support for it. Given this, whereas Table 8 might be thought to suggest slightly lower support for the union among workers and operatives aged 30 and under, the main import of this Table is, not surprisingly, that among all age groups management is rated rather more highly than the union is^{xiv}. Evidence such as this clearly provides no warrant to argue that younger workers have an ingrained oppositional consciousness, such that a deep seated opposition to management exists and is articulated through strong support for their union. Nonetheless, we believe that there are some differences in the stance adopted toward management by younger and older workers which, whereas they do not spell outright opposition to management, might suggest a certain difference in commitment. Some further information on this point is examined in Table 9 which reports responses to several items we used in attempt to assess differences in the character of younger and older workers' support for management.

Foreign managers in Turkey have praised Turkish workers for their willingness to work long hours (Oktay 1996). In the light of this, the first item in Table 9 represented an attempt to assess the readiness of workers to draw a line under their obligation to their employer. We asked whether workers agreed with the following statements (or disagreed with both of them): 'the lunch break is a good time for us to get together as a team to go over things and solve problems' and 'lunch break is our personal time, it shouldn't be a time for company business'. Workers were overwhelmingly of the opinion that lunch breaks were their personal time, not a time for company business. In this case, then, there was no sign of age-related differences. Even if workers attended such meetings in their lunch breaks they were not sold on the idea that they should be asked to do so, no matter how old they were^{xv}. But with respect to all the other items in Table 9 the now familiar age-related pattern re-appears in the observed series, albeit in the context of a generally high level of support for management and a lack of statistically significant age related differences in the

multivariate analysis. Younger workers were less likely to endorse the clearly majority view that ‘managers and employees should be members of the same company team’. In this case 75 per cent of workers 25 and under did so compared to 95 per cent of those over 35. Younger workers were also less keen to volunteer assistance to management, as judged by their responses to another question asked in an attempt to tap workers’ commitment to management objectives: ‘If you found a way to do your job that was easier or faster than the specified way, what would you do? Keep it to yourself? Share it with only a few other co-workers? Tell the team leader? Submit a suggestion?’ 37 per cent of workers 25 and under led the minority response saying they would keep ideas for improvement to themselves or share them with only a few other workers compared to only 22 per cent of workers over 35^{xvi}. As can be seen from Column 7 in Table A1 in Appendix A, Bulgarians were less likely to favour this non cooperative view and it was most strongly endorsed by operatives and by workers at the Gebze car plant (ironically, this being the plant whose management emphasised teamwork and cooperation more than any other).

Turkish trade unions themselves take the view that foreign companies tend to be better disposed to trade unions (Koç 1999, pp. 5). Talking to workers about foreign and Turkish companies we were often told that foreign companies not only provided better pay and working conditions but that they were more likely to appreciate people and treat workers with respect. The last item in Table 9 was included to see if younger and older workers differed in their propensity to rate foreign companies higher than Turkish companies. It can be seen that there is a high overall rating of foreign companies, and though statistical significance is lacking there is again an indication that younger workers are more likely to rate foreign companies better than older ones. (Column 6 in Table A1 in Appendix A). Younger workers in the four joint venture companies in our sample were even more likely to do this.

TABLE 9
ASPECTS OF SUPPORT FOR MANAGEMENT

per cent agree		25 and under	26-30	31-35	over 35	total
Lunch break is personal time (N=356)		96	94	91	84	92
Supporting the company team (N=356)	Observed.	75	88	89	93	86
	Predicted.	88	94	86	90	90
Keep ideas to self or share with only a few co-workers (N=356)	Observed.	37	32	25	22	30
	Predicted.	26	24	29	33	27
Rating Foreign Companies better than Turkish ones						
Workers employed by foreign companies N=203)		81	73	72	63	74
All workers (N=356)	Observed.	63	63	55	47	58
	Predicted.	60	62	65	57	62

Overall, then, we would suggest that there are a number of differences between younger and older Turkish workers which fit reasonably well with the idea that younger, better educated, more urbanised, more secular workers will tend to be more critical of management, be less committed to management objectives and expect to be treated with more respect.

The responses that workers made when we attempted to probe how they saw themselves might be considered, if no more than this, a further interesting straw in the wind. A 1968 survey of Sumerbank workers in Izmir found 38 per cent defined themselves as 'Muslim' rather than in terms of a number of other defined alternatives- those who described themselves as 'Turk' amounting to 50 per cent (Toprak 1987, pp. 221). More recently, in 1993, a survey published by *Milliyet* showed 4 per cent of those in Istanbul defined themselves simply as 'Muslim', another 21 per cent preferred 'Muslim Turk' and two thirds perceived themselves as 'Turks' above all else (Pope and Pope 1997, pp. 332-3). Bearing these findings in mind we asked workers an open-ended question: how would you define yourself apart from being a citizen of Turkey?. The majority of responses took many different forms and represented different degrees of political significance; and the lack of it. Included

here were responses such as ‘a human being’, ‘football fan’, ‘Alevi’, ‘peasant and country boy’, ‘urbanite’, ‘modern, secular, republican’, ‘Ataturkist’, ‘social democrat’, ‘taxpayer’, ‘exploited person’, ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘migrant’, ‘Bulgarian’, ‘Tatar’, ‘a person who doesn’t have freedom of speech’ and various identifications by specific regional origin – for instance ‘someone from the Black Sea’ or ‘someone from Istanbul’. Yet as can be seen from Table 10 the youngest workers were less likely than older workers to define themselves in a manner we construed as ‘conservative’, a term we constructed to refer to responses such as ‘Turk’, ‘Muslim’, ‘Muslim and Turk’ and ‘rightist’ or ‘nationalist’. They were also more likely to define themselves as ‘workers’. The fact that only 18 per cent of the youngest workers defined themselves in this way is a reminder, if one be necessary, that these workers lack a developed class consciousness. We see no reason, however, to abandon the view that younger workers’ greater experience of education and of the urban world matters.

TABLE 10
HOW DESCRIBE SELF OTHER THAN AS A CITIZEN OF TURKEY

per cent	25 and under	26-30	31-35	over 35	total
Worker					
all workers	18	8	9	6	9
operatives only	20	11	11	8	12
Conservative					
all workers	20	23	24	31	24
operatives only	17	17	19	27	19
Other					
all workers	58	67	67	61	65
operatives only	57	69	70	62	66
no answer					
all workers	4	3	0	2	2
operatives only	7	4	0	3	3

Note: all workers (N=356), and operatives only (N=251)

What, though, of workers’ aspirations? If these workers are committed to continuing to work in the big company sector, they are by no means generally content that their children should follow them into it – at least not as workers. Workers who said they would like their children to do the same work typically pointed to its relative advantages in the form of job security. They spoke of ‘a big plant [being] better every

time' or they bluntly said 'you can get your bread from here' ('ekmek teknesi'). By contrast, the view of the great majority of all workers, and especially younger workers, was captured by a younger worker who said of his children: No. I want them to carry on with their education. If you educate yourself, you can get higher positions. If you don't, you get lower positions. It's as simple as that.

TABLE 11
WHETHER WORKERS WOULD LIKE SON/DAUGHTER TO DO THIS JOB

		25 and under	26-30	31-35	over 35	Total
Per cent saying 'No' (N=356)	Observed.	83	82	63	55	72
	Predicted.	75	82	80	72	79

Workers sometimes want their children to be civil servants, engineers, managers, but generally and, above all, they want them to escape from manual into white collar work. A clear majority of all workers said that they did not want their sons or daughters to follow in their footsteps and become factory workers (Table 11). Multivariate analysis indicated no significant age related differences (Table A1 column 10). The major differences were plant related. As reported earlier, at Bolu, opportunities for similar jobs were fewer and real material rewards higher. Compared to Bolu, workers at all other plants were significantly more likely to be against their children doing the same job that they did. However, the data in Table 11 point in the same direction as much of the evidence reviewed already.

CONCLUSION

It is a welcome development that a recent widely read literature has sought to awaken people in advanced capitalist societies to the conditions of work experienced by many of those who labour in factories in developing economies (for example Klein 2000, and before this, to a lesser extent, Greider 1998). However, not all workers in such economies fit the supposedly paradigmatic case associated with Klein's account, which we instanced earlier. Uneven development is the rule both between countries and within them. The workforces which figure in this paper are not therefore typical

of all Turkish workers, let alone all workers in developing countries. Employed in the big private capital sector, sometimes in joint ventures, they are generally unionised, regularly paid, enjoy social insurance and other benefits and form a minority that have escaped the extensive informal economy. They benefit from better conditions than the many more disadvantaged others who work in much smaller firms and workshops to which chains of sub contracting relations often link their work. In Turkey, however, these big company work forces are undergoing substantial changes in social composition such that the younger workers in them are better educated than older ones, are more likely to have come from urban areas, are more likely to be secular and to have had fathers who were themselves workers rather than peasants. Moreover management in these factories favours the recruitment of more young workers in future, largely because they want a better educated workforce, and, in Turkey, despite a falling birth rate, such workers will be in ample supply (TUSIAD 1999, pp. 120). Whereas it not possible to predict the future simply by projecting present dispositions and expectations into it, there is therefore good reason to ask how workers with this combination of characteristics (educated, urban and so on) differ from older workers with regard to various aspects of work, and this is what this paper has tried to do.

We have seen that whereas the majority of all workers in these companies tended to rate their jobs as good ones for people like them, younger workers were less inclined to do so. The same applied with respect to their assessment of physical working conditions, with their assessment of the influence they had over the range of tasks involved in their jobs, the pace of work and how the work was done. In all these respects they were less positive than older workers. We considered these differences to be in line with our underlying hypothesis that younger Turkish workers in these factories would have higher expectations and noted also some meagre but intriguing evidence that suggested younger workers might be slightly more inclined to identify themselves as 'workers'. Overall, however, we could find no evidence for the view that younger workers had an ingrained oppositional consciousness, such that a deep seated opposition to management either existed or was articulated through strong support for the trade union. We noted that the nature of the trade union that organised most of these factories might itself have played a part in this outcome.

If there is scant evidence from this research to suggest any strong opposition to management, there is no evidence of a strong desire to leave the world of the factory and enter self employment. Workers commonly doubted whether they could keep up the pace of work until they were 60 but their plan was, irrespective of age, to hang on as long as possible and to continue their escape from the informal sector.

Younger workers especially were keen that their own children did not follow in their foot steps. But younger workers differed from older ones in other ways too. These differences are not pronounced but they may signal future change. For example, although the great majority of all workers gave assent to the view that managers and workers should be members of the same team, younger workers were less likely to do so. Although only a minority of young workers said that they would keep ideas to themselves rather than share them with management, more of them adopted this view than older workers. What is interesting about these responses is that managers in the big private capital sector in Turkey persistently claim their workers are not educated enough and that they won't take the initiative and have to be told what to do. By contrast, these young workers, who are better educated, seem rather less committed to management's objectives than older workers are. It is difficult not to surmise that such workers might cause management more problems in the long run. It is also worth considering what will happen when - inevitably, given the structure of opportunity - many of these workers' children will themselves enter employment of a kind that neither they, nor their parents, will consider good jobs, *for them*. All these children will have had working class parents, most will be better educated than their parents and urban born. There may be no proletarian revolution in sight but the emergence of a less committed, more critical workforce looks likely.

APPENDIX A

TABLE A1

PARAMETER ESTIMATES OF LOGIT MODELS FOR MULTIVARIATE
MODELS WITH MOBILITY AND PLANT

Multivariate models for mobility and plants for satisfactions with various aspects of work					
	Physical working conditions	Influence on the range of tasks	Influence on the pace of work	Influence on how to do work	Good relation between managers and workers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Constant	2.75*** (0.83)	0.42 (0.65)	0.06 (0.64)	0.11 (0.64)	2.29*** (0.69)
Age cohort – 25	0	0	0	0	0
26 – 30	0.65* (0.37)	0.55 (0.38)	0.69* (0.37)	0.70* (0.37)	0.13 (0.33)
31 – 35	0.69 (0.47)	0.78* (0.46)	0.76* (0.46)	1.02** (0.46)	0.33 (0.43)
36 –	1.14* (0.64)	1.24** (0.60)	0.92 (0.59)	1.21** (0.59)	0.31 (0.55)
Seniority * 10 ⁻¹	-0.72 (0.48)	-0.29 (0.44)	-0.38 (0.43)	-0.39 (0.43)	-0.05 (0.42)
Male	0.51 (0.44)	0.16 (0.49)	0.29 (0.49)	0.27 (0.49)	-0.02 (0.41)
Mobility Local	0	0	0	0	0
Migrated	0.06 (0.32)	-0.20 (0.30)	0.30 (0.29)	0.07 (0.29)	-0.28 (0.28)
Immigrated	0.78* (0.47)	-0.13 (0.44)	0.17 (0.43)	0.008 (0.43)	0.54 (0.39)
Operative	-0.88** (0.39)	-0.79* (0.29)	-0.61** (0.28)	-0.62** (0.29)	-0.46 (0.29)
Plant Bolu white goods	0	0	0	0	0
Çayırova white goods	-0.55 (0.80)	0.83* (0.50)	0.14 (0.46)	0.49 (0.48)	-2.10*** (0.58)
Çerkezköy white goods	-2.01*** (0.71)	-1.14*** (0.47)	-0.69 (0.45)	-0.75* (0.45)	-2.52*** (0.58)
Gebze car plant	-2.09*** (0.76)	-1.17** (0.51)	-1.23*** (0.51)	-1.17** (0.51)	-1.69*** (0.61)
Bursa car plant	-0.99 (0.73)	-0.94** (0.45)	-0.81* (0.44)	-0.81* (0.44)	-2.15*** (0.57)
Bursa textile plant 1	-1.95*** (0.79)	-1.45** (0.64)	-1.93*** (0.67)	-1.76*** (0.65)	-2.16*** (0.67)
Bursa textile plant 2	-1.49* (0.79)	-2.46*** (0.67)	-2.47*** (0.67)	-2.51*** (0.67)	-0.57 (0.68)
Threshold values					
μ_0					
μ_1					
μ_2					

Log likelihood function	-167.20	-191.16	-198.74	-196.03	-213.72
Restricted log likelihood	-188.44	-239.43	-235.77	-239.43	-240.98
Chi-squared	42.47	96.53	74.06	86.81	54.51

(continued from previous page)

APPENDIX A

TABLE A1

PARAMETER ESTIMATES OF LOGIT MODELS FOR MULTIVARIATE
MODELS WITH MOBILITY AND PLANT

Multivariate models for mobility and plants for satisfactions with various aspects of work						
	Foreign companies better than Turkish companies	Ideas to improve job not shared with management	Managers and employees in the same team	Job good for someone like me	Not want son or daughter to do the job	Satisfied with usual take home pay (Ordered Logit)
	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Constant	-3.16*** (0.67)	-1.66*** (0.69)	1.02 (0.95)	2.15** (0.94)	0.34 (0.71)	5.90** (0.83)
Age cohort – 25	0	0	0	0	0	0
26 – 30	0.04 (0.39)	-0.11 (0.36)	0.75* (0.44)	0.86** (0.38)	0.37 (0.45)	0.30 (0.35)
31 – 35	0.20 (0.48)	0.13 (0.45)	-0.21 (0.62)	1.40*** (0.54)	0.29 (0.52)	0.91** (0.43)
36 –	-0.14 (0.59)	0.34 (0.59)	0.23 (0.84)	0.75 (0.65)	-0.16 (0.65)	0.54 (0.53)
Seniority * 10 ⁻¹	0.39 (0.47)	-0.28 (0.45)	1.19 (0.75)	0.53 (0.75)	-0.62 (0.47)	0.31 (0.42)
Male	1.25*** (0.48)	-0.47 (0.45)	0.77 (0.64)	0.21 (0.46)	-0.71 (0.56)	0.33 (0.41)

Mobility Local	0	0	0	0	0	0
Migrated	0.01 (0.30)	0.02 (0.29)	0.37 (0.41)	-0.54 (0.35)	-0.23 (0.34)	-0.13 (0.30)
Immigrated	-0.12 (0.46)	-0.87** (0.45)	-0.67 (0.51)	-0.27 (0.49)	-0.55 (0.49)	0.13 (0.45)
Operative	-0.15 (0.30)	1.22*** (0.35)	-0.42 (0.39)	-0.67 (0.43)	0.40 (0.32)	-0.35 (0.28)
Plant Bolu white goods plant	0 1.58*** (0.51)	0 -0.29 (0.59)	0 -0.87 (0.77)	0 -0.69 (0.88)	0 1.37*** (0.49)	0 -2.21*** (0.74)
Çayırova white goods plant	2.82*** (0.53)	0.52 (0.53)	-0.40 (0.77)	-1.37* (0.83)	2.28*** (0.54)	-2.83*** (0.68)
Çerkezköy white goods plant	3.39*** (0.61)	2.44*** (0.59)	-1.89*** (0.76)	-0.85 (0.87)	2.29*** (0.61)	-4.19*** (0.74)
Gebze car plant	1.48*** (0.49)	0.78 (0.52)	-0.56 (0.79)	-1.29 (0.87)	1.39*** (0.46)	-1.30** (0.56)
Bursa car plant	5.77*** (0.87)	0.17 (0.64)	1.27 (1.04)	-1.14 (0.91)	2.03*** (0.71)	-2.66*** (0.78)
Bursa textile plant 1	2.32*** (0.61)	-0.52 (0.64)	1.49 (1.12)	-0.91 (0.93)	2.00*** (0.66)	-3.86*** (0.82)
Bursa textile plant 2						
Threshold values						
μ_0						0
μ_1						3.55***
μ_2						8.20***
Log likelihood function	-188.23	-187.79	-119.70	-144.69	-165.33	-272.75
Restricted log likelihood	-242.34	-215.92	-144.46	-163.05	-201.28	-350.84
Chi-squared	108.22	56.27	49.52	36.73	71.90	156.18

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ⁱⁱ Chinoy added that even this figure probably underestimated the proportion of the workforce who wanted to become farmers because his sample under represented rural and small town residents (1955, pp. 82n).

ⁱⁱⁱ Approximately 50 manual workers were interviewed in each of the seven plants, making 365 in all. All worked in the main production departments. The sample was a stratified one in which workers were chosen in each plant to provide a spread of ages and jobs (with about two thirds in assembly work). Information was obtained on the age structure of blue-collar workers from HRM managers. This was then used as a sampling frame to request workers for interview in such a way as to provide a representative spread of ages and positions. Workers with less than 6 months service were excluded on the grounds that they were unlikely to be well informed on some of the matters investigated.

Interviews with workers lasted around an hour and in some cases more. Structured, semi-structured and open-ended questions were included. During the fieldwork, workers and managers were observed inside the workplace. Visits were made to the neighbourhoods where most of the factory workers lived, to coffee houses and so on, and additional in-depth-interviews with workers were conducted, which lasted around two to three hours outside the factory. In this way, workers’ life stories were collected as well as further comments from them on various aspects of work.

^{iv} Here as elsewhere we have utilised data from the British 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey (WERS 98). Part of WERS 98 consisted of a survey of

over 28,000 employees (Cully et al 1999, pp. 9). We have drawn upon this systematic data for employees in British manufacturing in an attempt to avoid making unwarranted assumptions about how our data are or are not distinctive from the case in (at least one) developed capitalist society.

^v An account of these *muhacir* workers and their relation to other workers in Nichols Sugur and Sugur (2002).

^{vi} If parameters are not significantly estimated then odds ratios are not reported as in Tables 7 to 11. In those tables, the predicted series are not based on the significantly estimated parameters either and some predicted series do not show the same tendency as the observed proportions, as in Tables 9 and 11. For such cases we have preferred to interpret the observed proportions as unique ones even though we could not fit a good explanatory model for these relationships.

^{vii} The ‘operatives’ category explicitly excludes what might be considered more privileged positions such as co-ordinators, team leaders and quality control workers. It includes 251 workers, mostly assembly workers, but also workers who are employed as paint or dye operatives (N=10); press operatives (N=3); and one packing operative. Use of this category not only permits some control over occupational differences within the Turkish sample, it also permits better comparison to the British Work Employment Relations Survey (WERS) which uses the category ‘plant and machine operators’.

^{viii} The binary and ordered logit models have non-linear structures. Marginal effects in such models therefore differ from those in linear models. To establish parameter effect on probabilities we also computed marginal effects of the explanatory variables. Except for seniority, all the other variables are categorical and marginal effects have therefore been computed by taking probability differences. As these are reported already in the Tables and Figures no further accounts of marginal effects are given.

^{ix} The importance of seniority is not obvious from the ‘Mobility and Plants’ model in Appendix A. But its importance is underlined in those models that use industries

rather than plants as possible explanatory variables. When plants rather than industries are used as explanatory variables the Gebze car plant, which is relatively new and thus does not provide much opportunity for seniority related pay differences and textile plant 2, which does not reward workers with seniority related pay, obscure this significant seniority effect.

^x This is yet more evident when the category for ‘operatives’ in Turkey is compared to the WERS category for ‘plant and machine operators’ in Britain:

TABLE F1
PERCEIVED JOB INFLUENCE OVER VARIOUS ASPECTS OF WORK:
TURKISH AND BRITISH MANUFACTURING WORKERS; PLANT
OPERATIVES AND SIMILAR ONLY

Percent saying a lot or some	25 and under ¹	26-30 ²	31-35 ³	over 35 ⁴	total
Range of tasks in the job					
Turkish workers (N=251)	23	28	33	42	31
British Manufacturing workers (N=2382)	54	41	56	61	55
Pace of work					
Turkish workers (N=251)	21	28	35	37	30
British Manufacturing workers (N=2354)	58	59	59	61	61
How work is done					
Turkish workers (N=251)	21	30	39	37	32
British Manufacturing workers (N=2366)	79	66	73	72	74

Source: secondary analysis of WERS data

Notes: 1 For British data age is up to 24 . 2. For British data age is 25-29. 3. For

British data age is 30-39. 4. For British data age is 40-49.

^{xi} WERS age categories were pre coded. The original WERS categories ‘less than 20 years’ and ‘20-24’ have been combined here to aid comparison.

^{xii} By contrast the percentages for the British 50-59 age group, also omitted from Table 6, are closer to those of the preceding 40-49 category: for range of tasks for all British manufacturing workers the percentage is 66 compared to 67 for the 40-49 category; for pace of work 74 compared to 71 per cent; for how work is done 85 compared to 84 per cent.

^{xiii} In fact Turk Metal organises four of the seven factories. One is organised by a DISK affiliated union. Two are non –union.

^{xiv} Both parts of Table 8 exclude the two non trade union plants. In the plants organised by Turk Metal, membership is 100 per cent. In the one firm organised by the DISK affiliate trade union , in which trade unionism is less complete, 48 per cent of trade union members rated their union ‘very good’ or ‘good’ (N=44).

^{xv} The fact that 92 per cent of workers took this rather sensible view meant that it was not possible to attempt a multivariate analysis.

^{xvi} Rinehart et al (1997: 146 Table 6) in a study of CAMI autoworkers in Canada found that in the early stages of their research about 34 per cent of workers would keep such ideas to themselves or share with only a few others; this figure rising to 59 per cent in the last stage of their research. However these results are based on only about 50 cases, and although exactly the same question was asked (including the term ‘If’), Rinehart et al (1997) excluded workers who had not in fact found an easier or faster way to do their job.