ATÖLYE KIZLARI
(WORKSHOP GIRLS)

A STUDY OF WOMEN'S LABOUR IN THE EXPORT-ORIENTED GARMENT INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

Atölye Kızı (Workshop Girls): A Study of Women's Labour in Export-Oriented Garment Production in Turkey

This study examines the informal work aspects of global restructuring with a focus on relations of gender, solidarity, and conflict in the workplace. Rather than trying to conduct a macro level analysis of restructuring process, the study aims to explore how this process is embedded at the local level by focusing on industrial workshops, which are located at the lowest end of international subcontracting chains.

Empirically, the research focuses on the garment workshops located in residential areas in the peripheries of Istanbul. The data was mainly collected from in-depth interviews conducted with workshop owners and female garment workers, and my own participant observation in two garment workshops as a worker.

The research centres in two themes. The first theme explores how gender ideologies reinforce workshop production and how existing forms of gender relations are absorbed, transformed and manipulated in the work place as global restructuring processes tap into female labour in the peripheries of Istanbul. The study questions which forms of social values are pushed aside and which remain, as young female workers are introduced to informal work in residential districts.

As a second theme, this study examines workspace relations in industrial workshops within the context of class-based resistance and solidarity. Work relations in small-scale production in less developed

countries are often analysed within the context of domination and authority reinforced by family and kinship networks. In contrast to such approaches, this study analyses class relations as a process, which is interwoven and overlapped with other forms of social relations, rather than as coherent and mutually exclusive group solidarities. It argues that perceiving class as a process opens up a space, which allows us to shift from emphasising domination and authority in the analysis of work relations in informal work settings to workers' resistance strategies and solidarities. This perspective also allows us to explore family and kinship relations from this new understanding of class relations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Mother Land Party)
DCs	Developed Countries
DİE	State Institute of Statistics
DİSK	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions Confederation)
DPT	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (State Planning Institute)
Hak-iş	Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Justice Seekers' Trade Unions)
HLFS	Household Labour Surveys
HomeNet	The International Network of Homebased Workers
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITKIB	İstanbul Tekstil ve Konfeksiyon İhracatçıları Birliği (Association of Istanbul Textile and Clothing Exporters)
KSS	Başbakanlık Kadın Sorunları ve Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women, Prime Ministry)
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SASL	Scholars Against Sweatshop Labour
SEE	State Economic Enterprises
SEWA	Self Employed Women Association
TCMB	Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası (Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey)

TİSK	Türkiye İşverenler Sendikası Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Employers' Trade Unions in Turkey)
TOBB	Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (Association of Stock Exchanges Trade and Industrial Guilds of Turkey)
Türk-iş	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Workers' Trade Union Confederation of Turkey)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WGSG	Women and Geography Study Group
WG-WHW	Ev-eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Çalışma Grubu (The Working Group on Women Homebased Workers)
WWW	Women Working Worldwide

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Flexibility and the Clothing Industry in Turkey

The late 20th century has been described as a period of major changes in industrialisation processes in the developed, as well as less developed countries. While mining, manufacturing and production distribution are no longer the major part of the economy of developed countries, many of the standardised production systems have shifted to less developed countries. It has been argued that changing production relations lead to 'flexible' labour processes, labour markets, production and consumption patterns, which rapidly alter labour arrangements and the nature of employment. Some researchers have analysed these changes within the context of 'flexible specialisation' which is characterised by three main properties, (a) the introduction of non-specialist, highly flexible technologies and computer-aided control of the production process, (b) the division of tasks between specialist and autonomous production units which leads to an organisational structure based on highly skilled, cooperative workforces, worker participation and the decentralisation of decision making and power within and between integrated firms, and (c) the integration of production in small units, instead of mass production which allows the elimination of wasted output and input and which enables shop level flexibility in adjusting the amount, kinds and timing of production (Sabel, 1994; Hirsch, 1991). It is

suggested that the production model aims to respond to the rapidly changing international markets and the changing life styles and tastes of particular consumer groups, instead of targeting mass consumption and mass living standards in a national economy.

The textile and clothing industries are among the oldest industries in Turkey. Textile and clothing production targeted domestic markets until the 1980s. Together with the introduction of structural adjustment policies and an open market economy in the early 1980s, these industries became the rising stars of Turkey. They have been supported by the State as the main export sectors and are described as the significant driving forces of Turkey's economy.

The Confederation of Employer's Trade Unions of Turkey (1994) suggests that the significance of globalisation and international competitiveness led to the notion of flexibility being an indispensable part of industrial relations in Turkey. The export-oriented clothing industry is one of those industries for which flexibility constitutes an 'indispensable' part of the production process.

Like many less developed countries, which are integrated into the international market via labour-intensive sectors such as clothing, leather, footwear, toy and electronic components production, the nature of flexibility in the clothing industry of Turkey is different to the flexibility described above. The type of flexibility in the clothing industry is not based on decentralisation in decision making between horizontally integrated firms, knowledge-based sectors or automation. Rather this type of flexibility is based on labour flexibility characterised by easily hired and fired labour, intensive, long hours of work to accomplish deliveries at short notice in periods of high demand, and minimum labour costs during low demand periods.

Clothing production in Turkey is subject to seasonal fluctuations, high levels of international competition and downward steady price pressures. Production firms need to respond quickly to the changing demands of international firms. Flexibility in the clothing industry requires particular arrangements in the production process and employment structure. Thus, a division in the production process appears. At a national level, coordinating firms take decisions on product style, orchestrate different stages of production, and control the quality and price of the product according to the demands of international customers. These firms provide the required inputs for production and subcontract the labour-intensive stages of the production, completely or in major part, to the small workshops and outworkers, which supply the required flexibility. While the coordinating firms are often located in industrial zones and hire limited numbers of skilled and formally protected labour, small workshops, which are located in the residential peripheries of metropolitan cities and in the countryside, absorb the bulk of the labour force.

At the lower end of the subcontracting hierarchy, production takes place in 'clandestine' workplaces, which are hidden in the ground and basement floors of residential flats. This physical concealment creates the suitable conditions for internationally demanded flexibility, which relies upon the informality of the workforce in these workplaces (Wilson, 1993). As the subcontracting chains travel from developed countries, pass through the industrial zones of Turkey and tap into the labour pools of the urban peripheries, the formal legislation and traditional forms of labour organisations lose their significance and protective powers.

The process of pushing the majority of production to urban peripheries where the labour is cheaper and where jeopardising labour rights and legislation is easier, has several implications in terms of how production is gendered and how labour solidarities and class politics take place. In the next section, I will try to explore these implications.

2. The Scope of the Research and Objectives

2.1. Gender and Industrial Workshop Production

Gibson-Graham (1996: 78) suggest that women inhabit certain spaces in the city. While the city centre, industrial zones and commercial zones are often inhabited by men, domestic space, neighbourhoods and local commercial areas are mainly women's space. Capital enters neighbourhoods as part of labour cost reduction strategies, but it also enters the space which is inhabited by women. This has several consequences in terms of gender relations. Firstly, female workers living and working in the peripheral residential areas constitute a major source of cheap labour for the informal stages of subcontracting chains. Secondly, when subcontracting chains reach the neighbourhoods, production crosses the boundaries between domestic space and workspace. As the borders between domestic space and workspace are blurred, the way in which women are recruited, disciplined and rewarded, and women's strategies to oppose these dynamics are influenced by gender.

In Turkey, as well as abroad, the visibility of female labour under restructuring policies has mainly been analysed by studies with a particular focus on work carried out in the home (Boris and Prügl, 1996; Kümbetoğlu, 1995; Çınar, 1994; Lordoğlu, 1990; Beneria and Roldan, 1987). Industrial workshop production in less developed countries has become a crucial component of the production process as international subcontracting chains tap into female labour at the urban peripheries. However, its role in providing informal work for women and the way in which gender ideologies are operationalised within this type of production process have been the central subject of only a limited number of research projects. Thus, one of the main objectives of this research is to explore the influence of gender relations on workplace relations in industrial workshops within the context of industrial restructuring and subcontracting relations.

Garment workshops in the peripheral neighbourhoods constitute a distinct case in terms of how they are positioned in production relations (within the context of industrial restructuring), and in terms of their influence on women's informal work, the ways in which production is gendered in the workspace and workers' acts of solidarity and resistance take place.

Industrial workshops are placed in a grey area between petty commodity production in which family labour provides the greater part of the workforce and 'fully' capitalist forms of production (Wilson, 1991). Unlike petty commodity production and artisanal workshops, industrial workshops systematically use wage labour, which provides the majority of the workforce and, have strong links with the national and international economy. Furthermore, as a form of women's informal work, workshops at the peripheries are different from home-based work. They vary in terms of the employer's control over the workspace, the characteristics of the female workers, the ways in which the workspace is socialised, and the bargaining strategies that take place among the workers.

Workshops in the peripheries of the cities in Turkey have different dynamics to factory production and medium/large-scale workshops located in the industrial zones. The positioning of female labour in the production process, the extent of informality in the workforce, the influence of gender relations, and the involvement of the community and family in workspace relations are all different. The location of workshops has a significant influence on the characteristics of the targeted workforce and on how the boundaries between the workspace and domestic space are set.

As summarised above, the garment workshops are placed at the lower end of subcontracting chains and create a major source of employment for young women in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Turkey. The occupation of workshops serves the needs of the global market in terms of decreasing labour costs and supplying high levels of flexibility. On the other hand, it

conflicts with existing cultural values that restrict women's movements and work outside of the home and male-female interactions. With these properties, the garment workshops located in peripheral neighbourhoods comprise a distinct case given their growing importance within subcontracting relations with regard to women's informal work and the way in which this production is gendered. The garment workshops in peripheral neighbourhoods therefore stand out as an interesting case that has received a limited attention in the literature.

2.2. Resistance and Solidarity

As mentioned in section one, the process of industrial restructuring and the rising importance of informal work have particular impacts on how class politics are perceived, how workers' acts of resistance and solidarities take place, as well as on how production is gendered.

While the heavy industries in developed countries, described as the bastions of traditional forms of working class struggle, are in decline, tendencies towards informalisation and the production shift to less developed countries via subcontracting chains have been understood as a negative experience in terms of class politics (Pakulski and Waters, 1996; Clark and Lipset, 1991). Some literature focusing on women's labour within the context of economic restructuring has concentrated on the exploitation of female workers as young, cheap and disposable labour. This literature also emphasised domination through capitalist restructuring process and gender subordination (Arizpe and Aranda, 1988; Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1983; Elson and Pearson, 1981a; Elson and Pearson, 1981b). These studies have been criticised for creating a stereotypical, homogenous view of female workers who are employed across different countries and who live in different societies (Kabeer, 2000; Mohanty, 1991; Lim, 1990).

Another set of studies has focussed on the reshaping of female workers' experiences as part of industrial restructuring in particular societies and local contexts. However, women's involvement in paid work, particularly informal work, is analysed as strongly influenced by traditional forms of social relations based on kinship, religious, local origin or ethnic community bounds. Such an approach draws a homogenous picture and helps legitimate the authority of employers in changing production relations (White, 2000; Ghvamshahidi, 1996). These studies concentrate on the way in which female labour is affected by these processes. However, they dismiss female workers' strategies within social relations and economic processes.

The studies mentioned above either emphasise the super-exploitation of female workers as passive recipients of restructuring processes or their obedience to the cultural values that are assumed to mark the societies where these women live. In terms of class politics, this can be read as industrial restructuring breaking working class solidarity and shifting the production to contexts where workers are either inexperienced and inactive in class struggle or bound by traditional forms of social relations which fix workers as recipients of gendered power hierarchies, thereby creating obstacles to worker resistance.

The second objective of this study is derived from these observations. The aim is to move beyond an analysis which pictures 'new working classes' as the passive victims of restructuring processes or cultural values and to question whether it is possible to talk about class-based solidarities and conflicts in these work premises. The study suggests that there is a need for a different understanding of class-based resistance and solidarity in industrial workshops where resistance takes place in more complex forms than the conventional understanding of class resistance as large-scale, open and organised movements. This study tries to reveal the ways in which women in industrial workshops have engaged in struggles of their own and to examine the limitations of these struggles.

This research therefore attempts to address these two themes with a case study of garment workshops in the peripheries of Istanbul. The study aims to contribute to the literature on women's informal work by revealing how restructuring is embedded at the local level in workshop production and takes a particular focus on the relations of gender, and solidarity/conflict in workshop production. Rather than trying to draw a macro-level picture about restructuring policies in Turkey, the study attempts to link restructuring to the politics of everyday life by focusing on the experiences of industrial workshops and female garment workers within the framework of changing production relations.

3. Research Setting

The research has been carried out in garment workshops located in residential areas in the peripheries of Istanbul. Istanbul is the biggest centre of export-oriented clothing industry in Turkey. It is possible to find all types of clothing firms operating at various levels of subcontracting chains in Istanbul, including large- and middle-scale manufacturing firms which subcontract certain stages, foreign firm representatives which subcontract the whole production process, garment workshops and homeworkers.

The field research took place between May 1999 and September 2000. Semi-structured interviews with workshop owners, focussed interviews with female workers and participant observation as a garment worker in a workshop at the periphery of the European side of Istanbul, constituted the main sources of data. During these interviews, I attempted to obtain comparable data on the functioning of the workshops and their survival strategies in the face of the pressures of subcontractor firms and fluctuations in the market. I also focussed on how gender relations affect and are affected by workspace relations; garment workers' bargaining strategies and the

limitations of these strategies. In addition, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a large number of informants including subcontracting firm managers, trade unions and government representatives, women's NGOs and municipality community centres. These interviews constitute additional sources of data aiming to understand the relationship between workshops and subcontractor firms and to identify formal supports given to workshops and garment workers.

4. Research Questions

There are three main sets of research questions:

- How is the flexibility reinforced by subcontracting chains experienced by industrial garment workshops placed at the lower end of the chain? What are the effects of this condition on workers' position and their strategies in the workshops?

- What is the nature of female workers' acts of resistance in industrial workshops in the context of the emerging power hierarchies of subcontracting chains? What are the links between these acts and organised struggles?

- How are existing forms of gender relations absorbed, transformed and manipulated within a workspace with strong connotations of domesticity?

5. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of eight chapters. In Chapter 2, I aim to develop a conceptual framework for the analysis of class-based resistance and solidarity which allows the interaction with gender and other forms of social relations and which enables the resistance and solidarity strategies developed by the informal sector workers to be recognised. The chapter begins by placing the informal sector within the context of international subcontracting relations. In the next section, I summarise different views on class relations and class politics as global restructuring takes place. I also examine the extent to which these conceptions engage with informal sector workers. Then the key debates focusing on female labour within economic restructuring processes are discussed aiming to assess the extent to which this literature reveals power hierarchies, control mechanisms, as well as female workers' resistance strategies at a local level. In the last part, I focus on studies and organised movements which highlight local level resistances and the agency of female informal sector workers in changing production processes.

In Chapter 3, I attempt to place the changing role of women's informal work and the garment workshops in a macro-level context in Turkey. I first give background information on Structural Adjustment Policies in Turkey through which open market economy and export-oriented production are introduced. I focus on how Structural Adjustment Policies influence current income distribution and employment structure in Turkey. In the following section, I focus on changes in the clothing industry after the introduction of Structural Adjustment Policies in which production currently takes place in a series of subcontracting relations reaching industrial workshops. Then, I discuss how changes in the industrial structure and labour markets have influenced women's participation in the workforce in Turkey, particularly in the informal sector. A critique of studies on women's informal work is made in the last part of the chapter.

In Chapter 4, I describe the research methodology used in this study. In the first section, I focus on methodological problems in researching informal sector work. I suggest that in-depth ethnographic studies can provide a deeper understanding in the analysis of gender dynamics and workspace solidarities and conflicts in the informal sector. In the following section, I analyse the nature of industrial workshop production by comparing it to artisanal workshop production and home-based work. This is followed by a description of the research setting and of the problems encountered during the early stages of the fieldwork. In the rest of the chapter, I discuss the research methods used in this study, including qualitative interviews and participant observation within the context of methodological issues raised by feminist researchers.

Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter. In this chapter, I focus on the effects of the organisation of subcontracting chains on the employment structure and the nature of subcontracting chains in the clothing industry in Turkey. I also analyse state policies in the clothing industry and in the informal sector in particular. I try to examine the extent to which these policies emphasise labour protection in garment workshops. Lastly, I draw these two aspects together and discuss how state policies on the informal sector and the clothing industry and the organisation of international subcontracting chains are experienced in the garment workshops.

Having established the position of workshops and the workers within subcontracting relations, I focus on workshop workers' bargaining strategies and the solidarity channels available to female garment workers in Chapter 6. I also assess whether we can talk about class-based resistance and solidarity in garment workshops. Firstly, I concentrate on formal labour institutions and women organisations at the national level. I examine the extent to which these organisations create a channel for informal sector workers' resistance strategies in general and for female garment workers in particular. Then, I focus on mechanisms operationalised by workshop employers in the

extraction of surplus labour. In the last part of the chapter, I concentrate on conflicts between employers and garment workers, local forms of solidarities developed by female workers. I also consider the limitations of these solidarities.

In Chapter 7, I explore empirically the role of gender relations in structuring women's engagement in workshop production. I focus on the way in which workplace relations are mediated through existing forms of gender relations, actively formulated by the family, community, employers and female workers. This chapter elaborates these relations with a particular focus on the organisation of the workplace, the role of the district and the family in defining work relations, and lastly the strategies developed by female workers against/within these control mechanisms.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis. It provides an overview of the research and a summary of the results and findings, and recommendations for future research. It indicates the possible contribution of the study to academic debates on gender, class and employment and outlines the implications of its findings for policy-making.

CHAPTER 2

FEMALE LABOUR WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

1. Introduction

The world has been witnessing a significant change in terms of production processes, labour arrangements and the distribution of costs and profits. Classical core and periphery relationships, in which less developed countries are the suppliers of raw materials and primary goods and the developed countries are the suppliers of industrial commodities, are no longer valid (Keyder, 1979). Industrialisation has undergone significant shifts on a world scale. Today, industrial production processes have been disaggregated and geographically relocated (Radcliffe, 1999; Gereffi, 1994).

The international market, subcontracting relations and global restructuring processes, have been rapidly altering the nature of employment. Changing forms of economic relations and the growing concentration of women in new production processes require an integrated analysis of economic processes and gender relations.

In this chapter, I make an analysis of the key debates focusing on female labour within economic restructuring processes. I focus primarily on the informal sector in less developed countries and the politics of resistances

which target informal production spaces. I aim to highlight the extent to which global forms of solidarities and the literature on female labour within restructuring can reveal power hierarchies and control mechanisms that are part of gender and class relations. I also examine the extent to which they can cover the forms of oppositions and solidarities developed by female workers.

In the first section of this chapter, I briefly concentrate on the changing role of the informal sector within the context of economic restructuring. The second section considers discussions of class relations and class based politics and analyses the extent to which these discussions are useful in understanding women's informal labour as part of changing production processes. The primary focus of the third section rests on the literature that analyses female labour as part of the economic, cultural and social relations associated with new production processes. The literature is analysed in two veins. The first body of literature focuses on female labour in less developed countries at a macro level and emphasises capitalist exploitation and gender domination. The second focuses on female labour within particular locations and particular societies and analyses female workers' oppression as part of cultural values. In the last part I will give examples of the organised movements which focus on new production spaces in less developed countries. I will also provide examples of the literature on covert forms of struggles and local level resistances.

2. Globalised Subcontracting Chains and the Informal Sector

2.1. General Shift in the Market

Large firms in globalised production systems have participated in many different countries as part of their global production and distribution

strategies. The pressures of globalisation are particularly strong in garment, textile and footwear industries which are today's main export sectors for most less developed countries (LDCs). According to an International Labour Organisation (ILO) report (1996), the geographical distribution of these industries has changed dramatically in the past twenty-five years. As the market has been internationalised, these industries have been relocated from developed countries, where they continue to be consumed, to less developed countries (Gereffi, 1994; Elson and Pearson, 1981a).

The shift mainly occurred as manufacturers in developed countries setting up new factories in less developed regions in the early 1980s. However, the nature of the shift has changed over-time and a new style of company has emerged. These companies are called 'manufacturers without factories' which owe their success and most of their budget to the promotion of brand names such as Nike and Adidas (Hale, 2000).

The retailers in developed countries and brand-based companies have continued to maintain their influence over design, marketing and retain overall control of the production. They also transferred the burden of standardised, repetitive and labour-intensive parts of the production to low-income and low-wage countries via subcontracting chains (Hale, 2000; Kabeer, 2000; Gereffi, 1994). On the other hand, high technology industries, fashion items at the top end of the market, knowledge and skill intensive stages of the production process have remained in developed countries.[1]

The change in the economic policies and the shift of certain industries and particular production processes to new locations via subcontracting chains have profoundly affected the international division of labour and the industrial and employment structures of LDCs and developed countries

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[1] The subcontracting chains, new dynamics of production process and inter-enterprise linkages are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

(DCs). One of the main effects of this transformation is related to the role of the informal sector in the economy.

2.2. The Changing Role of the Informal Sector

The concept of the informal sector was first introduced in the early 1970s in studies of Africa. The characteristics of informal sector work were first established in a 1972 ILO report (Hahn, 1996; Waldinger and Lapp, 1993). However, there is no common consensus about definitions of the informal sector in the literature. It is often defined as income generating activities taking place outside the framework of public regulations (Sassen 1991b; Beneriá, 1989; Castells and Portes, 1989). It is usually characterised by ease of entry and exit; little capital and equipment; low pay; lack of workers rights; no fixed contract; labour-intensive and low skilled work; typically undertaken on 'own account' basis or small enterprises with a high proportion of family workers and apprentices (Charmes, 2000; Hahn, 1996; Roldán, 1985). It is widely argued that it is not possible to make clear-cut distinctions between the formal and informal sector (WGSG, 1997; Varcin, 1996; Pearson, 1992; Ayata, 1991b; Rohini, 1991; Sassen, 1991b). Small-scale enterprises may operate completely within the framework of public regulations but a large-scale company may often engage in working activities outside public regulations (Varçın, 1996). Furthermore, the distinction between the formal and informal sector becomes blured as the survival of one depends on the other and as both become integral parts of the industrialisation process (Varçın, 1996; Pearson, 1992; Ayata, 1991b).

Early studies identified the informal sector as left over from pre-capitalist modes of production. Until recently, international organisations such as ILO, UN, USAID and the World Bank perceived the informal sector primarily as part of the development and an integral aspect of industrialisation in LDCs (Waldinger and Lapp, 1993; Beneriá, 1989).

According to mainstream development theory, economic development could be reached by LDCs through the expansion of industrial production. The informal sector was viewed as a way of 'helping the poor without any major threat to the rich' until industrial development could occur. It was assumed that factory mass production would absorb the labour force and informal forms of production would gradually be eliminated. Until recently, the informal sector was understood as an area of subsistence production that lowers the costs of reproduction of the labour force and maintains the surplus population (Hahn, 1996; Castells and Portes, 1989; Róldan, 1985).

Classical Marxist theory had a similar perspective and argued that as the capitalist production process penetrates into the Third World[2], it would gradually replace 'non-capitalist' forms of production with 'capitalist' factory systems. The informal sector was either ignored in the analysis of industrialisation or it was seen as unproductive and/or marginal in comparison to the industrial economy (Lawson, 1992).

When the context of labour in Turkey is taken into account, it can be seen that the informal sector became a major concern for social science literature together with the exodus of the rural population to the urban area from the 1950s onwards. Early literature on the informal sector had a similar perspective to mainstream developmentalist theory. The informal sector was analysed within the context of migration and uncertain working conditions. Badly paid jobs were brought into the metropolitan areas via migration. For instance, Tekeli (1978) bases the informal sector[3] in Turkey on rapid rural-urban migration in the 1970s. He suggests that since the rural workforce cannot be absorbed in the organised sector in the cities, they direct their economic activities to the marginal sector. Similarly, Şenyapılı (1981)

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[2] Mohanty (1990: 2) suggests that Third World is defined through geographical location as well as particular socio-historical conjunctures. So, it incorporates 'minority' peoples or people of colour in the USA and similarly immigrants in other developed countries. When I use the term, I have been considering not only the geographical but also the socio-historical meaning of the concept.

[3] Tekeli calls the informal sector as the marginal sector.

describes the informal sector as the marginal part of the economy at the beginning of the 1980s.

Today this perspective does not explain the reality of the informal sector. Cutting down the public sector, the privatisation of public enterprises and the removal of labour market regulations have eroded employment security. This created the possibility to draw unregulated, cheaper and non-unionised workers into industrial production (Standing, 1989). The informal sector has been expanding instead of diminishing together with the expansion of industrial production and the shift of particular industries to LDCs. Recent studies have highlighted that the international subcontracting chains are drawing the informal sector into production in highly competitive international markets (Prügl and Boris, 1996).

According to Charmes (2000), in the 1990s, informal activities constituted from twenty per cent to ninety-five per cent of the urban labour force of LDCs. Prügl (1996) states that there is a move towards subcontracting with homeworkers in the countryside and in economically depressed areas. In Latin America, the number of industrial workers in informal and unregulated activities expanded dramatically in the 1980s forming fifty per cent to seventy per cent of urban workforce (Lawson, 1992: 16). In Bangladesh, seventy per cent of the urban labour force was informal (Charmes, 2000) and in Guatemala city, eighty per cent of new jobs were in the informal sector in the early 1990s (Radcliffe, 1999). According to an ILO report in 2000, most of the formal sector firms in leather, footwear, textile and clothing industries in Asia subcontract some part of their production to homeworkers (Hale and Shaw, 2001). This sector has become the central feature of less developed countries, rather than being a marginal part of the economy.

The increasing visibility of the informal sector has been emphasised not only in LDCs, but also in DCs (Boris and Prügl 1996; Gordon and Sassen, 1992; Sassen, 1991b). Gordon and Sassen (1992) suggest that core manual jobs offering security and permanent occupation for the unskilled mass of population are steadily in decline in DCs. On the other hand, the use of cheaper and more flexible sources of unorganised labour has been increasing. Furthermore, temporary, casual or fixed term jobs and self-employed forms of work have been rapidly growing. Harvey (1989) mentions that the homeworking and sweatshops in New York and Los Angeles have been reviving since the late 1970s. Tate (1994) observes that homeworking, which re-emerged in Britain in the 1970s, mainly serves international markets via a chain of subcontracting leading to giant companies and/or big retail shops.

2.3. The Footpath between Flexibility and the Informal Sector

Although the main source of labour for the informal sector is rural migrants in Third World countries and Third World immigrants in developed countries, the causes of the expansion of the informal economy go well beyond immigrant labour and the survival strategies of the urban poor. The existence of the sector is not merely based on the needs of workers who try to obtain the means of subsistence for their family. The expansion of the informal sector has been analysed today within the context of changing production relations, the decentralisation of production in advanced economies and the growth of the informal sector in the Third World and developed countries.

As a result of integration into the international market, there is a tendency towards low labour costs across countries and regions via subcontracting relations. Growing instability in the world market and fluctuations in demand and rapid shifts in production designs encouraged the

emergence of flexible, low-risk production structures with more flexible labour processes. These processes also led companies to reduce the fixed wage labour force and use more contract workers, homeworkers and temporary labour. In turn, this allowed companies to produce with more flexible working hours and to subcontract to small informal enterprises that are not covered by labour regulation. There has also been a greater tendency of labour to move in and out of the labour market (Standing, 2002; Standing, 1989).[4]

Informalisation is a response of industries to the acceleration of international competition and pressures to cut costs. Subcontracting chains allow firms to change divisions of labour in such a way that lower skill and lower wage tasks can take place in small-scale firms in the informal sector. On the one hand, this change allows firms to provide flexibility in the usage of capital and labour. On the other hand, it provides the possibility of bypassing State regulations, social legislation and organised labour's control over the work process by shifting low skill and low wage tasks to the informal sector (Castells and Portes, 1989).

Subcontracting chains, which permit parent firms to remain flexible in their usage of capital and labour and avoid fixed commitments to workers, link trans-national enterprises to small-local firms, workshops and homeworkers. Furthermore, these chains have drawn the informal sector into highly competitive international markets. Small and medium sized firms are as active as big organisations and factories within the production model of neo-liberal policies (Prügl and Boris, 1996; Lawson, 1992).

Structural changes in international capitalism have placed the informal sector and small-scale production at the centre of economic development in LDCs and caused 'old forms of production' to become new ones in DCs.

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[4] Standing (2002) analyses global flexibility within seven categories, namely organisational, numerical, functional, job structure, working time, wage system and labour force flexibility. A detailed analysis of global flexibility is beyond the scope of this study. However, similar

While the firms operating in the formal and informal sectors have been integrated in the same production process, the border between the two is blurred. Since the turn of the century, the informal sector is no longer merely perceived as the survival strategies of the urban poor. It is also no longer considered a deviant part of economy that expected to disappear when the formal sector becomes large enough to attract the workforce.

The visibility of the informal sector has been analysed by studies that have focused on intensifying social polarisation and the revival of older domestic, artisanal and familial labour systems. While some studies analyse the macro level dynamics of restructuring policies (Gordon and Sassen, 1992; Sassen, 1991a; Sassen, 1991b; Esping-Andersen, 1993), some others focus particularly on micro-level strategies of informal production (Koniordos, 2001; Abreu and Sorj, 1996; Gvhamshahidi, 1996). However, little attention has been paid to ideology and power in internal production processes and the local level, as well as macro-level dynamics of restructuring processes (Wilson, 1993; Beneria-Roldan, 1987; Ong, 1987).

This study concentrates on the local dynamics of the informal production process and worker strategies. However, it will also try to gain an insight into how local dynamics interact with international level market strategies. The study will examine the garment workshops located at the peripheries of Istanbul as a key part of subcontracting chains, where local social processes and global economic processes influence and interact with each other.

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tendencies will be analysed as part of the empirical chapters according to their relevance to the garment industry, the informal sector and to workshop production in Turkey.

3. Women's Informal Work as Part of Class Relations

3.1. Introduction

Changes in the production structure demand certain types of work and certain types of workers. Restructuring within the production process also means restructuring of the labour market and class relations. Massey suggests that 'industrial restructuring is a process of class restructuring. It is a mechanism through which the social structure is re-shaped and social relations changed' (cited from Gibson-Graham, 1996: 46).

As class relations have been changing with restructuring and informality, the idea of class has been reconceptualised within the context of globalisation. However, the engagement of class concepts with informality needs to be questioned. In this section I attempt to analyse different views about class relations and class politics as global restructuring has taken place. I also try to explore the extent to which these analyses are useful in understanding the position of female informal sector workers who comprise the majority of operations in the informal sector.

3.2. Thinking About the Concept of Class

The decline of mass production, changes in the international market and the restructuring of employment have accelerated discussions about the significance of class as an explanatory category, and class struggle as a way of politics (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Pakulski and Waters, 1996; Wright, 1996; Esping-Andersen, 1993; Clark and Lipset, 1991). The discussion of the significance of class in DCs mainly concentrates on the growing numbers of service workers, upper class professionals and the unemployed labour pool. It also focuses on the decline in mass production workers in the formal sector, rather than the position of workers within the informal sector itself.

Esping-Andersen (1993) questions whether there is a similarity between the skilled manual worker and the unskilled service worker in DCs. According to Esping-Andersen, those in the 'bad' jobs hardly evolve into a 'proletarian' class. In the case that unskilled service workers are conceptualised as an emerging distinct class, this category is likely to remain numerically less influential within the labour power relative to what the Fordist manual worker was.

Esping-Andersen argues that there is a bottom end in the new service jobs, but its degree of class structure is uncertain. Service sector workers are a mobile stratum. The workers tend to be young and the jobs are usually used as a 'stop-gap' between education and a formal career. The internal composition is considerably more heterogeneous than what he terms the manual proletariat. He also suggests that in spite of the high mobility and heterogeneity of the sector, a core of workers remain in unskilled service jobs throughout most of their employment career.

In contrast, for Clark and Lipset (1991), class is an increasingly outmoded concept and class stratification has been weakening. Similarly, Pakulski and Waters (1996) suggest that there is a radical dissolution of class hierarchies. Contemporary society is shaped by ethnicity and gender, which are not determined by class competition. They argue that the declining position of unskilled workers, the 'genderised' and 'age specific' inequalities and the formation of new elite cannot be understood in class terms. We are moving towards a society within which class has 'dissolved' as an explanatory category.

In each of these arguments, a decline in class politics has been associated with changing structures of industry and occupation in developed countries. As a result of the inclusion of women, immigrants and adolescent workers in the workforce, the studies recognise the heterogeneity of work situations and the changing characteristics of workers. However, the

expansion of the informal sector, changes in production relations via subcontracting chains and the influence of restructuring in less developed countries have not been considered in this perspective. Rather, the analysis has been exclusively focused on developed countries and on the changing position of the formal industrial proletariat and service proletariat. Since the classical form of manual worker has been taken as a main entity and as the core of class politics, the changing characteristics of the workforce and heterogeneity of work relationships have been analysed as a negative experience for the 'working class' and class politics.

3.3. Class as a Social Process

There is no common consensus about the conceptualisation of social classes. In broad terms, classical Marxist literature emphasises the common location of individuals within the production process. Class is defined as a social grouping which requires some of the following conditions: power, i.e. control over the labour process and cultural, political domination; property ownership, i.e. the ownership of means of production; exploitation of surplus labour; and lastly political, ideological and cultural unity, i.e. class-for-itself. Either two or all three of these properties need to be affirmed in order to define a social group as a class (Gibson-Graham, 1996).

This approach has been criticised today by a second group of authors as being exclusively structuralist and reductionist, because the analysis mainly relies on a few economic givens. It also neglects the cultural sphere and the social and emotional factors which influence class identity (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Wilson, 1991; Castells and Portes, 1989; Beneriá and Róldan, 1987; Scott, 1985). Gibson-Graham (1996) argue that such a definition of class mainly focuses on capitalism and associates itself with industrial society. Society is defined as homogeneously and hegemonicaly capitalist and centred on an industrial economy. Other forms of existence are

simply defined as a deviation. For instance in the household and informal work, the production and reproduction relations, domestic space and workspace are inter-linked. No clear border exists in terms of property ownership or control over labour processes. So in these cases, it becomes almost impossible to use class as an explanatory category. Furthermore, this approach also marginalizes local and individual level political strategies, solidarities and resistances within these production spaces.

For this second group of authors, classes are formed historically on the basis of economic relationships and also cultural existence, social identities and life styles (Beneriá and Róldan, 1987). Feminist literature focusing on women's labour and the capitalist production process is part of this second group of interpretations. These researchers analyse class and other aspects of society not as dichotomies and concepts that disempower each other, but as concepts that reinforce and cut across each other (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Elson, 1995; Wilson, 1991; Beneriá and Róldan, 1987).

These researchers question the category of class and class inequality in terms of opening the way for other social dimensions including gender. They perceive class as an important category, which is not subordinated by other social aspects. However, they also argue that class processes are not more fundamental or influential than other social processes as well (Gibson-Graham, 1996). Not all feminist approaches pose the question in this way. Radical and liberal feminism tend to reduce the emphasis to class inequalities. On the other hand, Marxist feminists apply traditional Marxist concepts to 'the women question' and emphasise the material basis of inequalities. They, therefore, often undermine the ideological construction of gender and its effects on social and economic relations (Beneriá and Róldan, 1987). While an in-depth analysis of different schools of feminist approaches is beyond the scope of this study, I will particularly concentrate on the studies which focus on the articulation of class and gender as part of the production process in this chapter.

The analysis of class as a core social grouping based on clearly defined static categories has become insufficient to explain the dynamism of production relations and the complexities of social politics today. The expansion of the informal economy and the segmentation of the labour market create fundamental changes in class structure. As global capitalism develops class relations become more complex and less obvious, it is more difficult to draw clear borders between production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labour within the informal work settings, which are connected to the international market via subcontracting chains. The questions such as who appropriates the fruits of surplus labour and how they are appropriated and distributed throughout society do not have straightforward answers and clear-cut divisions.

As divisions between production, appropriation and distribution are blurred, class categories have become less transparent and class politics have become more complicated. While the concept of class is being questioned in relation to other social dimensions of life and class relations have become more fluid in the context of globalisation, the predominance of class analysis based on a homogeneous social grouping has been challenged.

Castells and Portes (1989) suggest that classes are mainly defined by their struggles (so as a process), rather than by their structure or their common position in the work process. Gibson-Graham's study (1996) redefines class to respond the changes in labour markets and to permit the multiplicity of social life to be seen. They define class as a social process of producing and appropriating surplus labour, instead of a social grouping and a core homogeneous entity. By the term 'process', they suggest that "class and other aspects of society are seen as existing in change and as continually undergoing novel and contradictory transformations" (Gibson-Graham, 1996: 55).

The theoretical perspective elaborated by Gibson-Graham is an important step in terms of a redefinition of class politics. By defining class as a process, without an essence, not as a core grouping, they open the way for class diversity, individual identities and local politics. In this perspective, the social formation of class is no longer a coherent and stable unity centred on capitalist class formation and restricted to the industrial economy. "Class struggles do not necessarily take place between people whose identities are constituted by the objective reality and subjective consciousness.... They take place whenever there is an attempt to change the way in which surplus labour is produced, appropriated or distributed" (Gibson-Graham, 1996: 59).

I find this second approach of defining class as a process more compatible with conceptualising women's informal work. Firstly, it avoids economic reductionism. Secondly, it gives an opportunity to expand the sphere of class analysis beyond the clear-cut definitions of the workplace and creates the possibility of including family and community dynamics. Thirdly, it leads us to an integrated analysis of the economic system and other forms of social relations. By doing so, it enables us to consider the gender relations within labour relations. Lastly, rather than cherishing clearly categorised homogenous social groups which inherently privileges particular forms of struggle, it opens the way for conceptualising the 'local politics of resistance' and the 'individual struggles over exploitation' which may rise out momentarily and through partial identification. In this study, the conceptual framework for understanding class as a process will be used in the context of the informal workshop production in Turkey.

In the following section, I will try to give some examples of feminist literature that attempt to develop an integrated analysis of women's labour within the context of changing economic relations. I will also try to analyse to what extent these studies are helpful in understanding the experiences of female labour in the Third World. Furthermore, I will highlight how they lead us to consider possibilities of local resistances and diverse forms of struggle.

4. The Feminisation of Labour, Restructuring and Gendered Control Mechanisms

Numerous studies have focussed on the New International Division of Labour and its impacts on women's work. Researchers suggest that the expanding export-oriented production sectors of LDCs, which include textile, clothing, making electronic components, growing flowers and food products, are not only labour-intensive but also female labour-intensive (Radcliffe, 1999; Prügl, 1996; Elson, 1995; Elson and Pearson, 1981a). These studies have emphasised that multinational and national capital, which increasingly rely on subcontracting relations, have drawn cheap female labour and putting-out work into highly competitive international markets (Prügl and Boris, 1996; Ward, 1990; Beneriá and Róldan, 1987).

According to a 1998 ILO report, up to ninety per cent of workers in export processing zones are women (cited from Pilger, 2001). The New International Division of Labour has been characterised by the recruitment of young, single, 'unskilled' and usually inexperienced women in the Third World factories, sweatshops or Third World enclaves of the metropolitan areas of developed countries (Sassen, 1991b; Elson and Pearson, 1981a; Radcliffe, 1999). Researchers suggest that massive transfers of labour-intensive production from more industrialised countries to the Third World have resulted in new processes of proletarianisation of women, particularly in the relocated industries (Prügl, 1996; Beneriá and Róldan, 1987).

4.1. 'Ideal' Workers and Third World Women

The gender and development literature in the early 1980s aimed to highlight the reasons for capital's preference for specific types of labour and the inter-linkages between these preferences and the social relations, which create suitable conditions for this recruitment. The main focus was to analyse the logic behind the preference of capital for particular locations and

particular forms of labour. Furthermore, these researchers attempted to explore the connection between the experiences of industrial employment and gendered control mechanisms. They aimed to analyse the specificity of female proletarianisation within this context and show that the entrance of women into paid work is not autonomous, but is mediated by gender relations.

This literature points out that young women are mainly employed in repetitive, simple tasks in new export industries in LDCs (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1983; Elson and Pearson, 1981a; Elson and Pearson, 1981b). The reasons for preferring young female labour relative to male labour have been analysed with reference to the existing forms of gender relations.

Elson and Pearson (1981a) suggest that the main legitimisation for this preference is women's supposed greater manual dexterity and low cost. According to them, employers argue that women are more docile relative to men and are willing to accept tough work discipline. Since women have less experience, they are less likely to organise and resist against harsh working conditions, long working hours and low income. Elson and Pearson (1981a) emphasise that women's ability to have greater manual dexterity, their patience to do repetitive and simple tasks and their obedience in harsh working conditions are related to the process of gender construction and gender roles which are learned through family and society.

According to this literature, another reason for the preference of female labour is its low cost. Young women are cheaper to hire relative to male workers. Furthermore, existing forms of gender relations, which define women as mainly responsible for child bearing and reproduction, support women's secondary status in the market and legitimise low payment. Companies take advantage of the traditional idea that men are the main breadwinners. Any income earned by women has been assumed to be an

'extra' above the primary income and mainly for women's own usage (Arizpe and Aranda, 1988; Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1983).

The following words of management consultants of US multinational companies has been given as an example of taken for granted image of young female workers: "You do not have any sullenness here. They smile... The girls genuinely enjoy themselves. They are away from their families. They have spending money. They buy motorbikes whatever" (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1983: 15).

The constant turnover of workers, as they get married or have children, has also been defined as another advantage of female labour. The turnover allows companies to save on wage increases due to seniority and also prevents the accumulation of information and experience, which might lead workers to organise and resist. Since female workers have few work alternatives relative to men, they can be asked to accept constant fluctuation in the work schedules. Therefore, female labour suits the needs of production flexibility (Arizpe and Aranda, 1988).

The early literature on female labour in export-oriented production frames a well-constructed analysis about worker profiles and existing working conditions. It identifies how young women are integrated into the capitalist development process and how this process is influenced by existing forms of gender relations. These studies are crucial, since they were the first to integrate the development of global capitalism and women's oppression and exploitation. On the other hand, these studies mainly concentrate on the exploitation of female labour as young, cheap and disposable labour and focus on women's vulnerability. All female workers in the Third World, within different societies, different countries and different industries have been assumed to constitute a homogeneous oppressed group characterised by common dependencies and powerlessness. These studies have been

criticised for presenting a stereotypical, homogeneous view of female workers (Kabeer, 2000; Mohanty, 1991; Lim, 1990).

Mohanty (1991) suggests that when women are taken as a unique, coherent category,[5] it is impossible to analyse women in particular locations, historically specific conditions and as part of social and power networks. Women are taken as a unified 'powerless' group prior to the analysis and the context specified after the fact, such as women in the family, in the workplace, in the religious networks and in the context of restructuring (Mohanty, 1991: 59). In the early literature on global restructuring and women's labour, it seems as if these systems exist outside the relations of women with other women and women with other men. These studies undervalue how women are implicated in forming these relations as well as being produced by them.

The gender and development researchers in the 1980s base their analysis mainly on domination, rather than addressing the social agency of women who are subjected to a number of oppressions. Women seem to be trapped between two solid and frozen structures: capitalist exploitation on the one side and gender subordination on the other. The structures can coincide with each other or can be in conflict. In both cases, female labour is limited by these two gigantic structures that do not allow any space of manoeuvrability.

Such an analysis theorises domination and the logic behind industrial development, rather than how female labour itself interacts with this process. This work tells us more about capitalist development processes than about the experiences of women and men in those processes. Although, the aim is to discuss the changing position of women, such analyses give more personality to global capitalism than to the female workers within it. Third

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[5] In this case, female workers in Third World countries. Although the analysis considers class differentiation, it still takes a huge geography as a unit.

World women become a faceless, speechless army of cheap, obedient labour.

4.2. Women as Cultural Beings: Framing Female Labour Around Obedience, Cultural Values and 'Patriarchy'

Since the 1990s, some studies have critiqued homogenising representations of female labour and attempted to show that not all women in the Third World work in unfavourable conditions. These studies emphasise the benefits of export-oriented production for female labour. Lim (1990) suggests that the analytical framework in the earlier studies does not explain all or even most situations of Third World women in export-oriented production. The conditions of female workers in export industries of developing countries are varied, diverse and complex.

In his study on Maquiladora workers in Honduras, Ver Beek (2001) argues that although workers experience problems in terms of health conditions in the work place and unionisation, they are in an advantageous position in terms of their wages in Honduran society. According to Ver Beek whether the workers benefit from work or not depends on what factors are considered and with whom they are being compared.

Kabeer (2000) also stresses the better conditions of female workers working in export-oriented factories in Bangladesh. She makes a comparison between migrant Bangladeshi women in London and female workers in the export clothing industry in Dhaka and suggests that the latter have better conditions. Similarly, Lim (1990) gives examples from different countries and different industries that show the favourable conditions of women working in export-oriented production compared to women who are not part of the paid labour force.

Lim gives attention to the diverse conditions of female labour within transnational companies and export-oriented production. I agree with her that new forms of production can result in diverse conditions for female labour. However, she takes her logic further and suggests that transnational companies contribute to the 'emancipation' of female labour with wage employment. Firstly, as stated by Pearson (1998), the starting point of analysis of the critiqued literature is not the absence of paid employment, but women's position within paid work. Secondly, Lim ignores the multiplicity and fluidity of power relations. She undermines the new forms of control experienced by women in new production processes, as well as women's position towards these mechanisms such as the nature of work discipline, social control and the strategies developed by the female workers as a response to these control mechanisms. Thus, she sees women's 'liberation' in 'Western economic rationality' by analysing women's employment in transnational companies as women's emancipation without making a critique of the nature of this employment (Ong, 1988). It is therefore necessary to consider the advantages and disadvantages faced by female workers, as new spaces are opened up and new control mechanisms developed through export-oriented production.

Much research focuses on women's labour in specific societies in the context of the changing face of economic relations. Studies consider the diversity and particularity of women's experiences and make visible women's informal work and paid labour. They open a way for social and cultural experiences to be understood within a framework of class relations. However, in some of these studies, the emphasis still remains on women's passivity, which is mainly seen as a result of gender relations bounded by existing forms of cultural values. In this section, I will highlight a number of influential studies that analyse women's informal work as part of subcontracting relations.

The first example is Ghvamshahidi's work (1995 and 1996) on Iranian female carpet weavers who are linked to the world market via subcontracting relations. Ghvamshahidi's starting point is Iranian patriarchy and Islamic values. She suggests that Iranian patriarchy, which has its sources in religious values, attributes little or no value to women's productive roles.

Ghvamshahidi (1996) states that Sharia'h, which is the particular form of the interpretation of Islam maintained by the Muslim male elite, regulates family and social relations and the day to day lives of Muslims. Sharia'h in particular, and religious ideology in general, emphasise women's ultimate roles as being good mothers, daughters and wives and promotes women's seclusion. This image of perfect Muslim women is recreated and reinforced by the state and by all socio-political channels of the Islamic Republic. According to Ghvamshahidi (1996: 117), 'a young married woman is obliged by custom and by Islamic law to obey her husband and devote herself to her children and husband'.

According to Ghvamshahidi, gender ideology, which proclaims that women must be at home, leaves no alternative solution to economic problems other than homeworking. She suggests that as women's low wage and insecure work are justified by gender ideology, the local and national entrepreneurs and middlemen extract large profits from women's work at home. Gender ideology supported by religious values strongly stresses women's domestic roles in Ghvamshahidi's analysis. Thus, it limits women's employment alternatives and creates suitable conditions for capital accumulation, which seeks cheap labour.

Barbro Hoel (1981) analyses Asian women's work within the context of paternalistic relationships between the employer and female workers in her study on the clothing sweatshops in the UK. Hoel suggests that the subservience and passivity of Asian women to their husbands at home are reproduced at work in the sweatshops.

Hoel makes a comparison between English female workers who are more 'rational' in their relationship with work and Asian workers who do not overcome their cultural ties. A discourse of 'othering' is used throughout Hoel's analysis with the idea of 'English women' being contrasted with that of 'the other'. She suggests that English female workers in the garment workshops are uncompromising about the intensification of the workplace or deterioration of the working conditions. While English workers are ready to fight for their rights, Asian women usually do not reveal work related problems and have a 'servile' attitude towards their employer. According to Hoel, English women perceive their jobs just as a job. However, Asian women perceive their jobs as a sense of obligation and debt of gratitude to their employers.

Hoel gives Asian female worker's unionising attempts in the garment workshops as an example of women's collective forms of resistance.[6] However, Hoel argues that Asian women's attempts at collective struggles are encouraged and mediated by their husbands, brothers or fathers. Although these attempts challenge harsh working conditions and unfair treatment by the male employers, it reinforces the subordinate relationship between female workers and male members of their family. Hoel argues that even the acts of resistance developed by immigrant workers are forms of reaffirmation of their dependency upon males in the Asian Community. Thus, in her analysis of workers' acts of resistance, Hoel closes the doors of culture back in the faces of Asian female workers.

Hoel's analysis of female workers' resistance is based on an employers' perspective. This analysis pictures English female workers as 'inflexible' and resisting as opposed to Asian women who are 'slow in their mind and body', who rarely refuse any demand of the management and who are bound to them with gratitude. Hoel actually recreates the employer's

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[6] Hoel states that there were several attempts to unionise in twenty-two workplaces where she focused her study. As a result of these attempts, one of the workplaces was fully unionised.

sexist, racist stereotype of docile and obedient Asian women by not questioning this perspective and by undervaluing Asian women's acts of resistance.

White (1994 and 2000) also analyses women's informal sector work in relation to cultural values and kinship networks.[7] She suggests that reciprocity and strong kinship/fictitious kinship relations are sources of women's subordination and exploitation in the export-oriented informal production of Istanbul-Turkey. Women's labour power becomes the property of a group via debt and reciprocity obligations. White presents women's and children's labour as a 'natural' contribution to family and an obligation to community. White ends one of her articles with following words:

> Kinship as metaphor for economic relations requires that relations of domination appear 'natural'. To that end, the expectation of return for labour must remain unspoken (as in relations between kin) and thus the possibilities for resistance unthought (White, 2000: 148).

Eventually, the relations of domination and lack of resistance to harsh conditions of exploitation are located within the context of kinship relations and bondage of reciprocity.[8]

Hoel, Ghvamshahidi and White base their analysis on a cultural explanation of passivity and obedience that contributes to the homogenisation of 'Third World women'. In all three texts, the victimhood of

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[7] Since White's analysis is particularly related to Turkey context, it has been explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

[8] I have particularly focused on White's study above since its more recent and it has more detailed analysis. However, it is possible to mention other studies, which repeatedly frame the work relations in Turkey within a similar context. For instance, Dubensky (1977) bases the lack of class consciousness among workers in Turkey on strong kinship and religious ties, which allow 'deep bonds of solidarity' between workers and the patron. He argues that these bonds create a loyal and productive workforce. Changing work relations do not seem to crack 'traditional moralities' which remain solid and which preserves their validity over generations.

cultural values, which defines gender relations, feed into another form of victimhood that is the victimhood of economic relations. Women are victims, either as a result of particular interpretations of Islam; or cultural values of society which are based on reciprocity and strong kinship relations; or paternalistic values of the Asian community, which are described as the sources of passivity and obedience for Asian women. In my opinion, these studies replicate homogeneous notions of 'average' Third World women and their oppression within particular contexts.

Women's attachment to production is analysed as part of culture and kinship relations in these studies. Female workers working at home or in workshops are presented as recipients of dominant gender ideologies and existing moral values. Women's position within production relations has therefore been reduced to traditional forms of social relations. These relations have become the sole category, which define women's position within the economy. By doing this, they actually divide the world of economic relations and women's world.

In their perspective, culture and traditional forms of social relations, either as kinship relations and religious or ethnic community bounds, are collapsed into class relations. The position of female workers in production relations is analysed only within the context of traditional forms of social relations. Thus, class relations are reduced to kinship relations or paternalistic values based on religion or ethnicity. While Third World women are affected by changing economic relations, they have been analysed as cultural beings that live in the world of kinship relations, religious principles and cultural values.

A second handicap in these studies is that customs, religion and cultural values are conceptualised as if they draw a singular, coherent picture which flows from one condition to the another without any apparent contradiction, tension, crack and struggle. These values are assumed to be

mobilised only at vertical level by the employers. Therefore they are analysed as part of the legitimisation of authority. The analysis focuses on how these coherent processes affect female labour and how they are perceived by women. However, it dismisses how women interact with and tackle them. It pays little attention to what strategies are developed by women within or outside the framework of those processes.

In the literature discussed above, adolescent female workers, child labourers or homeworkers replace the young, middle-aged and conscious, male manual workers of traditional Marxist literature. However, these workers seem to leave their destiny in the hand of their male relatives or 'relative like' employers. They do not stand up for their rights because they obey their fathers, their relatives and their employers. Women are pictured as passive recipients of existing power hierarchies and no room remains for resistance, either overt and organised or covert and indirect. In my opinion, by focusing only on existing power hierarchies, the studies mentioned above actually extend these hierarchies rather than question them.

5. Understanding the Struggles of Informal Sector Workers and The Politics of Resistance

In the section above, I focused on studies that highlight the relationship between gender relations and capital's preference for women's labour in order to understand the position of female labour in the export industries and in informal work. I also made a critique of these studies, since they mainly emphasise women's subordinate position and pay little attention to women's acts of resistance in the work place. In this section I will try to establish a framework for understanding workers' acts of resistance within the workspace.

A nexus of key overlapping terms are used in the literature to refer to acts of resistance. These include empowerment, strategic action and agency. In this section I will elaborate on these terms with reference to workers acts of resistance. In the first part, I will analyse empirical studies that focus on women's advantageous position in export-oriented production within the framework of the literature on empowerment. In the second part, I will concentrate on studies which analyse workers' acts of resistance at an individual level and studies which highlight the political significance of these strategies. Then I will focus on collective forms of resistance which target informal work settings. I will also elaborate on the possibilities these solidarities open up or close down for female workers.

5.1. Gender and Empowerment

Empowerment most often refers to a process of transformation through which the individual or group increases their ability to make strategic choices (Kabeer, 2001; Afshar, 1998; Rowlands, 1998; Rowlands, 1997; Moser, 1989). The ability to choose also means to have alternatives and therefore option to choose otherwise. This ability is also referred to as agency (Cook, 2000; Kabeer, 1999).

Kabeer (1999) argues that agency may have both positive and negative meanings in relation to power. A positive sense of agency refers to people's capacity to define their own life choices. Agency in the negative sense implies the capacity of an individual or group 'to impose their own goals on others against their wishes'. Kabeer (2001 and 1999) suggests that social and human resources owned by the person or the group influence their ability to exercise their choices. An analysis of agency therefore needs to consider the resources that a group or person has.

In the literature, empowerment is discussed at a number of different levels. It also covers a range of different dimensions. The personal level of empowerment is related to the development of a sense of self, individual confidence, and a sense of agency which works to 'undo the effects of internalised oppression' (Rowlands, 1998; Rowlands, 1997). Second, the relational level of empowerment is based on developing the ability to 'negotiate and influence the nature of a relationship and decision made within' (Rowlands, 1997). It is a sense of empowerment in relation to other people. Rowlands identifies relational empowerment mainly within close relationships. These include relationships within the family or household. The third level of empowerment is defined as collective empowerment. In a broad sense, collective empowerment is defined as achieving a more extensive impact as a group than individual can achieve by themselves (Rowlands, 1998; Rowlands, 1997).

Kabeer (2001 and 1994) perceives a collective dimension of empowerment as an adjunct to personal empowerment. She highlights the importance of a sense of self-respect and agency in understanding the empowerment process and suggests that policies on empowerment must build on personal empowerment. Similarly, Rowlands (1997) argues that it is hard to achieve a collective or relational dimension of empowerment without the personal dimension. She suggests that a feminist perspective on empowerment needs to deal not only with participation in decision-making, but also the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able to make decisions.

In the literature there are different emphases on the different levels of empowerment according to changes in conditions and agendas. Some studies focus more on collective and institutional aspects of empowerment. They examine the relationship between the process of empowerment and the growth of civil society and the institutionalisation of 'social inclusion' (Weinberger and Jütting, 2001; Cook, 2000; Friedman, 1992). On the other

hand, some studies focus on personality and identity aspects of empowerment (Laurie, 1997; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993; Wilson, 1991; Moser, 1989; Ong, 1987).

Another concept that needs to be elaborated on in defining empowerment is 'strategic action' or 'strategic choice'. Strategic action or strategic choice is a contested term in feminist studies. It can be understood as open and explicit challenges to power relations (Molyneux, 2001; Molyneux, 1998; Dawson, 1998) or may also include more implicit and covert acts which can contribute to a change at group or personal level (Laurie, 1997; Moser, 1989).

For instance, Molyneux (2001 and 1998) emphasises the explicit aspects of women's strategic action. She suggests that strategic objectives are based on overcoming women's subordination in terms of the sexual division of labour or institutional forms of discrimination. Molyneux argues that there is an explicit questioning of the gender order in strategies through which women increase their power relative to men and as citizens. Strategic gender action challenges women's subordinated role in society. These actions include challenges against gender divisions of labour, the lack of legal rights, domestic violence and unequal wages. Molyneux identifies the practical interests of women as things that women require to survive day to day and to meet their immediate needs. Practical gender needs are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions. Women's subordinated roles are taken for granted in these needs. She suggests that there is an obedience to the existing gender order within women's practical actions.

Molyneux emphasises open and collective movements. Her analysis does not however give us a framework to understand women's day to day struggles and the personal side of empowerment. Furthermore, a clear-cut differentiation between these two aspects of action undermines the fact that a change in the latter may address a change in the former. In her study of

women's emergency employment in Lima-Peru, Laurie (1997) gives us an example of this dichotomy. She argues that women's day to day survival strategies can address a change in terms of women's control over their bodies and gender identities. She challenges conceptualisations that only see change in terms of visible action. She argues that change also needs to be conceptualised to include the ways in which people begin to think differently. Women's strategic actions are not only acts that lead to visible changes within economic or political domains, but also day to day strategies which leads to reconstitution of women's individual or collective femininities.

Practical and strategic interests are not distinguished at definitional level in this study. I would argue that first at a conceptual level, it is not possible to differentiate a 'survival strategy' that is part of 'obedience' from an act of resistance that leads to challenges to the existing order, because practical or survival strategies may also create a basis for political and/or personal transformation. Furthermore, a clear-cut division between 'practical interests' and 'strategic interests' runs the risk of creating a hierarchy between these two levels. Divisions between 'practical' and 'strategic' interests can easily be transferred into authoritarian voices at the policy level. At the collective action level, it begs the question who decides on behalf of whom what strategic and practical actions are. However, it is important to question the extent to which an act creates a challenge or addresses a change in gender relations or in workers' rights. In my opinion, this can only be analysed within its particular historical, social, economic or political context, rather than through creating dichotomies at the theoretical level and imposing them to the particular contexts.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the fact that a condition can be 'strategic' in one context and 'practical' in another context. Empirical work on female workers' position in export industries gives us examples of these dichotomies. One of these studies is Wolf's study on young female workers in export-factories of Java, Indonesia. Wolf (1991) suggests that

despite the exploitative conditions, young women have certain benefits from factory work. Female workers have a higher status in export factories relative to the agricultural work, which they used to do before they migrated to the city for factory work. Furthermore, they have certain levels of economic independence from their families and have a chance to socialise with other men and women. She suggests that new production spaces are exploitative for women in terms of class relations, but they are also empowering in terms of gender relations.

Similarly, in her work on agro-export employment of women in Chile, Barrientos (1998) argues that agri-business has both empowered and disempowered female workers. She suggests that women experience problems in terms of their pay, working conditions and long periods of unemployment in between the working periods of temporary agricultural work. Although female workers play a crucial role in sustaining agro-export business, their problems are ignored in Chilean society. Female workers also continue to carry double burdens of productive and reproductive work. However, agri-business increases women's independence as wage earners and enhances their bargaining position in the household. Furthermore, the work creates a social space beyond women's extended family and community and helps enhance their self-esteem. Barrientos argues that the workspace creates a potential for women through which new opportunities for collective organising may flourish.

Another example is Wilson's study (1991) on women's labour in workshop production in Mexico. While Wilson argues that women's labour is subordinated via workshop production, she also suggests that women benefit from working. Wilson argues that the way in which female workers are recruited, disciplined and rewarded has been influenced by gender relations as well as market relations. The industrial organisation of workshop production bears strong imprints of domesticity and gender ideology. According to Wilson, young female workers have more power in their

household relations via their workshop work. They have access to wages, recognised skills and greater social and economic visibility. They also have relative economic autonomy and more negotiation power in household relations.

Wilson (1991) also emphasises the way in which production spaces influence female workers' identities. She suggests that paid work in industrial workshops create a space of freedom for young female workers through which they can claim their youth between childhood and marriage. Earning power gives more adult status to young women at home. They claim greater freedom to choose their style of dress and have more chance to choose their own husbands. Wilson presents young female workers demands about making decision over more realms of their life as struggles against accepted forms of gender identities in Mexican society.

Similarly, Ong (1987) suggests that young Malaysian peasant women's work in transnational factories creates conflicting gender identities. In the face of surveillance by the factory and the control by the public, which suggest that factory women have fallen from expected standards of modesty, some women seek protection by emphasising their moral purity, the norms of male authority and female modesty. On the other hand, similar to Wilson, Ong also argues that, for some female workers, the workshop floor creates a space in which women experience new gender identities.

In sum, studies on female workers' positions in export industries mainly focus on personal and relational aspects of empowerment. On the one hand, they emphasise the disempowering nature of work in export-oriented industries with regard to class relations. On the other hand, they highlight female workers' gains in terms of their self-esteem and their position within the household and community. In the following section, I will elaborate on the forms that individual and local resistance can take. I will also focus on the

influence of these acts of resistance on the collective struggles in the workspace.

5.2 Individual Level Strategies and Local Acts of Resistance

There has been much focus conceptually on what forms individual resistance can take. Scott's (1985) *Weapons of the Weak* is a classic example of these arguments. In his study on Malaysian peasants, Scott gives an extensive analysis of the nature of resistance and mechanisms of class struggle within the context of peasant societies. Gibson-Graham's conception of class struggle elaborated above has similarities to Scott's perspective. Both analyses aim to open a space for local politics and individual level strategies within class resistance.

Scott questions whether acts of resistance can only be understood as large-scale, open, formal confrontations with dominating classes. He suggests that since open, collective and large-scale peasant rebellions are rare, we should not conclude that peasants are mute, passive and helpless. Otherwise, we miss the core of the class struggle for peasants. Peasant struggle is mainly based on everyday forms of covert individual strategies which often represent self-help rather than collective solidarity. According to Scott, one needs to pay attention to less obvious, covert and non-confrontational forms of resistance and protests to understand the nature of peasant resistances. In the Malaysian case, such resistance is often expressed as self-indulgent, individual and unorganised strategies. Some examples of Malaysian peasants' acts of resistance are false compliance, shirking, food dragging, arson, feigned ignorance and dissimulation. Scott argues that although these strategies may not contribute to 'revolutionary' consequences, they achieve more than isolated large-scale heroic uprisings in the longer term. They are more permanent, durable and continuous.

In her study on Mexican Maquiladoras, Wright (1997) gives us an example of such everyday resistance in her story of the struggle of an individual worker against the management. Wright shows how a female worker, Gloria, confronts the idea of the stereotyped 'submissive' and 'unskilled' Mexican woman who is considered unsuitable for training and bound to bottom-end jobs.

Gloria works as a supervisor in a Mexican Maquiladora firm. 'Just-in-time management' and new training programs for 'skilling-up' the labour force have been introduced into the Maquiladora sector including the firm where Gloria works. Wright suggests that the management takes for granted the fact that Mexican women, as 'docile' and 'subordinate' workers, are an untrainable category of labour. Although Maquiladora employment is dominated by women, Mexican women are excluded from the training programs by the management and asked to stick to bottom-end jobs.

The management strategy reveals that Gloria is bound to unskilled jobs and the most she can achieve is to be an unskilled supervisor. Gloria challenges her exclusion from the training program and wins her battle against the management by using her twenty years experience as a worker and supervisor and by mobilising her network in the factory. Eventually, she is given incentives and a chance to participate in the training programs and becomes part of the management team.

Gloria's personal battle represents a struggle that cuts across gender and nationality in Wright's analysis. Wright argues that Gloria opposes the distinctions between men and women and the division between Mexican and American. She challenges the cultural stereotype of the Mexican woman for her own interests. However, while Gloria resists a dominant order as a woman and as a Mexican, she does not challenge capitalist exploitation and domination within the factory. As a supervisor, then afterwards as a manager,

she actively supports harsh controlling mechanisms on production and surveillance of the workers.

Wright's study focuses on the individual level struggle of a female worker for her rights and for her career, rather than on the resistance of workers for a common interest or workers' rights. Gloria's strategies can be read, as Wright does, as emancipatory in terms of gender and ethnic identities, but they can also be read as emphasising authority in terms of class relations. Gloria's story highlights the contradictory nature of change. She claims to be liberated against the bosses as a Mexican woman, while maintaining her Mexican identity. She also acts oppressively towards the other workers in her management style. In Kabeer's terms, Gloria exercises a positive agency concerning gender relations, but a negative agency in class relations. The individual focus allows the nature of resistance, which is often contradictory, to become the object of analysis.

The existence of individual forms of strategies that may mitigate or deny the claims of superordinate classes (Scott, 1985) can open spaces, but they do not automatically cause a renegotiation of power relations between the superordinate and subordinate classes. Scott cherishes the individual level strategies developed by peasants without taking into consideration any sense of collectivity or whether or not changes in the 'contract' between superordinate and subordinate classes occur.

According to Kandiyoti (1998), acts of resistance exemplified in Scott's analysis are framed within the terms of the existing system. Anonymous, covert, individual level strategies without any legitimate base within the existing system may actually backfire. Once found out, these strategies may result in an increase in control mechanisms (Kandiyoti, 1998). She suggests that in Scott's analysis, subordinate and superordinate are bound to certain normative boundaries of which powerful agent is in a better place to change the rules.

Types of individual strategies highlighted by Scott can be part of the legitimisation of the existing system, if there is no reference to a future change and no sense of collectivity. In some cases, they might also function as a 'safety valve' for subordinates and can actually mask existing power hierarchies rather than questioning the position of landlord, state or employer (Kandiyoti, 1998; White, 1986). If there is no sense of collectivity, Scottian type of strategies can turn into a negative agency. They can easily be transferred into conflicts and 'dog-eat-dog' competition among the subordinates.

In her comparative study on Free Trade Zones in Malaysia, Philippines and Sri Lanka, Rosa (1994) gives examples of women's informal, individual acts of resistance, which creates a channel for workers' rights and for a common interest. She points out the middle-ground between large-scale, organised struggles and individual level strategies based on 'self-help'. She, therefore, gives us examples of individual level and covert strategies that have sense of collectivity and that create a channel for open uprisings.

Rosa argues that in workspaces where union organisation is not permitted, women may not express their resistance under a formal organisation. However, this does not mean that they do not initiate acts of resistance or common solidarities. Despite the repressive laws and non-implementation of labour laws owing to the State's anxiety about maintaining a stable environment for investors and enormous pressures to earn wages to support families, women workers initiate diverse ways to resist. Female workers, who live together in Free Trade Zones, can develop collective communities and relationships of trust. They channel this collectivity into the workspace and use it as part of their resistance strategies at work.

Rosa (1994: 86) suggests that women might appear passive to the management. Yet they actually have sophisticated cultures of subversion. They channel their 'concealed way of rebelling', which they learn while growing up and living in an authoritarian society as women, into the workspace. Rosa suggests that women develop clandestine means of communication, solidarities at work and organise informally in work settings where formal organising is not permitted. Many of these acts are local and covert. For instance, female workers use local language in the presence of foreign management as part of their strategies. When the management imposes rules such as 'talking is not allowed', women use eye contact. They lower the production target. When pressure is placed on them, they help workers who work slowly to reach targets.

Rosa suggests that female workers' common life experiences influence their workspace resistance and solidarities. Although the acts of resistance are not usually planned and are based on immediate action, women do support each other and develop spontaneous common resistances. Their clandestine strategies are transformed into open acts of resistance, such as spontaneous strikes in Sri Lanka, 'Wild cat strikes' in Malaysia and sympathy strikes in the Philippines (Rosa, 1994).

Rosa highlights women's clandestine support and communication in Free Trade Zones as a form of organising strategies. Female workers' strategies in Rosa's examples are not expressed, or rather not allowed to be expressed, in terms of formal organisation. However, they are still transformed into open, spontaneous confrontations with the management. Although it is not openly manifested, female workers' individual and covert strategies in Rosa's case have a sense of collectivity. Furthermore, when these strategies are transformed into open forms of resistance, the workers claim a change in the work relations.

Following post-structuralist theorisations of gender and class politics, female workers' acts of resistance and strategies are defined in this study as *any* attempt to address a change in gender relations or production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labour. Female workers' strategies are not only perceived as a visible and explicit questioning of the gender order or power relations within the workspace. They are also perceived as implicit or covert actions that may lead to a change through the reconstitution of gender identities (Laurie, 1997; Moser, 1989), or have the potential of collective or individual level actions for workers rights (Barientos, 1998; Rosa, 1994). In chapters 6 and 7, I examine the female workshop workers' informal and local level resistance strategies which sometimes take covert and individual forms, and other times take open and collective forms. In these chapters, I will also attempt to analyse the extent to which these strategies challenge existing power hierarchies in gender and class relations or demand a change in gender identities.

5.3. Third World Workers Global Linkages

International level campaigns are crucial for elaborating the support given to industrial workshops and the range of options available to the workers in their acts of resistance. As the nature of production relations changes and extends to the international level, the acts of resistance need to be examined at the international and national level, as well as the local level. The network relationship between different levels of resistance becomes important. The availability or unavailability of solidarity networks at the national and international level, and the way in which these networks are contacted with local level solidarities, influence the nature of local level solidarities. This process also shows the boundaries of workers' acts of resistance and it also affects workers' access to information.

In this section, firstly I will examine these types of networks by focusing on anti-sweatshop movements and code of conduct campaigns, which mainly take place in developed countries and are particularly strong in the garment industry. National level solidarity networks will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

The aim of this section is not to cover all the campaigns in the West, which target export producers, retailers and consumers, but to pay attention to certain limitations of those campaigns. I want to focus particularly on the effects of some of these campaigns on targeted workspace and the linkages between the campaigns and Third World workers. I also want to focus on the actual representations of those workers within the movements originating in the West. I will analyse what kind of possibilities and spaces are opened up for the workers and the informal work settings, as well as the possibilities and spaces that are closed down via these solidarities and the international campaigns.

The anti-sweatshop resistance has been described as one of the significant social movements of the 1990s in North America and Europe (Hale, 2000; Yalnz et al., 1999). The campaigns have aimed to raise awareness about labour standards and working conditions in labour-intensive industries throughout the world, but especially in less developed countries.

As stated above, these industries are the industries in which production shifts are experienced resulting in employment losses in developed countries. The anti-sweatshop movements have based themselves on humanitarian concerns of worker's welfare and also on protecting First World workers from unfair competition achieved by firms operating in less developed countries. The campaigns base their logic on the fact that raising labour standards in less developed countries would help workers both in less developed and developed countries. While the workers in less developed countries would benefit from decent working conditions,

exercise basic human rights and earn descent wages, the workers in developed countries would not be forced to make a choice between competing with sweatshops or losing their jobs (Kabeer, 2000).

The United States of America's largest garment workers union, UNITE suggests that 'they have declared a war on sweatshops because they recognise that their own interest now lies in helping workers elsewhere. As long as sweatshops exist in El Salvador or Indonesia, US firms will use their ability to source production there to bargain down US wages and working conditions to sweatshop levels' (cited from Kabeer, 2000: 380).

As a response to these movements, and in relation to wider interest in international regulations, many companies in developed countries have adopted codes of conduct to set labour and environmental standards in less developed countries. These codes are mainly influenced by ILO labour standards, such as the right to collective bargaining, a minimum age limit for employment, the restriction of maximum working hours, limitation of voluntary over-time, the establishment of employment relationship with a contract, and health and safety measures. The aim is to increase the responsibility of distributors and international companies for their subcontractor organisations (Hale, 2000; Hale and Shaw, 2001).

Current studies suggest that the code of conduct campaigns have limited scope for improving labour standards in LDCs (Freidberg, 2003; Barrientos, 2000a; Barrientos, 2000b; Hughes, 2001a; Huges, 2001b). Most of the retailers are not ready to cover the cost of monitoring (Freidberg, 2003; Hughes, 2001a; Blowfield, 1999), let alone reduce the profit levels needed to improve the labour standards. Although high-profile ethical sourcing initiatives are emerging in DCs, such as the Apparel Industry Partnership in USA and the Ethical Trading Initiative in UK, the codes are only voluntarily being adopted by companies.

Barrientos (2000a) observes that the codes cover only part of the total employment and have a limited impact on the seasonal, short-term, temporary or informal labour, which is often constituted by women, young people and racial minorities. Furthermore, the codes do not address the particular conditions of female labour (Barrientos, 2000b). In the current form, the codes of conducts work more as an insurance for retailers to protect their image in the western media and to prevent their names from appearing in the negative campaigns in DCs (Freidberg, 2003; Hughes, in press; Blowfield, 1999).

The literature mentioned above mainly focuses on the problems of implementing the codes of conduct and the limitations of ethical sourcing initiatives. They emphasise improvements in the control aspect of companies, rather than the possibilities created by the anti-sweatshop campaigns in DCs in terms of the empowerment of the addressed workers. In the rest of this section, I would like to focus more on the nature of the relationship between the anti-sweatshop campaigns and the workers in LDCs.

The majority of the campaigns have been organised by university students, religious groups, consumer initiatives and trade unions in developed countries. They have mainly targeted consumer conscience in those countries, aiming to identify brands and companies, which do not regulate labour standards in their subcontracting companies. Boycotting those products, influencing consumer conscience and damaging the public image of those brands have been used as main pressure strategies. Since the success of those campaigns are mainly based on their effect on consumer conscience, Third World production places have been shown as 'showcases of horror' for labour abuses, employer cruelty and workers passivity (Kabeer, 2000). Third World workers are presented as vulnerable victims and such images have touched the conscience of the First World public.

These movements are successful in raising public awareness in developed countries about harsh working conditions and experiences of workers in less developed countries. However, little attention has been given to whether or not the suggested policies have been approved by the workers and NGOs in less developed countries. Workers and NGOs in less developed countries are rarely active participants in the strategic development of the campaigns. Although the main concern is raising the standards of labour in less developed countries, targeted workers are usually no more than an information source for the campaigns.

According to Kabeer (2000: 368), child labour campaigns in the USA targeting Bangladesh's garment industry have resulted in laying off child workers in export industries. However, the dismissal of children from factories did not end child labour but merely forced those children into more hazardous working conditions. A similar argument was raised during an interview with a trade-union representative in Turkey:

> Every now and then, someone from abroad, either a journalist or European organiser, would come and want to obtain information about the child labour abuses in Turkey. Just a couple of days ago, a French journalist came and said that he is planning to produce a documentary film on child labour abuses in the textile production. Those kids' families earn minimum wages. And that is not enough to survive. Forget the clothing production, all the shoe shiners - without an employer or anything - are younger than 15 years-old. What should we do? Shall we force these kids out of the workforce? Let's say we forced the employers in the informal sector and the parents of the kids, so that children never work again. Wouldn't that actually be cruel towards those children and their families? There is a trap here. If you do not see this trap and are not

willing to understand what the actual conditions are, you actually cause damage rather than give a support.

(Türk-iş, union representative)

Better understanding of the dynamics of child labour and the working conditions in which child labour arises need to be developed. Otherwise, criticising child labour, calling for the total dismissal of child workers or abolishing the informal work as a whole will force the actual targets of these campaigns to suffer rather than providing them with better conditions. Therefore according to the union activist in Turkey, simply pressuring the employers for higher wages and better working conditions could result in the loss of existing job possibilities.

Scholars Against Sweatshop Labor (SASL) highlight this issue and suggest that many of anti-sweatshop activists and organisations which monitor code of conducts do not have enough understanding of the effects of their policies on low-wage workers in less developed countries. They argue that some of the international activists and organisations do not perceive how their policies may actually harm the low-wage workers in LDC, although they aim to help them. SASL also criticise anti-sweatshop movements, since they do not pay enough attention to the views of NGOs, workers and governments of less developed countries while they develop their policies (Acit, 2001).

The perspective suggested by anti-sweatshop campaigns equalises all employers and assumes that all workshops have the same ability to react to economic circumstances. No differentiation is made between a company owner at the top of subcontracting chains and a workshop employer in the last link. It is assumed that the pressure on top retailers and brands will lead to direct benefits to the workers at the bottom. In these terms, they actually freeze the relationship between employers and workers and undermine the complex relationships of dependency that those workspaces are tied into. Campaigns against poor working conditions and labour abuses have ended

in multinational companies transferring this pressure to the workshops which run with limited profit margins and lead some into bankruptcy. The trap of the workshops has been analysed in more detail in Chapter 5 through a case study of the garment workshops in Istanbul.

Since the main point of pressure is to affect the image of the companies at the level of consumption, this pressure does not bring about an *a priori* improvement in the working conditions of the subcontractor firms. Rather, it more likely results in more pressure from the retailers on the subcontractor firms and in turn on the workshops to improve the working conditions as they continue to work with the same profit levels. The responsibility for workers still belongs to the producer firms and the workshops. If the producers do not fulfil the necessary conditions, the retailer company shifts the order to another location. As suggested by Hale and Shaw (2001) and as indicated in the case of Turkey in Chapter 5, the retail companies create the conditions that operate against the implementation of the codes of conducts via competitive pressure on producing companies in LDCs.

The codes of conduct, which are developed as a response to these campaigns, are not negotiated between employers and workers, but are introduced in a top-down fashion by the multinationals and organisations in developed countries (Hale and Shaw, 2001; Hale, 2000). Policies are developed by NGOs, trade unions and companies of developed countries and it is simply assumed that workers in less developed countries will perceive that these policies are for their interests.

Women Working Worldwide, a UK-based organisation which aims to create a network and information exchange to support female workers, conducted research on code awareness in six countries in 1998. This research showed that female workers were not even aware of the codes although the companies that they worked for were subcontractors of well-

known companies such as Nike and the GAP. As a result, they developed a programme to create publicity about these codes among the workers (WWW, 2003; Hale and Shaw, 2001).

Codes of conduct campaigns can have the potential of providing a link between worker solidiraties in LDCs and NGOs in DCs, as long as more egalitarian relationships are built up. However, in their current form, strategies are developed for the workers without their knowledge and consent and therefore First World labour movements, consumer campaigns and student initiatives became true subjects of this counter history. On the other hand, Third World workers cannot rise above their object status.

Johns and Vural (2000) suggest that plant closures and job losses of impoverished workers in LDCs are unintended results of campaigns that target putting pressure on retailers in DCs to improve the working conditions of workers in LDCs. It seems that we will continue to witness these 'unintended results' as long as the unequal power relations within subcontracting chains are not addressed and as long as policies are developed in a paternalistic fashion without creating strong linkages with labour initiatives and workers in LDCs.

In sum, it is difficult to argue that the movements mentioned above and codes of conduct campaigns underline and mobilise workers' struggles and solidarities in less developed countries. There are limited attempts to cover and to focus on the modes of resistance and strategies developed by female workers in the informal settings. The labour conditions in LDCs are often improved upon by imposing the standards developed in DCs. However, not all campaigns focus on workers' needs and vulnerabilities. In the following section, I will give examples of solidarity networks which develop more egalitarian relationships with the informal workers and which aim to create a channel for local level resistances focusing on the specific needs of the female informal sector workers.

5.4. Collective Struggles and Informal Sector Workers

We not only want a piece of the pie
We also want to choose the flavour
and know how to make it ourselves

Ela Bhatt[9]

There are several organisations which attempt to organise female informal sector workers at a local level or create channels for local level resistances within the context of changing production relations. Some of these organisations are as follows: the independent trade unions of home-based workers, vendors, petty traders and casual workers in India, namely the Self-Employed Women Association (SEWA); the union of female sweatshopworkers in Mexico, namely the Nineteenth of September Union; the women workers' coalition in Phillipines, namely Gabriela; the umbrella organisation of homeworkers in UK, namely National Group of Homeworking (NGH); and international level women networking organisations such as the Women Working Worldwide (WWW) and the International Network of Homebased Workers (HomeNet). Detailed information about these organisations can be found in the literature (WWW, 2003; HomeNet, 2001; HomeNet, 1999; Rowbotham and Mitter, 1994; Mitter, 1986). Here, I will particularly focus on SEWA and HomeNet examples, as they have been particularly influential in setting an example for other NGOs.

SEWA is one example of an independent trade union that developed alternative organising strategies for women in the informal sector. SEWA was established in India in the 1970s with the membership of four female informal sector workers as a women's trade union for poor women workers. Now this organisation has 220,000 members including home-based workers, street sellers, paper pickers, contract workers, construction and agriculture workers, some of which are active organisers (HomeNet, 1999). As an organisation, SEWA considers workspace and community linkages and mobilises the

individual and local level struggles of female informal sector workers. It channels these strategies into a long-term and organised struggle.

SEWA appropriates bottom-up approaches and seeks to develop organising strategies according to the specific problems of each locality. They emphasise the active involvement of workers in organising and having power to make decisions in developing strategies rather than speaking or acting on their behalf as an organisation. SEWA struggles for informal sector workers' job security, better working conditions, social security and changes of policy and law (Jhabvala, 1994). On the other hand, SEWA includes different aspects of women workers' lives and has a broader sense of struggle compared to classical trade unionism. This organisation uses training courses, child-care centres, medical care, women's banks and producers' cooperatives and the extension of low interest credits to support and organise women working in informal work settings (Jhabvala, 1994).

Another successful example of the collective struggles of Third World women who work in the informal work settings is the International Network of Homebased Workers. In this organisation, female workers in the informal sector are organised at international level as workers around their interests against the global economy.

HomeNet has been set up by organisations of homebased workers from South Asia, South East Asia, Africa, Europe and North America (HomeNet, 1999). It supports local NGOs in less developed countries including Turkey based Ev-eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Çalışma Grubu (Working Group on Women Homebased Workers, referred to here as WG-WHW). HomeNet aims at enabling home-based workers to have a stronger collective voice and bargaining power. It encourages the expansion of existing grassroots organisations and initiations of new local organisations by

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[9] Founder of Self-Employed Women Association.

enabling information flows and facilitating exchanges of homeworkers, organisers and funding support (HomeNet, 1999).

HomeNet recognises that the organisation of informal sector workers is about the details of individuals' daily lives. The group prioritises the active involvement of home-based workers as 'subjects', rather than 'objects' of the organisation process (HomeNet, 2001). The group argues that supporting the growth of strong organisations at local, regional and national levels also gives strength to international organising. HomeNet also co-ordinates lobbying and campaigning at an international level with the collaboration and initiation of local NGOs. Together with SEWA, HomeNet played a crucial role in the adoption of the ILO Convention on Homework.[10]

Organisations like SEWA and HomeNet value local level politics and individual level resistance in which female workers are subjects rather than merely victims of market relations or objects of organised struggles. The organising strategies are built upon female workers' experiences, local level politics and the diverse struggles of informal sector workers. Thus, they avoid naturalising western categories of struggle, freezing production relations in the global economy and the development of an ahistorical notion of exploitation. They consider the linkages between the workspace relations and different aspects of women's lives.

Finally, I want to raise an issue related to women's position in the formal sector. As pointed out by Rohini (1991) in her study on the clothing industry in India, alternative organising strategies need to be developed in the

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[10] In June 1996, ILO recognised that homeworkers are entitled to minimum standards laid down by international law. Via ILO convention (Convention Number: C177), it is internationally recognised that homeworkers have the right of equal treatment with other sections of the workforce in relation to areas such as the right to organise; protection against discrimination; pay; social security; health and safety; access to training; minimum age limit and maternity rights. The aim is to ratify the standards set by ILO and ensure their adaptation into national policies and legislations by the member governments, in consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations and, where they exist, with the organisations of homeworkers (HomeNet, 1999; ILO, 1996a).

formal sector together with the attempts to organise women in the informal sector. The gender division of labour must be challenged, especially with regard to the way women are primarily responsible for domestic work and childcare. This would allow women to be seen in a positive way rather than as more expensive and less flexible workers in the formal sector. It would also prevent employers' discrimination because of women's gender specific employment rights. As a result, the chances would be higher that women would not be pushed out of the formal sector into informal sector work.

Under this perspective class is perceived as a dynamic process, not reduced merely to economic relations and which end at the border of workspace. Class relations are not isolated from other aspects of social life and the interlinkages between the domestic space and workspace are emphasised. Thus, women's familial roles and their identities within their community are considered together with their relations to their work. Since those aspects are acknowledged and perceived as part of workspace solidarities they can be mobilised within organising strategies.

6. Conclusion

Above I have focused on the need to define class and gender relations within a perspective which allows us to reveal their interaction with each other, and which enables us to understand women's economic position within the context of global restructuring, subcontracting relations and informal work. Furthermore, I have tried to summarise the relevant feminist literature on women's labour as a part of economic restructuring. I have suggested that although this literature attempts to show inter-linkages between gender and class relations in order to understand women's labour, it mainly focuses on capitalist domination and how women are affected by this process, rather than on how they also shape it. Furthermore, I have argued that this literature

frames only a macro level picture, which equalises and homogenises women's experiences and which only focuses on women's vulnerability and disadvantageous positions.

Another set of studies that I have mentioned in this chapter focuses on women's informal work experiences in particular contexts. However, this body of literature mainly concentrates on the processes of oppression within a foreground of cultural values and traditional forms of social relations. In these studies, cultural values and traditional forms of social networks have been analysed as part of the legitimisation of authority over female workers. Social norms and gendered values operate with consistency to market relations. They are mobilised only in favour of the authority, without leaving any possibility of manoeuvrability for female workers. Economic relations and women's position in production relations are reduced to traditional forms of social relations. Thus, solidarity and domination relations based on cultural values and kinship networks are collapsed onto class resistance.

I have concentrated on studies that highlight less obvious and non-confrontational forms of resistance in this chapter. I suggest that individual level strategies and local spontaneous forms of struggle are as important to look at as open, large-scale conflicts and formal levels of organisation. Acts of resistance may take place in less obvious and subtler ways. By only focusing on coherent, continuous, and stable group solidarities, then we may easily conclude that subordinate classes in general and female informal sector workers in particular are passive victims of socio-economic processes or that they 'naturally' consent to these processes.

Recent studies suggest that it is necessary to consider gender relations as well as class relations in order to understand women's labour. They also focus on different experiences of women within the local context as global economic changes occur. They consider women's advantageous

position and the local levels of resistances mobilised by workers as well as their disadvantageous position within capitalist exploitation.

In a similar vein, this thesis tries to understand young female workers' involvement in industrial workshop production in Istanbul within the context of gender ideologies and market relations without reducing one to the other. It attempts to explore to the extent to which 'traditional' values and market relations can be analysed as coherent processes. It also looks to the extent to which cultural values and kinship relations exhaust the space of explanation for female workers' economic relations.

This study attempts to reveal how economic restructuring and subcontracting chains are embedded at the local level and to highlight the conditions under which female workers are articulated in the world market. What kinds of new opportunities and control mechanisms have been created? What kinds of inequalities are reinforced? If we stretch the concept of work from the factory floor to informal work, which includes workspaces with strong connotations of domesticity, such as industrial workshop production, how can the workplace be a space of production and struggles over class and gender processes? [11] What types of resistance occur around the workplace?

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[11] My attempt here is neither to add a new study to the fractured analysis of gender and class as large and abstract concepts, nor to claim that they exhaust the total explanatory space of social relations. Rather, I attempt a close analysis of gender and class relations, which understands them as embedded in specific conflicts, struggles and concrete life experiences of female workers and which considers their limits.

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES AND WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN TURKEY

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to examine the position of female labour in Turkey within the context of global restructuring policies. The work includes three parts. The first part briefly summarises the changes in the macro-economic policies of Turkey from 1980 onwards. Specific concerns are to explore the political agenda in which Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) were put into practice; how these policies affected current income distribution, living standards and the employment structure of Turkey at a macro level. The second part reviews the history of the textile and clothing industries in Turkey and the changes in these industries after SAPs. The third part of the study focuses on how deregulation in production and labour markets has affected women's participation in the workforce, specifically in the informal sector in Turkey. The role of the informal sector in the economy is discussed. The change in the role of the informal sector in the clothing industry is placed within the context of export-oriented production and the New International Division of Labour. Finally, the literature on the impacts of informal sector work on female workers' lives in Turkey is reviewed.

2. Background of Structural Adjustment Policies in Turkey

After the early 1950s, import substitution under heavy protection was the main engine of the industry in Turkey. Between 1950-1980, the major economic agenda was rapid economic growth through industrialisation. A boom in heavy industry was one of the politicians' main promises. Turkish governments had embraced a populist approach to industrialisation in order to gain the support of trade unions, agricultural producers and all ranks of wage labour. It was expected that industrialisation would lead to higher living standards and an increase in employment.

Although Turkey could not be described as a welfare state compared to many developed countries, free education and health services, social security, the egalitarian share of resources and income were still crucial elements of the ideological support for and legitimisation of the State. Moreover, egalitarian social policies were accepted as the major responsibility of the State, at least at the formal level (Boratav, 1991; Keyder, 1987).

Before the 1980s, the State was an active partner of the heavily protected market. Şenses (1994) states that during this time, State Economic Enterprises (SEE) were active in petrochemicals, basic metals, fertilisers and paper in Turkey. Industrial production was to a large extent destined for the domestic market. The public sector provided employment for a significant section of the middle and lower-middle classes. Exports, including only a couple of agricultural articles, were relatively insignificant in the economy. In addition, foreign investment and foreign trade were also minimal until the 1980s.

2.1. Introduction to Stabilisation and Structural Adjustment Policies

The pressures of globalisation and the changing face of world trade have led many less developed countries, including Turkey, to become integrated into the world market. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank led SAPs initiated to implement new changes in development policies and integration in the international market.

IMF and World Bank policies changed together with the change in US policies in overseas development during the presidency of Reagan in the 1980s. The World Bank acted as if it were the promoter of liberal, statist economic policies in the less developed countries in order to counter the spread of communism until the 1980s. The aim shifted from being only a promoter of liberalism to ensuring that the repayments of debts by LDCs via export-oriented production in the 1980s (Coulson, 1999; Escobar, 1995). New loans by the World Bank were conditional upon the application of IMF SAPs based on reducing government intervention in the economy, cuts in the public sector, the privatisation of public enterprises and opening the market to foreign capital.

As in many countries, an economic crisis together with a debt crisis took place in Turkey at the end of the 1970s. The foreign debt of Turkey was $18 billion in 1980 (Ahmad, 1993). As a response to the economic crisis, at the end of the 1970s and under the advice - or pressure - of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, a new economic program based on export-oriented production, privatisation policies and a free market economy was placed on the agenda in January 1980. $9.8 billion of the Turkish foreign debt was rescheduled between 1978 and 1981. A World Bank structural adjustment loan of $250 million was provided in 1980 (Ertan-Lemontagne, 1991).

The IMF and World Bank have urged the need for similar policy changes in developed countries as a solution to the existing economic crisis. However, the policies have been applied mainly in LDCs in which the IMF and World Bank have the power of leverage through existing loans. Under increasing budget deficits, many LDCs had no choice but to continue to seek assistance from the IMF and the World Bank (Elson, 1995).[12] Like many other LDCs, the application of SAPs was a primary condition in continuing to obtain foreign credits for Turkey.

The program aimed to bring down inflation by freeing prices; to reduce the role of the State in the economy and public expenditures; to cut back consumption by holding down wages; and therefore to increase exports to pay debts and obtain new credits. The policy made a virtue of the necessity for low unit labour costs and also a decrease in the domestic demand to make more goods available for external markets. Both of these necessities meant greater control over and decreases in wages (Çağatay and Berik, 1994; Yeldan, 1994).

Suppression of wages and the introduction of SAPs resulted in strong social opposition. The attempt to force the unionised workers to accept belt tightening was very costly. 54000 workers went on strike and Turkey lost 7.7 million working days between January and September 1980 (Ahmad, 1993: 209).

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[12] SAPs have been criticised in many different ways over the last twenty years since they were first introduced. Researchers argue that SAPs have a negative impact on increasing income polarisation; identify development as Social Darwinism based on ethics of greed, the survival of the fittest in the market without any space for sharing; undermine social, cultural and historical realities of the societies in which the policies have been applied; create and enforce gender inequalities; cause disastrous effects on the poor of the developing world by enforcing the removal of subsidies on basic foods and cutting essential social services like health care and education (Standing, 2002; Pilger, 2001; Coulson, 1999; Elson, 1995). These criticisms are not only expressed at the academic level, but also at the activist level, as reflected in recent protests against the World Trade Organisation, annual meetings of IMF and the World Bank.

The civil regime was overthrown by a military coup on 12 September 1980. The military authority, the National Security Council, claimed that it was dealing with political instability. Parliament was dissolved and the constitution was suspended. Trade unions and all sorts of civil society organisations were banned. Trade union leaders and civil organisation activists were imprisoned. Political parties were closed down and their leaders were arrested. Free collective bargaining and strike activities were suspended. The only thing that remained untouched was the economic stabilisation program (Ahmad, 1993).

As stated by Ahmad (1993), the Junta crushed every resistance from the left, including the urban youth, social democrats and trade unionists. Under the highly restrictive environment created by the coup d'état, the implementation of SAPs was ensured without any significant social opposition from the press, the unions or the parliament. The architect of the stabilisation program in Turkey, Turgut Özal, became deputy prime minister with the responsibility for the economy.[13]

3. The Textile and Clothing Industry in Turkey

3.1. The History of the Industry

Textiles are one of the oldest forms of industrial production in Turkey. Industrialisation started in Turkey in the nineteenth century with the production of consumption goods, such as textiles, clothing and food production (Ecevit, 1998b). The textile industry consisted mainly of weaving and by the early 20th century was run by non-Muslim foreign capital (Ansal, 1999).

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[13] Turgut Özal later commented that if it had not been for the coup of September 12, the economic program would not have succeeded (Ertan-Lemontagne, 1991).

Before the textile factories were built, many stages of the production had been carried out by women at home. For instance, before the era of silk factories, women used to grow silk worms and prepare silk yarn at home. When one of the first silk factories was built in Bursa in the 1860s, the first female workers were non-Muslim women. Women's work outside the home created a great social reaction. In the end, the archbishop of Bursa had to consecrate the factory in order to convince the families that it was acceptable for women to work there. So non-Muslim women continued their production activities, which they used to do at home in the factory (cited from Ecevit, 1998b).

Yarn and weaving production were not enough even for the domestic market during the beginning of the 20th century. Exporting raw materials, mainly cotton, and importing yarn, fabric and clothing characterised the textile industry during that time. Textile imports represented forty-two per cent of total imports in 1927 (Ansal, 1999; Kayasü, 1995). The textile industry was maintained by state-subsidised factories from the 1920s to the 1950s. The private sector only began to invest in the textile industry in the 1950s. The share of the private sector increased to sixty-two per cent by 1962. Textile and clothing production was mainly for the domestic market until the 1980s. The share of manufactured textile products in total exports was very low, whereas textile raw materials were considerably high (Ansal, 1999; Eraydın, 1998).

3.2. The Success Story

In the early 1980s, a remarkable change occurred in the industrial structure of Turkey together with the introduction of SAPs. The sectoral distribution of industry moved towards export-oriented and labour-intensive consumer goods such as textiles and clothing. Free trade zones were perceived by governments as a way of encouraging exports and increasing

foreign currency flows into the country with the introduction of SAPs. Together with the establishment of the Serbest Bölgeler Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Free Trade Zones) in 1983, the zones gained a significant role in Turkey's open market economic policies. The number of free trade zones increased rapidly near metropolitan cities and major harbours, such as Istanbul, Adana, Mersin, İzmir and Antalya. There were nineteen free trade zones in total in 1999.

The textile and clothing industry expanded more rapidly than Turkey's overall economic development as exports mushroomed. The clothing industry grew four to five times faster than the economy. The share of the textile and clothing industry in total production increased continuously between 1984 and 1994 (Ansal, 1999). The textile and clothing industry increased its percentage of manufacturing to 45.3 in 1989-1990 (Sönmez, 1996).

The textile and clothing industries have been supported by the State as the main export sectors together with the internationalisation of the market and export-oriented production policies. The total exports of Turkey were $2261 million in 1979. However, it increased to $11662 million in 1988 (Şenses and Kırım, 1989). The clothing and textile exports of Turkey increased from $81 million in 1980 to $6.2 billion by 1995 (Eraydın, 1998; Bodgener, 1997).

Today, sixty per cent of Turkey's textile production is oriented towards exports. The share of textiles in total exports was two per cent in 1968. However, this rate had increased to twenty-three per cent by 1983. The textile and clothing industry constituted forty per cent of the total exports of Turkey in the 1990s. The clothing industry in particular has shown a drastic rise becoming sixty-five per cent of the textile industry in 1990s (Ansal, 1999; Kayasü, 1995).

According to the ILO (1996a), employment in textile and clothing industries in Turkey grew by 33.7 per cent between 1980 and 1993.[14] It has been suggested that the clothing industry, which employs 1.5 million workers according to official figures, is one of the significant driving forces of Turkey's economy (Bodgener, 1997a).

The main export region of the clothing industry in Turkey is Europe (according to Table 3.1). The biggest importer of clothing products in Europe was Germany with ninety per cent of total clothing exports of Turkey until the end of 1980s (Dikmen, 2000). Germany continued to be the biggest importer with more than fifty per cent of Turkey's total clothing export in the 1990s followed by the United States, the UK and France (Eraydın, 1998). After 1995, while European clothing imports slowed, Eastern European and Former Socialist countries' imports grew (Tab. 3.1.). However, Turkey is still one of the major clothing producers for West European countries. Turkey is the fifth biggest clothing exporter country of the world after China, Hong Kong, the USA and Italy (DPT, 2001).

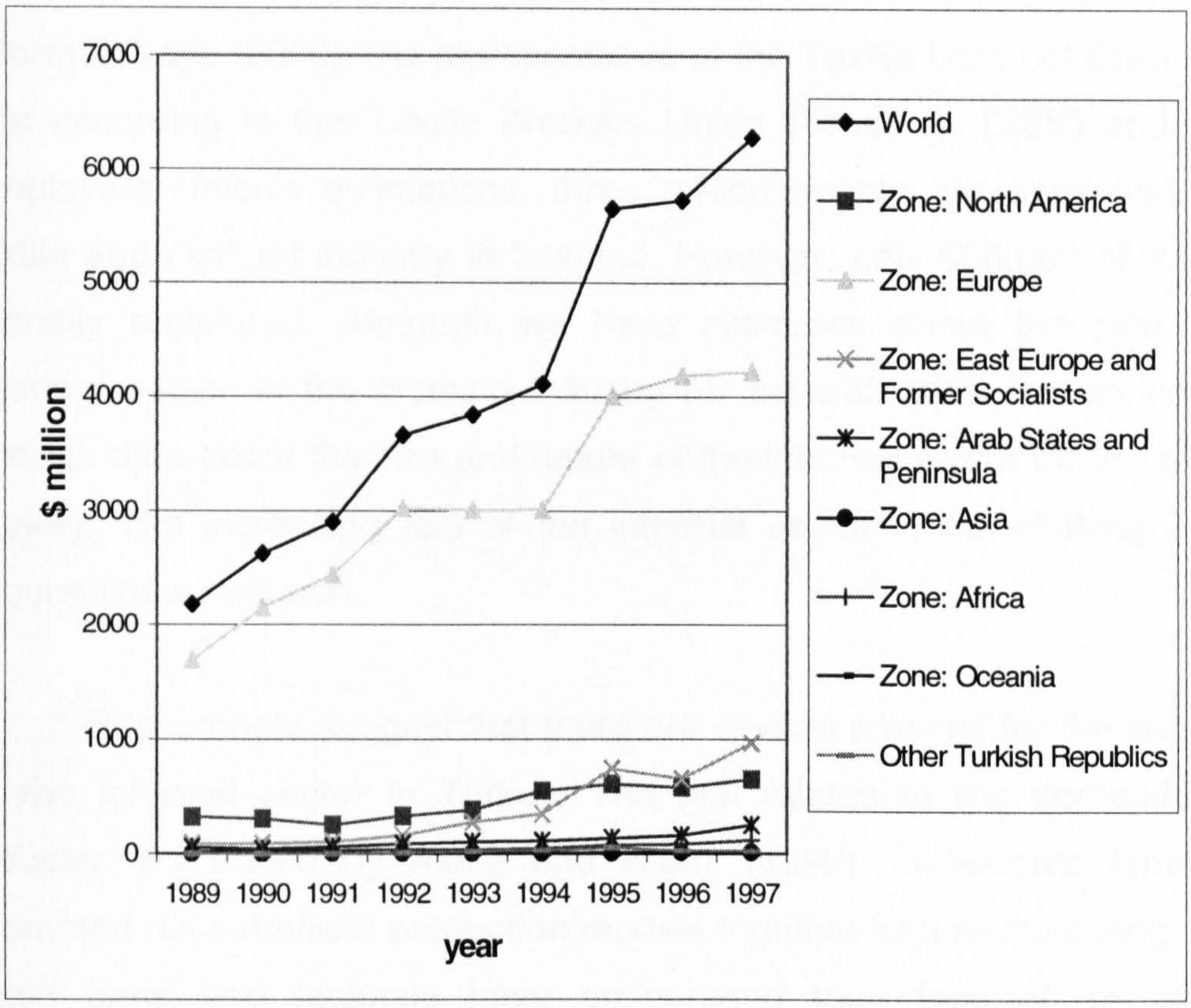
3.3. The Other Side of the Success Story

As stated above, Turkey has specialised in certain industries such as textile, clothing and food with structural adjustment policies. These industries are given incentives to export by the State. Turkey is one of the top ten countries in clothing exports today. However, the production is mainly based on subcontracting relations and industry relies heavily on small-scale workshop production and the informal sector (Ansal, 1999; Kayasü, 1995).

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[14] The report addresses only formal employment. Considering that informal employment is common in the clothing industry, this amount is probably higher.

Table 3.1. The Regional Clothing Exports of Turkey between 1989 and 1997



Source: OECD reports (cited from Dikmen, 2000).

The research on restructuring in the production process shows that companies have increasingly relied on subcontracting with smaller firms and contingent workers (Eraydın, 1996; Anıl, 1995; Kayasü, 1995; Kümbetoğlu, 1995). The subcontracting relationship has become one of the main dynamics articulating the world market and the informal sector in Turkey. The links between small-scale firms and large-scale indigenous and/or international firms became more crucial and more organised in the 1990s.

There is no clear estimation of the size of the informal sector in the textile and clothing industry in Turkey. Duruiz (1995) suggests that seventy per cent of the production in the clothing industry takes place in

subcontracting workshops. On the other hand, Sönmez (1996) states that in Istanbul alone forty-three per cent of the textile and clothing workforce are informal. Kaya (2000), the representative of the Textile Union of DİSK, states that according to the Textile Workers Union (Tekstil-iş, DİSK) and Textile Employers Union's estimations, three million people are employed in the textile and clothing industry in Istanbul. However, only 500,000 of them are formally registered. Although we have estimates about the size of the informal sector in the clothing industry for several cities, we do not have enough data about the size and nature of the informal sector for the whole of Turkey. The increasing role of the informal sector in the clothing industry requires new research.

Researchers suggest that there are several reasons for the expansion of the informal sector in Turkey. The first relates to the demand of the industry. As stated by Atauz and Atauz (1992), large-scale firms have promoted decentralised production models together with restructuring. Large-scale firms and factories have encouraged their foremen to establish subcontractor workshops by guaranteeing the market and orders for them (Duruiz, 1995; Atatuz and Atauz, 1992). They encouraged them to use their redundancy payments to establish subcontractor workshops.

Interviews with trade-union representatives support this argument. The representative of the Textile Union of Türk-iş (Teksif) stated that since the beginning of the 1980s, some of the large-scale clothing producers such as socks and pullover factories have supplied machinery for their experienced workers as redundancy payment. Thus, they encouraged these ex-workers to become their subcontractors. While the parent firms have decreased the number of workers in the company, they have shifted some of the stages of production to the smaller workshops.

In her research on the clothing industry, Serap Kayasü (1995) puts emphasis on the integration of small-scale firms with large-scale indigenous firms and then international companies through subcontracting chains. International companies achieve flexibility and cut down costs by using these chains. The clothing industry in Turkey is integrated into the world market through subcontracting relations. The workshops contribute capital accumulation in the export companies by providing them with necessary cheap inputs. The advantage of decentralisation and subcontracting relations for the parent firms, the demand made by the industry on the informal sector and low labour cost and its relationship with flexibility are analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The second reason for the expansion of the informal sector involves the supply side. According to Şenses (1994), industrialisation has been neglected and an ongoing process of de-industrialisation has taken place under SAPs. The share of manufacturing in investments has declined from 90.1 per cent in 1979 to 40.3 per cent in 1988. In spite of the fact that employment in export-oriented sectors has increased, employment in the industry as a whole has declined in Turkey. However, this analysis is based on data for the formal sector. While the share of the industrial sector in terms of Fordist organisations has been decreasing in Turkey, small-scale production has maintained its importance. Since employment possibilities within the formal sector have been shrinking, the informal sector is left as the only alternative for low-income groups.

The third factor, which affects the position of the informal sector within the economy, is related to the change in income levels. I would like to step back to the landmark in Turkish economic history to explain this influence more clearly.

In the 1980s, the military government argued that workers were over-paid and as a consequence of high labour costs Turkish goods could not find a place in the world market. General Kenan Evren, who was then head of the National Security Council, said that his own salary was lower than a waiter at the Hilton Hotel (cited from Ahmad, 1993: 205).

According to Yeldan (1994), there were two main reasons for this display of hostility towards labour incomes. Firstly, the creation of 'exportable surplus' would require the suppression of domestic demand. So, the consumption capacity of the masses in the internal market was no longer crucial for the economy. Domestic consumption even became an obstacle for export based economic development. Secondly, decreasing wages means decreasing the cost of production, especially if the production cost is based on labour intensity.

A dramatic erosion in the wages of formal sector labourers took place in Turkey in the 1980s. If we consider real wages and real labour costs as 100.00 units in 1980, real wage and real labour costs declined to 65.8 in 1988 (Şenses, 1994). The share of wages in GNP declined from thirty-six per cent in 1977 to twenty-one per cent in 1983 and eighteen per cent in 1987. Real wages declined forty per cent between 1980 and 1988 (Yeldan, 1994). While the real wages had decreased 34.6 per cent between 1991 and 1996, prices had increased twenty-one times (Ecevit, 1998a). By the end of the 1980s, World Bank reports placed Turkey amongst the seven countries with the worst income disparity in the world (Ahmad, 1993: 204).

Existing economic policies put the burden on the poor in terms of the erosion in real wages, the increase in living costs and acute unemployment. Deterioration in living conditions forced low-income groups to search for new activities. Since job opportunities in the formal sector were limited, the main income possibility was in the informal sector. This meant a second job for

male members of the family and an increase in the participation of women and children in the informal workforce.

4. A Critique of Quantitative Data on Female Labour In the Informal Sector

As has been argued in the previous sections, the structural adjustment policies and export-oriented production led to the decentralisation and informalisation of employment in many less developed countries. As a result of SAPs, Turkey became integrated into the world market via labour-intensive or resource-based products such as textile, clothing, food, iron and steel (Eraydın, 1998; Şenses, 1994). The first three industries especially have strong connotations on women's work.

However, research on employment statistics in Turkey shows that it is not possible to support a thesis about the feminisation of the labour force after the 1980s. For instance, according to Çağatay and Berik (1994), there is no major change in women's share of employment in the 1980s. Population census data indicate that women's share in the economically active population declined from 36.1 per cent to 35.4 per cent between 1980 and 1985. However, if the Household Labour Force Surveys (HLFS) are considered, there is a rise in women's labour force participation, from 31.7 per cent in 1985 to 34.9 per cent in 1988 (Çağatay and Berik, 1994). In terms of women's employment participation in urban areas, there is a minor change, from 12.0 to 12.6 between 1989 and 1996 (Ecevit, 1998a). So, considering HLFSs and population data, there is no major change in women's employment after the 1980s.

Manufacturing does not seem to be an attractive sector for female labour, either. Women's share of manufacturing employment remained unchanged at fifteen per cent between 1980 and 1985 (Çağatay and Berik,

1994). This figure was almost the same, fourteen per cent, by 1996 (Ecevit, 1998a). Therefore, using the population census data and household labour force surveys, it is rather difficult to suggest that SAPs resulted in a feminisation of labour in the manufacturing sector in Turkey. However, the population statistics or country-based statistical data only provide reliable information for the formal sector. The concept of employment in this data mainly covers the labour force with social security.

As explored in more detail in Chapter 4, census data and country-based surveys are highly problematic in obtaining information about the informal sector, homeworking and small-scale production, which constitute the main income-generating activities for poor women. According to Demir (1993a), many people who are recorded as unemployed in official data are actually employed in jobs that are outside the official statistics. Çağatay and Berik (1994) also touch upon this problem in population statistics. According to them, female participation in the workforce and homeworking activities are underestimated and under-recorded in these surveys.

Çağatay and Berik (1994) state that female manufacturing workers in Turkey are mainly concentrated in labour-intensive and 'unskilled' jobs or activities which are accepted as female skills by nature. The most reliable information about labour-intensive, 'unskilled' and informal work activities can be obtained through research specifically conducted on that topic using ethnographic methods and case studies instead of country-based surveys. For instance, in her ethnographic research on urban female labour, White (1994) mentions how she was struck by the ubiquitousness of piecework during 'Özal age'[15] in the peripheries of Istanbul. Evcimen et al. (1991) argue that in the textile industry of Turkey, the main source of growth for small-scale firms comes from family labour, which means female and child work.

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[15] The period of the mid 1980s to the early 1990s in which Turgut Özal, the architect of SAPs in Turkey, was the Prime Minister and later on the president is called the 'Özal age'.

Çağatay and Berik (1994) state that according to HLFSs, the urban female unemployment rate[16] was three times higher than the male unemployment rate between 1982-1990. It increased from twenty-three per cent in 1982 to thirty-three per cent in 1990. According to research conducted by Eyüboğlu et al. (1996), female unemployment is thirty-five per cent in four metropolitan areas of Turkey, namely in Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Adana. This figure implies that over thirty per cent of urban women were unable to find a job in the formal sector in the 1990s. They have no employment possibilities other than informal sector work.

Elson (1995: 171) observes that overcoming social resistance against women's participation in the workforce mainly requires two contrasting situations. In the first, wages and conditions offered for female labour are superior to everything else thanks to rapid accumulation and growth. So, female labour can easily be absorbed by the market. In the second, as a result of an absolute deterioration in living conditions, women have no other choice than to earn money. Elson (1995) defines participation in the workforce due to such economic difficulties as 'distress sales'. In many LDCs, as well as in Turkey, the latter is more valid than the former.

Women working in the informal sector sell their labour power on disadvantageous terms in an overcrowded market. For instance, in their research on female labour in the textile sector, Eraydın and Erendil (1996) state that the work has taken place under very difficult working conditions and in an unsuitable physical environment. Although this study includes the formal and informal sectors, half of the respondents do not have social security and ninety per cent of the workforce is not unionised. Normal working hours increased to 9-10 hours a day and some of them work 6-7 days a week.

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[16] The female unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the total number of unemployed women by the total number of female labour force and multiplying the result by 100. The administrative units over 20.000 residents are defined as urban. The unemployed comprise persons fifteen years of age and over who were not employed during the survey reference period and who have used at least one channel for seeking a job during the previous three months and were available to start to work within fifteen days (DİE, 2002).

Overnight work is common, when orders are due. As mentioned in the following chapters, the findings of the current study contain similar observations.

As stated above, researchers mention the new survival strategies of the poor, of women entering the labour market or men working in a second job, both mainly located in the informal sector. According to a study on the effects of structural adjustment policies on family survival strategies, seventeen per cent of women over twenty-seven per cent of female workforce work in the informal sector in Ankara. Two, out of three women have started to work in the informal sector after the 1980s (Demir, 1993a).

Lordoğlu (1990) suggests that there is a rise in women homeworkers as a result of increasing economic difficulties in Turkey. Many women started to work at home after the 1980s to support household needs. The demand for cheap and 'flexible' labour, the deterioration in living conditions and increased living costs have led to female labour being sold on disadvantageous terms in the informal sector.

5. Gender Relations and Women's Informal Work

There are not many studies on women's work in Turkey, let alone on women's informal work. Kümbetoğlu (1995) argues that the main reason for the lack of data on women's informal work is that studies focusing on urbanisation, squatter houses and migration have considered men as the 'head of the household'. Therefore, the main information sources for most studies have been men. Women's contribution to the workforce remains disguised.

Unfortunately, we do not have much comparative data on the history of women's informal work in Turkey. Yet, there has been a rise in feminist studies, which focus on women's labour since the 1990s. Recent studies on women's informal work in Turkey mainly concentrate on home-based work (Kayasü, 1996; Kümbetoğlu, 1995; Kümbetoğlu, 1994; Karslı, 1992; Çınar, 1994; Lordoğlu, 1990).

Some studies on home-based work in Turkey focus largely on women's oppression and exploitation via market forces and gender relations as female workers are articulated into the world market. Such studies concentrate on the relationship between women's home-based work and gendered control mechanisms in Turkey. There is much more emphasis on the restrictions in home-based work experienced by women via economic and gender relations than there is on how women interact with these processes. They focus mainly on how female workers are being produced by these relations in home-based work, rather than how female workers are implicated in forming them.

Çınar's study (1994) focuses on quantitative data on women home-based workers in Istanbul. She suggests that women are mainly bound to work at home, because the industry prefers single females, and married women are not allowed to work outside by the 'head of the household'. From a similar perspective, Karslı (1992: 93) argues that there is a strong belief that 'a woman's place is her home'. Men allow women to do home-based work on the condition that priority is given to domestic responsibilities as a wife and mother. According to Karslı (1992) and Çınar (1994), homeworkers do not perceive their work as work and describe it only as a better choice than 'sitting at home'. Homebased work is seen as a 'pastime' activity.

Similarly, according to Lordoğlu (1990), women's home-based work is a continuation of accepted forms of women's social role. Lordoğlu suggests that patriarchal ideology defines women's primary role at home as wife and

mother, so it binds women to home-based work. Lordoğlu argues that since family relations support 'traditional patriarchy' in Turkey, women are withdrawn from paid employment outside of the home after they are married and have children. This perspective also creates a legitimisation for low payments in home-based work. Lordoğlu suggests that strong family ties and the requirements which women have as part of their marriage responsibilities restrict women's participation in paid labour. Women are bound to home-based work because of their domestic work, reproductive responsibilities and rigid gender ideologies.

Kümbetoğlu (1994, 1995) also places emphasis on domination over women in home-based work. Kümbetoğlu suggests that traditional forms of gender relations are not challenged in home-based work. Women's work is seen as inferior and women's informal labour remains invisible. Kümbetoğlu (1994) argues that the undervaluation of women's labour either by the employers or by male members of the household or by women themselves increases the invisibility of women's informal work and legitimises low payments. Women's informal work is an important source of cheap labour for the firms, which seek flexibility via low labour cost, and a casual or temporary workforce.

Although Kümbetoğlu emphasises women's oppression via home-based work and gender relations, she also highlights the value of women's home-based work in the survival of poor families. According to Kümbetoğlu, women's contribution to family income via informal work is vital. The income earned by home-based work is important to the survival of the household. Kümbetoğlu (1994) suggests that the income generated by home-based work is 1/3 of the total income of the household in families with an income level below the minimum wage. According to the same research, twenty-seven per cent of women homeworkers earn half or more of the household income by themselves.

There are few studies focusing on women's informal work in workshop production in Turkey, relative to home-based work. However, similar to home-based work, garment workshops in particular are a major source of employment in the informal work for women living in peripheral neighbourhoods. Workshop production located in the peripheral neighbourhoods of the metropolitan areas takes place in an environment where similar cultural values are appropriated by home-based work. Like home-based work, workshop work in residential areas has domestic characteristics and is influenced by neighbourhood community ideologies and family relations.[17]

Eraydın (1998) includes residential garment workshops in her study on women's participation in paid work in the textile and clothing industry in Istanbul. Her study, however, does not make a differentiation between the formal sector and the informal sector or the work, which takes place in large industrial zones and peripheral neighbourhoods. The study focuses on the diverse range of working environments. Her research covers the production in industrial zones through to residential neighbourhoods, large-scale factories as well as micro enterprises. It includes workplaces with more than 1000 workers as well as workplaces with less than five workers.

However, some of her findings give us an indication of women's participation in the informal workforce in small workshops. She supports a similar argument to the researchers focusing on home-based work and suggests that patriarchal control and traditional forms of gender relations are reinforced in women's work in clothing workshops. She suggests that women cannot benefit from the freedom related to working outside, since the pressure and control at home are extended to the workspace. On the other hand, women experience certain gains in the household. They have the

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[17] Differences and similarities between workshop production and home-based work will be elaborated in more detail in Chapter 4.

chance to control the money that they earn and they have more decision making power about where to work.

Most of these studies suggest that women's integration into paid labour as a result of the New International Division of Labour does not lead to a significant change in women's social status. The existing forms of gender relations are not challenged to any great extent in women's informal work. Women's involvement in informal work does not change the control mechanisms that women are exposed to. Women continue to be identified with motherhood, their domestic responsibilities and their place at home. This study will question the extent to which we can analyse women's informal work within the framework of existing forms of gender relations. It will also elaborate different forms of control developed by the employer, community and the family as well as resistance mechanisms and bargaining strategies mobilised by the female workers.

6. Conclusion

In the post-1980 period, the textile and clothing production greatly increased in Turkey. This was partly due to the articulation of Turkey in the international market with labour-intensive and cheap labour based industries and subcontracting relations. The research focusing on women's involvement in informal work as part of the restructuring in production processes and labour arrangements suggests that informal work in Turkey does not introduce female workers to a new set of social relations. Rather, existing forms of social relations have continued to be produced in the workspace without major changes and major questioning by female workers.

In this study I aim to understand how the entrance of market relations affects existing forms of gender relations by focusing particularly on industrial workshop production. I aim to analyse women's involvement in informal work as a process that family, community, employers and more importantly female workers are actively involved in shaping. I try to reveal whether industrial workshop production introduces female workers to a new set of social relations or replicates the existing ones and whether the market relations decompose or intensify gender relations or recompose new ones. This study further seeks to answer the following questions: What types of new control mechanisms are created by the community, family and employer? What are the strategies and acts of resistance developed by female workers against these control mechanisms? What are the limits of these strategies? How do workers try to negotiate their own terms with capital and the community in which workshop production takes place?

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF THE FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

Research exists at two levels, one related to the research product and the other one to the research process. One is the formal and the other is the informal side of the story. Accordingly, I can tell the story of my field research in two different ways. On the one hand, I can focus on the research product, the 'objective' side of the research, which includes questions that must be asked during the research, issues related to the appropriate methodology and 'sterilised' techniques of an academic research project. On the other hand, I can talk about the process of the production of research, the more subjective side of the fieldwork, which includes the limitations of my personality and social background, financial constraints and the conditions of doing research in a metropolis. The second story shows that both the researcher and researched share the same critical plane (Williams, 1993) and challenges the hierarchy between the subject and the object, the researcher and researched. I will not focus only on one side in this chapter, as I believe that the latter frames the research as much as the former. My aim is to try to preserve the tension between these two processes.

Researching the female workers in informal work premises holds specific problems and difficulties in terms of methodology. Research methods used for the formal work premises cannot be easily translated into informal work settings. Informal work is purposely hidden from outsiders. One can easily meet opposition from employers and face distrust from the workers. Thus, the researcher needs to design the work carefully. At the beginning of this chapter, I will focus on the methodological problems related to researching the informal sector. Then, I will link this discussion particularly to researching female labour. In the second part, I will explain my rationale for focusing on workshop production in a research project on women's informal work within the context of restructuring. In the last part, I will concentrate on the research methods used in this study and the problems encountered during fieldwork.

2. Relevance of Quantitative Techniques in Informal Sector Studies

Many researchers who work on the informal sector have discussed the problems related to conducting research in this sector (Varçın, 1996; Wilson, 1991; Bijlmer, 1989; Bromley and Birbeck, 1984). One of the main debates in this literature is on the suitability of survey or other quantitative methods for informal sector studies. These research methods allow all forms of informal sector activities to be covered and help to understand the composition and dimensions of the sector. Research conducted with quantitative techniques creates valuable data in terms of the extent of the informal sector and its contribution to the national income. Furthermore, the research data produced has more representative value relative to qualitative techniques.

Quantitative research can be used as a tool to 'reveal' key issues in the informal sector within the public agenda, to show its value in the economy (Kantor, 2000), and to highlight women's participation in the productive labour force (Çınar, 1994). These investigations can help to increase the visibility of

women's informal sector work at national and international levels. Therefore, they can serve policy advocacy aiming both to improve the conditions of informal work and to influence national policies on the informal sector in general, or women's informal work in particular.

As stated above, information produced by quantitative techniques has great value. However, these techniques have their own limitations and problems. Their relevance in informal sector studies is debatable. Bromley and Birbeck (1984) observe that governmental studies (including those on Turkey) and ILO and World Bank studies on the informal sector mainly rely on questionnaire surveys. They suggest that these studies are at risk of bureaucratising unjust systems and turning inequalities into the "tedious statistical manipulations of data based on preconceived yes/no categories, producing many meters of computer printouts, but few meaningful conclusions" (Bromley and Birbeck, 1984: 185).

Survey techniques are significant in terms of defining the characteristics of the population in the informal sector, knowing the value of capital equipment in workshops or income generated by informal work. However, they supply very little in-depth information about why those workers are 'stuck' in these laborious jobs. They do not address what the workers' day to day problems are, the types of strategies they develop to tackle these problems, or what it means for a female worker to work on the doorstep of the family and community.

Other problems related to using quantitative methods in informal sector research are linked to the process of data collection. Firstly, it is difficult to apply a questionnaire survey in work premises outside the control of the government and to workforces excluded from formal protection and registration (Varçın, 1996). This point will be elaborated in more detail in following section.

Lastly, building the relationship of trust with a questionnaire conductor who tries to gather information in a limited time is very difficult for informal sector workers. With a questionnaire applied in an informal workspace, it is difficult to avoid the employer's pressure over the workers as they answer questions. Furthermore, the workers hesitate to respond to an 'educated elite' with a pen in her/his hand and a sheaf of papers, which includes lots of categories. Similarly, Eşim (1997: 138) observes that she felt the power hierarchies strongest during the structured survey questionnaires in her research on women micro- and small entrepreneurs in Turkey. She argues that the dynamics of asking specific questions and demanding concrete answers are very constraining in informal work settings.

3. Researching Women in the Informal Sector

Evans (1992) suggests that most surveys, including censuses, are mainly designed with reference to industrial economies. Hence, the value and the contribution of the informal sector is under counted and undervalued. Research conducted with quantitative methods is unlikely to detect small work premises that are located in the ground or basement floors of residential flats and that actually look like residences with no sign or name on the outside. Quantitative techniques are more likely to draw the formal side of the picture of the informal sector, as these studies tend to cover relatively larger workspaces with higher number of formal workers

The case of home-based work in Turkey illustrates this problem of perception and data collection. The labour force surveys of State Institute of Statistics (SIS) indicate that home-based self-employment for women has increased by 94.4 per cent in Turkey, from 71,400 to 138,800 between 1988 and 1992 (SIS, 1995). Yet Çınar (1994) estimates that the number of home-based workers was 88,000 in 1988 in Istanbul alone. This number is actually

more than the SIS estimations for the year 1988 for all of Turkey. On the other hand, Karslı (1992) estimates that 14,000 women home-based workers were working for three knitting firms in just one municipality of Ankara in the early 1990s. This number is 9.1 per cent of unpaid family workers of the total population of Ankara. It is therefore clear that such forms of data collection do not produce reliable estimates.

Çağatay and Berik (1994) suggest that female participation in the workforce is underestimated in population statistics. This point can also be exemplified, using the labour force surveys of SIS. The primary respondent in these surveys is 'the head of the household'. The head of the household is actually formalised with a 'gender neutralised' term used for the eldest male in the house. Therefore, the questions related to women's work are either asked directly to the male 'household-head' in the labour force surveys, or in the best case-scenario, the male household-head is present, when the questions are answered by women. Unsurprisingly, Özar (1994) observes that heads of households might under-report women's informal market activities.[18] They describe their occupations as housewives only, as they do not approve of the activity performed by the women.

The numbers are, therefore, not neutral, they only tell a partial story and this story is politically situated in gender ideologies. The Women and Geography Study Group (1997: 92) argues that quantitative techniques give a number of atomic facts. The way in which these facts interact with the women's experience is lost. Informal work and the experience of female informal sector workers are more complicated than the frozen categories of a questionnaire and cold faces of numbers suggest. In my opinion, the most reliable information for labour-intensive, 'unskilled' and informal working activities can be handled through research specifically conducted on that

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[18] This case is not only valid for Turkey as 'head of household' and 'household' are central to the data collection in the censuses and surveys in many countries (Evans, 1992).

topic, using ethnographic methods and case studies, instead of country-based surveys.

Qualitative research projects are more explanatory and deal with operational links rather than mere frequencies or incidence (Yin, 1994: 18). However, they are less generalisable to populations or universes. They do not represent a 'sample'. On the other hand, if the aim is to expand and generalise theories, not to enumerate statistical generalisation (Yin, 1994: 18), qualitative research techniques are more suitable.

My aim is to obtain in-depth information related to women's informal work. I focus on issues such as the points of conflict and solidarity in work relations, tensions around existing forms of gender relations and the conditions created by the global market, and how gender relations affect and are affected by the relations within the workspace. For this reason, I decided to combine a variety of research methods that were mainly qualitative.

4. Industrial Workshop Production

In the literature, women's informal work in restructuring has been mainly analysed within the context of homeworking and home-based work. With the exception of a few studies, workshop production as a part of women's informal work has not been fully examined (Wilson, 1993; White, 1994). However, industrial workshop production is another form of insecure and temporary work created by capital during the shift of certain production forms to particular places within the context of the global restructuring process.



Figure 4.1. Homeworkers doing de-thread work which they obtained from a workshop in the district.



Figure 4.2. Garment workers from two workshops - basement and ground floors - meeting during their lunch breaks.

It is difficult to establish a clear-cut definition of industrial workshop production. Since the definition changes relative to time, region and sector, it is only possible to make a relative description. Unlike the traditional 'self-sufficient' artisanal workshops, industrial workshops systematically use wage labour (Ayata, 1986). In the garment workshop case, at least three or four wage-workers exist in every workshop. The maximum number of workers is less than forty-five. In this range, there is no great differentiation in terms of working conditions, division of labour and machine profiles. Unlike artisanal workshops, a certain level of division of labour exists in the industrial workshops. Whereas, artisanal workshops realise the whole production process, industrial workshops specialise in a particular stage. There is a separation of tasks between the industrial workshops and other levels of garment production.

Another important characteristic of the workshops is their location. The garment workshops in this study are located in residential neighbouring districts rather than industrial zones. So, they actually have different characteristics to the workshops that are located in the industrial zones. As stated above, these workshops are ground or basement floors of residential settlement flats and look like residences from outside. The physical concealment is important in terms of ensuring clandestinity, informality and flexibility. The location is also significant in terms of maintaining a domestic identity. From this perspective, the border between home-based work and workshop blurs.[19]

The main differentiation between workshop and home-based work relies on the place of work and the position of the employer. The ILO defines home-based work as work carried out at a place of the worker's own choice,

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[19] Although the divisions are important as part of the clarification in an academic study and in legislation, they are artificial in terms of policy development and solidarities. Homeworkers and workshop workers are sub-categories of the larger group of informal sector workers who all share similar problems and similar life conditions. Therefore, both homeworkers and workshop workers should be included in policy developments.

usually the worker's home, with very little direct supervision or regulation by the employer (ILO, 1996b).

The industrial workshops do not coincide with any of these categories. Unlike home-based workers, workshop workers do not have control over the means of production and labour process in economic terms. In addition, there are differences with regard to worker profiles and the socialisation of the workspace. However, as suggested above, there are also many similarities in terms of working conditions and environment. Similar to home-based work, the workshops are part of the unregulated economy.

Like home-based work, women's labour in these workshops is affected by gender ideologies. Production takes place on the doorstep of the community. Because of the ideological constraints of gender identity, female workers in both sorts of production do not have the opportunity to make contact with the market by themselves and their labour power is controlled by the family, community, and employer, as well as the workers.

Workshop production and homeworking are close to each other in terms of workers' life histories as well. It is common to come across a mother doing de-threading work at home obtained from a workshop that the daughter is working in. A worker might start to work in a workshop while she is young, and become a homeworker when she gets married or becomes pregnant. Women are bound by gender ideologies both as homeworkers and workshop workers. The former represents an actual domestic space and the latter is perceived as one.

5. The Research Setting

I conducted interviews with a large range of informants, including garment workers, workshop employers and members of the district in which the workshops are located. These interviews, combined with participant observation in a workshop, are the principal sources of data. Interviews with export company managers, businessmen associations, trade guilds, trade unions, women's NGOs, municipalities, state institutes and a documentary search of national and local newspapers form supplementary sources of data.

The field research took place in three stages. The first stage was between May and August 1999. The second stage was between October 1999 and January 2000. The last stage was in September 2000. Research was mainly conducted on the peripheries located at the edge of industrial districts in the European side of Istanbul. There are several issues that affected the selection of the research site.

Thanks to a relatively cheaper workforce and land, industrial capital has been in a process of shifting from the centre to the periphery, from metropolitan cities, including Istanbul, to the smaller cities of Anatolia for the last fifteen years. Despite this ongoing shift in the industry, Istanbul is still the biggest centre of the export-oriented clothing industry. This was an important factor affecting my choice of Istanbul as a research site.

During my initial contacts with trade organisations and businessmen's associations in Istanbul, I detected that clothing production for the domestic market was mainly concentrated in the Anatolian side of Istanbul and production for the international market was concentrated in the European side. Since my main focus was on women's informal work within the context of restructuring policies and export-oriented production, I decided to concentrate on the European side.

Murat Güvenç, who is a researcher working on socio-cultural mapping of cities in Turkey, helped me to prepare a frequency table of residences in which female garment workers live. I used this table[20] to define my targets when I built contacts in order to help me gain access to a specific district.

During the research I visited twenty-one workshops. Nine of them were located in various districts on the European side and twelve were in Göktepe,[21] where I conducted participant observation during the second stage. Twenty-one workshop employers and forty-eight female workshop workers were interviewed. During the second stage, participant observation as a worker was carried out in two workshops where I had conducted interviews in the first stage of the research.

5.1 Gaining Access to the Workshops

According to Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (Association of Stock Exchanges Trade and Industrial Guilds of Turkey, referred to here as TOBB), there are 2397 enterprises in the clothing sector in Istanbul (Eraydın and Erendil, 1999). However, this number indicates the firms, which have permission to export. It does not cover the subcontractors of those firms. The lists of TOBB and İstanbul Tekstil ve Konfeksiyon İhracatçıları Birliği (Association of Istanbul Textile and Clothing Exporters, referred to here as ITKIB) indicate formal, medium and large-scale firms and exclude many small workshops which are not officially registered and which do not export directly,

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[20] See Appendix 2.

[21] The district is at the far end of the European side. The name is a pseudonym to maintain the anonymity of the workshops and the workers. Göktepe means blue hill or sky hill. The names of squatter house areas in Turkey have meanings such as peach street, apricot lane, cherry branch, pleasure vineyards, spring beside the willow tree. Neither peach trees, nor vineyards exist anymore. It appears that these names signify the aspiration of days gone by or the places, which people have migrated from. I have called the district Göktepe in order to

but rather via a subcontractor firm. Since my main aim was to reach these workspaces, I had to develop another strategy to contact the workshops.

Garment workshops skulk on the edge of Istanbul, camouflaged from dangerous labour inspectors, tax officers and researchers. One needs to 'unearth' the presence of workshop production. They cannot be immediately seen. An untrained eye can easily confuse them with residences. Even if an outsider can identify them, s/he may not grasp the whole picture. If there is no support from local members of the district, contact with the workshops could become a game of catch or blindfolded chase.

Even if I had been able to reach to the workshops via the lists of employment associations, I would either have been refused access or the nature of the conversation with the employer would have been very different. If I had gone as an unknown person with a formal list of workshops, I would have been easily confused with a government officer or a journalist. The employers and workers might have felt threatened. They would have either refused to talk to me or given misleading or wrong information. Because of the level of informality, I had to gain access to the workshops via personal contacts, which allowed me to build a certain level of trust in my relationships.

Although on the one hand, a direct approach at first appears to be systematic and easy, there was another reason that prevented me from adopting a top-down strategy. If I had contacted the workshops via the enterprise lists, my initial contacts would have been the employer, not the workers. My aim was first to eliminate pressure from the employer as much as possible. Secondly, I did not want to cause distrust among the workers who might have thought that since I was coming through the employer, I might have informed him about our discussions. So, I decided to contact the

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imitate this tradition. Following the same logic, all names of the workshops and the workers are pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity.

workers via other workers. My main targets for the workers had to be the residential areas where they live, rather than their workspaces.

Knowing that export-oriented production is mainly located on the European side and having lists of where female garment workers live via the frequency map, I had a rough idea of where to concentrate in order to build my initial contacts. I followed up worker contacts that I had built during the interviews with the NGOs and trade union, as well as my personal contacts for the initial sample of workers. The rest was based on snowball sampling.

5.2. Gaining Access to the First Workshop in Göktepe

The research resembled the opposite of the circles created when a stone is thrown into the water. First the biggest circle was covered, then it became smaller and smaller. At the centre of the circle was Göktepe, the district where I ended up doing most of my interviews and carrying out the participant observation.

Göktepe is located at the edge of two industrial zones. Most of the workshops in the district are the subcontractors of garment firms in these zones. Göktepe has been inhabited over the last forty years and has a population of 80,000. The first migrants to the district were from Trakya on the European side of Turkey. Migrants from the Black Sea region started to come to the district in the 1980s. Since the 1990s the most recent migrants are mainly Kurdish and have come from the countryside of South East Anatolia.

According to the mayor of the district (muhtar), the garment workshops started to appear in the district at the end of the 1980s. The garment workshops sprang up like a mushroom field in the district during those years. Almost everybody who could afford to buy a couple of sewing machine tried



Figure 4.3. A view of Göktepe.



Figure 4.4. A view of Göktepe.



Figure 4.5. A view of Göktepe.



Figure 4.6. A view of Göktepe.

to enter the business. The district mayor was one of those looking for a new fortune in the region in those days. However, for the last five or six years, the workshops have started to disappear, gone bankrupt - including the mayor's own workshop - or shrunk in the size. Almost half of the garment workshops either closed down or became smaller with the on going crises.[22]

I went to Göktepe via a factory worker whom I had met in a trade union. She had been working in a factory up until two months previously. The factory, VIP, was a subcontractor of Nike and Fila. Unionisation activities had started in VIP four years ago. After a long period of struggle, the factory became a member of Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions Confederation, referred to here as DİSK) one-and-a-half year ago. Then, the employer established two new factories one year ago. He closed the unionised factory on the basis of economic crises in Turkey ten months later, while the other two remained open.

When I went for the interview at DİSK's Textile and Clothing branch, the workers were there for a meeting to discuss how to obtain their over-time payments from the factory owner. Neriman was one of them. She had migrated together with her husband from Çanakkale, a city in the North West of Turkey, four years previously. When they first came to Istanbul, they left their children with the grandmother in Çanakkale. Neriman worked first in small workshops, then, she started to work for VIP. When I met her she was unemployed.

Neriman suggested that I visit her district. She also said that she could help me contact the workshops and the workers that she knew. The first contact in Göktepe occurred with her help. She introduced me to her worker

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[22] Dikmen (2001) has similar observations about the textile and garment sector in another city, Denizli, in Turkey. He states that when the textile and clothing industries were the 'rising stars' of Turkey between 1984 and 1994, many 'new-entrepreneurs' entered the industry. After the crisis of 1997 and 1998, 10.000 employers lost their job in the sector, just in Denizli.

friends in her house. She also took me to one of the workshops in which her friend used to work. Neriman stayed with us during the interview with the employer.

The employer was very authoritarian all through the conversation. He refused to answer some of my questions and he did not let me talk with the workers. He did not even permit me to see the production area. In short, he demonstrated his power to Neriman and me. However, I had succeeded in obtaining the addresses and names of two other workshop employers in the district. I used the first workshop as a reference for the next two. In the following workshops, the interviews were much more productive, because I had not contacted them via a worker, but via the name of another employer. So, the journey had started.

6. The Qualitative Interviews

I used a variety of research techniques. However, the main source of data in my research constitutes semi-structured interviews with the workshop owners, focused interviews with the female workers and participant observation done as a garment worker in two garment workshops. During these interviews, I tried to be sure that comparable information was obtained about the functioning of the workshop; solidarity and conflict among garment workers; and how gender relations affect and are affected by workspace relations.

Many of the categories in the interviews were reformulated according to the feedback from the workers and employers. I realised that some of the issues that I had thought of as central were minor and others that I had omitted were crucial. These issues were referred to during the conversations with the workers and employers and became central to the research. The

interview format evolved and took its latest form according to the feedback given by the workers and employers.

Since I aim to clarify the structure of the interviews in this section, I have explained the sets of questions for the interviews with the workshop employers and workshop workers in a linear order. In practice, the interviews were never in this linear and framed structure. According to the answers given and the stories told by the respondents, I proceeded back and forth. In this way, I believe, the interviews became more productive, relaxed and creative. The worker interviews especially were more like a general conversation, which was free to develop in any direction, and in which the main questions were asked as a part of the conversation.

Other than the interviews with the employers and workers, I conducted focused interviews with local municipality representatives in the district, aiming to understand their perspectives on the garment workshops and establish if support had been given to the workshops and the garment workers.

6.1. Semi-structured Interviews with the Workshop Employers

The first set of questions in the workshop employer[23] interviews was designed to provide broad information about the characteristics and the history of the work. The purpose was to identify the size of the business, the relations of property and also the general problems defined by the employers. In this set, I also asked what they think about the ongoing crisis in the clothing industry. Especially with the last part of the first set of questions, I aimed to create a common ground and relaxed atmosphere for the following

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[23] In the empirical part of this study, I refer to the workshop employer as he/him, since all the interviewed workshop employers were male. This was not a deliberate choice, but reflects the sexual division of labour in the workshops. While all of the workshop employers were male in the field area, the majority of the workers were female.

questions by focussing first on their problems and the most basic things that affect their life and work.[24]

The second set of questions related to the autonomy of the workshops. I mainly aimed to identify the level of dependency on the subcontractor firm in terms of access to the market and raw materials. I attempted to reveal whether they have the power to bargain and whether there is any alternative subcontracting possibility for the workshops or not. Then, according to the answers to the second set of questions, I focused on the survival strategies of the workshops.

The questions related to survival strategies covered the existence of formal or informal support networks, the main strategies developed against the downward price pressure of the subcontracting firms, and strategies to decrease vulnerability towards market fluctuations. These questions also created a base for me to understand the level of informality of the workspace. Since informality was the major survival strategy developed by the workshops, these questions inevitably led also to the labour strategies and informality of the workforce. According to the answers, I discussed issues of social security, basic hire and fire mechanisms, the temporary work, temporary workforce, and over-time.

The fourth set of questions related to employer and worker relations. In this set, I aimed to understand issues such as the workforce composition, the basic criteria in the selection of labour, and the ways in which the control of work occurs. According to the answers, by framing their examples in different ways, I tried to understand how gender relations are operationalised in the control of work. I also tried to explore how families and communities might affect the decision mechanisms in the workspace. The last set of questions

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[24] See Appendix 1 for the full list of questions.

related to the workshops' relationships with formal trade organisations, local municipalities, and government officers.

6.2. Focused Interviews with Workshop Workers

As mentioned above, I interviewed forty-eight female workers during the field research. Forty-four of the workers were working or have worked in small workshops in residential areas and four of them were working in larger workshops in the industrial zones. Eighteen of the workshop workers were from the various districts in the European side and twenty-six were from Göktepe.

The first set of workers' interviews related to the worker's history in the city, the history of work and family background, followed by the worker's own description of workspace relations and work-related problems. The last questions actually created an opportunity to check my own categories and clarified the focus on conflict among the workers and with the employer. Thus, these questions provided inputs into framing the second set of questions.

I tried to understand class-based conflicts and resistances among the workers in the second set. I asked about disputes related to the hiring and firing mechanisms of the employer, social security, wages, over-time and the pace of work. These categories were defined according to the answers of the first set and by using the inputs of previous worker interviews. In this set, I also tried to understand to what extent gender, kinship and the place of origin are operationalised as part of the conflicts. I tried to identify whether the workers have any bargaining power or not. If they do, what are the bases of their power? Is it based on the individual qualities coming from family status, being an experienced and fast worker, or on collaborative solidarity among the workers. Other questions about solidarity focused on the way in which

resistance manifests itself, whether it operates at an individual level or in a group form, and whether worker solidarities are dominantly based on family and kinship networks or on relations created in the workspace.

The third set of questions was designed to provide a basis for analysing conflict and competition among the workers, and the sources of co-operation and solidarity with the employer. I also examined the extent to which being a relative, migrating from the same city as the employer affected the position of the workers. So, considering the second set as well, these questions addressed the extent to which kinship or other forms of social ties cut across class relations vertically and/or horizontally or to what extent they reinforce class relations.

The fourth set of questions related to gender relations aiming to reveal how the family and community intervene in workspace relations. This set attempts to identify tensions between gender relations and the women's work outside of home, the strategies developed by the workers against these tensions, whether these tensions take place with the employer or among the workers, how these tensions affect and are affected by workspace relations.

The fifth set of questions related to following issues: workers' perceptions of the subcontracting relations, the extent to which workers are aware of subcontracting, whether this awareness affected their relations with work and their acts of resistance with the immediate employer or not.

The final set of issues related to mobility. I tried to identify the workers' perceptions and hopes for better working conditions, better jobs and the obstacles to the fulfilment of these conditions. These issues also helped to identify the restrictions on work mobility and to establish whether there was any possibility for upward mobility or not.

7. Supplementary Source of Data

7.1. Additional Interviews

In addition to the interviews with the workshop employers and the workers, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the directorates of five large-scale export companies, which manufacture garment products through subcontracting relations. These export companies are actually subcontracting firms of the some of workshops I interviewed.

The reasons for these interviews were to see the power relations from the other side; to understand how the export companies chose their subcontracting workshops; what their basic criteria are; how they control the workshops; and whether those firms have any bargaining power and independence in terms of defining the market and production price, relative to the international subcontracting companies.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews in three textile and clothing branches of three trade union confederations. These organisations are Istanbul Textile and Clothing Branch of DİSK, Teksif, the Istanbul textile and clothing branch of Türkiye İşçi Sendikalari Konfederasyonu (Workers' Trade Unions Confederation of Turkey, referred to here as Türk-iş), and Öziplik-iş, the Istanbul Textile and Clothing Branch of Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Justice Seekers' Trade Unions, referred to here as Hak-iş).

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the following women's NGOs and female welfare support units of municipalities: Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı (Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, Istanbul), Kadıköy Municipality Community Centre and Küçükçekmece Municipality Women's Refuge and Community Centre. NGOs and municipality centres were chosen according to their activities with poor

women who live in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Istanbul. As I stated above, I aimed firstly to use these organisations to gain access to the workers. Secondly, I tried to understand their opinions of state policies for the informal sector and informal worker. During the interviews, I also tried to identify any formal support given to the female informal sector workers; their perception of informal sector; the policies and obstacles related to the organising of the informal sector workers; and solidarity and organisation potential of the female garment workers.

I also interviewed the professional guilds and businessmen's associations, in order to identify the extent and characteristics of the textile and clothing industry in Istanbul. I conducted interviews in the Ministry of Labour, the State Planning Institute and local municipalities in order to understand the formal policies for the informal sector and textile and clothing production. I wanted to identify whether or not State policy in the clothing industry changed after structural adjustment policies were implemented. I also attempted to identify the formal support given to the workshops. All of these interviews were semi-structured, during which I took notes and recorded the conversations during the interviews.

7.2. Documentary Search

I conducted archival search in the governmental organisations mentioned above and in the General Directorate of free trade zones. I also conducted documentary searches in four national newspapers, three national journals and two local newspapers.[25] The focus of the documentary search

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[25] Searches were conducted in two mainstream central right newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah, between January 1997 and February 1999. Cumhuriyet, which has a social democrat line, was researched between May 1998 and May 1999. Evrensel, which is a leftist newspaper, was researched between January 1997 and July 1999. Monthly journals of economy, Para and Power, and a popular monthly magazine, Aktüel, were researched between January 1998 and February 1999. Furthermore, two local weekly newspapers, Yaşam and Bakış, were researched. Yaşam was between June 1997 and July 1999 and Bakış was between December 1998 and July 1999.

was to understand the State and municipal policies and public interest related to the informal sector, informal economy and worker rights in the informal sector in general, and the garment workshops and female workers in particular. Unfortunately, with the exception of a socialist newspaper, which has a limited readership, neither the local nor the national press focused on the industrial workshops, let alone the female workers.

During the documentary research, I realised that neither working conditions nor labour standards are a major focus for the mainstream media. The news items were mainly related to the clothing industry and successful enterprises. The stories mostly focused on how much foreign exchange the country gained through clothing marketing and informal trading; the 'export boom'; investment possibilities in the textile and clothing industry; profitable regions in terms of land prices and labour costs; and life experiences of textile and clothing businessmen and their dreamlike success stories.

The female garment workers were only represented in a couple of juicy stories on the inside pages, such as a female worker committing suicide after being seduced by her employer or workers' admiration for the middle classes, new middle class life styles and 'globalised' consumption patterns. The following article, which is about young female workers, is an example of these types of news reports:

> <u>Plastic Surgeries Replaces Marriage Trousseau for Young Girls who live at the 'Edge' of Istanbul:</u>
>
> <u>'Ajda'[26] Boom at the Periphery!</u>
>
> They save from their little wages and rush into the plastic surgery centres, which increase like a mushroom on the peripheries...

[26] She is a pop singer who is famous for her plastic surgery operations as well as her songs.

I am Determined, I Made It Happen

Eighteen years-old garment worker, Zeynep C., working in a workshop in Çakmak district-Ümraniye, says:

Do we have no rights, if we are workers?

...I used to save to buy jeans with brand names, but now I work for my nose - operation - (Akdemir and Karaçizmeli, 1998).

When I first came across these types of news, I was disappointed. I hoped that through the documentary search on newspapers I would obtain crucial clues about the public policies and formal support channels related to the informal sector in general and the informal workers and their problems in particular. However, there was almost no news concerning the actual working conditions, existing possibilities and problems. Neither there was any discussion of broader employment and income policies.

Later on, I realised that what had not been said was as important as what has been said. The newspaper search was crucial for identifying the mainstream viewpoint related to informal work. It showed what was of interest in relation to the clothing industry. Like the workshops and female workers who were placed at the edge of cities, their stories have formed the peripheries of the public agenda. The interest was focussed on how much profit was handled and how much foreign exchange was earned, as if there were nobody, no hand, no human face behind those commodities. The female workers were transformed into either eye watering victims or 'fortune makers' of the neoliberal age on the inside pages of newspapers.

8. Participant Observation

The in-depth interviews with the workshop employers and female workers were valuable. However, it was not possible to observe the working relations in the actual working space. After the first stage of the research, I decided that I needed more in-depth data related to issues such as how workers developed resistance strategies against the employer or the family, how the bosses and the families cooperate with each other; how control over the work process takes place, and what the sources of competition and conflict are among the garment workers. I decided to live in one of the districts where I conducted interviews and to work as a garment worker.

A devastating earthquake that took place on 17th August 1999 negatively affected the second stage of my fieldwork. According to the official figures, 15,226 people died in the North West of Turkey (DPT, 1999). The West End of Istanbul was one of the regions affected by the earthquake. The inhabitants of Göktepe stayed in tents that summer, since the earthquake seriously damaged some of the houses and most of the inhabitants were also afraid of the after-shocks. Another big earthquake was expected with Istanbul at the centre. Göktepe was one of the high-risk regions in Istanbul.

I arrived in Istanbul in October 1999 surrounded by the devastating physical, social and psychological effects of the earthquake. One negative effect of the earthquake on the research was related to the psychology of interviewees. The other was related to the inevitable effect of the earthquake on the economy of the workshops, since many of the companies preferred to subcontract to workshops that are located in relatively risk-free places. If I were to continue to follow the field agenda and start to conduct the participant observation in Göktepe, I would be in danger as well. However, time was limited and my economic situation meant that I could not afford to postpone the second stage and come back later on to do the research. Furthermore, if I had delayed for a long time, I would have lost my current contacts. So,



Figure 4.7. Zeynep in front of her sewing machine.

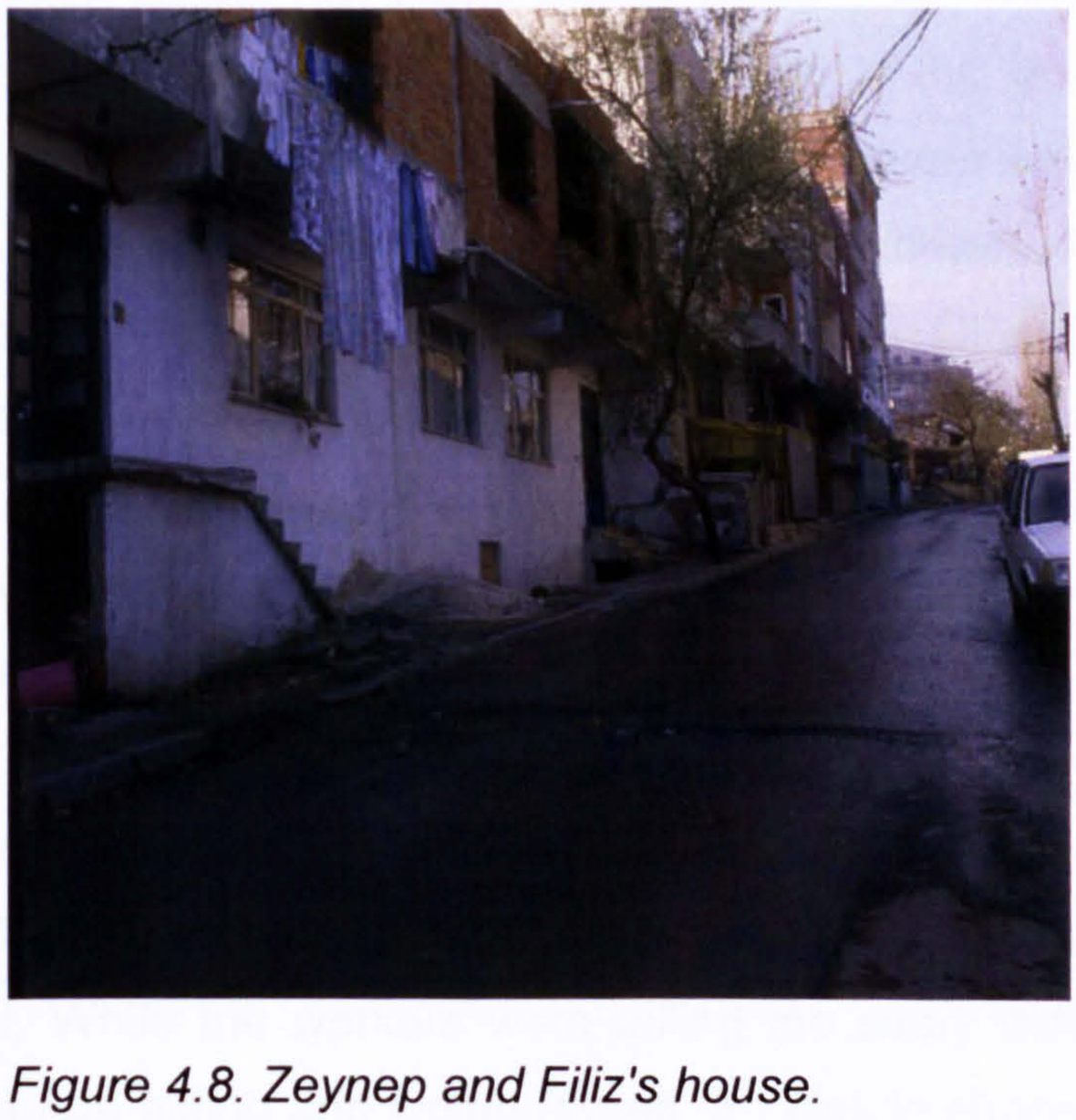


Figure 4.8. Zeynep and Filiz's house.

knowing the existing effects and risks, I decided to continue with the research.

During the second stage, I lived in Göktepe and worked in a workshop for one week and in another workshop for three weeks in December 1999. When Zeynep, a garment worker, opened her house for me, I solved the problem of living alone as a woman in the district. I stayed with Zeynep, her mother and her elder sister, Filiz, during the participant observation. Filiz used to be a garment worker too, but she had to change her work after she got asthma.

After solving the problem of accommodation, the second main problem was whether to choose a covert or an overt role in the workshop where I would work. The female workers whom I knew and a journalist who was an ex-worker in the workshops advised the covert role. They based their suggestion on the fact that if I were to say that I was a researcher, it would not be possible to gain inside information in the workshops. My existence would change the way the employer and workers would act. I would not be able to see how the bosses behave to the workers. The workers would not tell me everything, since I was not one of them. Other than the warnings from the workers and the journalist, there was another reason for a covert strategy. If I had said that I was a researcher, there was a risk that I could have been refused access to the workshops and would not have been accepted in any workshop as a worker.

Choosing a covert role required me to play a role for everybody, including the female workers. So, the first problem related to this choice was ethical. While the workers were telling me every detail of their lives, I was going to be acting and hiding myself. If I was to choose to tell the workers of my status, then, since the district was a small community, there was a risk that news would be heard. This would vitally damage the research and put the workers who helped me in a dangerous position.

Finally, I decided to choose an overt role in order to concentrate my energy on the research, rather than trying to hide myself and to act as if I was a 'native' worker. Later on, I realised that it was the right decision. After being accepted for work in a workshop, I had more freedom to observe than a worker did. Furthermore, I had a justification for asking a series of question to the workers with whom I worked. After work, I was more openly able to conduct interviews with them.

I worked for free as part of my strategy to gain access to the workshop. In the first couple of days of the work, I tried to finish all the garments. However, when one consignment finished, new ones came. At the end of the day, I was so tired that I had no energy to talk with the workers, or even to take notes. During this stage, I realised more clearly, how physically challenging the work was. Later on, I slowed down and observed more. I focussed more on the research, rather than trying to finish all the garments.

While I was living and working in the district, the interviews with workers were much more relaxed, since my position, as a worker-researcher was legitimate. The threat from the employer was less, since he allowed me to work with the workers. The interviews were friendlier, too.

Even if for a limited time period, I worked together with the workers from 8.00 in the morning to 19.00 in the evening. I cut extra-thread from the garments while standing like other workers did. We ate the same food together. I believe that sharing the same conditions narrowed the gap between us and made it easier to develop a relationship of trust. During this stage, my relationship with some of the workers was transformed into a friendship. These friends, with whom I am still in contact, became my key informants for the rest of the field research.

During the participant observation, the field research continued all through the day while I was awake. I had the most intense and intimate discussions after 22.00 at night. Those were the informal conversations that I had with Zeynep and Filiz in our beds, after their mother had gone to her room. They were my two main key informants with whom I talked through most of my analysis and who prevented me from making mistakes. They were my lights on the dark corners of the workshop and into the secret ways of the community.

During the research, I saw parts of Istanbul that I had never been to before. Even if for a limited period of time, I had the possibility of being part of the lives of the people with whom I would never have had a chance to meet on any other occasion.

9. 'Resistance Strategies' of a Female Researcher

Istanbul is an overcrowded city, which has high living costs and a paralysed public transport system. It was a challenge to conduct research in Istanbul, within a limited period of time and with restricted funding resources. Moreover, apart from a couple of short visits, I had never lived in Istanbul before. This was another challenge.

Choosing a research site according to ideals of the research had its own costs. As a person who had not lived in Istanbul before and who had a limited income source, I had to rely on my acquaintances like any other new migrant. A friend of mine opened her house to me. However, her flat was in the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Since I had decided to conduct the research on the furthest tip of the European side, I had to do a long journey everyday. I had to travel via two minibuses, a bus, a ferry and the metro to be able to reach to the research site. The travelling time alone was six hours a day.



Figure 4.9. The researcher (centre) with the de-threaders.



Figure 4.10. Young female machine workers together with male floor workers during their lunch break.

After a couple of weeks of suffering, another friend of mine lent me his car. I had also borrowed a computer from another friend. Many of them helped me to access the research sites and information. I have used all my informal networks to be able to live in Istanbul and to be able conduct the research. The research became the mobilisation of my social networks in terms of living in Istanbul, building up a network of contacts and gathering information. I took every opportunity to extend my network for the research and many of my later contacts became my friends.

A researcher's positionality relative to the research process has been elaborated in the geographical literature (Butler, 2001; Dwyer and Limb, 2001; Laurie et al.: 1999). The personal and analytical realms cannot be separated easily, since the personal influences the final product. For instance, Wade (1993) argues that his gender and his interest in black music in England led him into male networks in Colombia where he studied black society and culture. According to Wade, the personal and the analytical feed into each other, as the personal influences actual field work as well as the analysis. Similarly, my position influenced my access to data and my field networks, as well as the data collection process.

Since I was from Turkey, I was an insider relative to a foreign researcher. This position was helpful for reading the cultural codes more easily and quickly. As an educated, middle class woman who appears too much in public space, however, I was an outsider relative to the female workers. Especially in the early days, before I had a network of local female friends, it was difficult to justify why I was there as a woman alone. Passing the same street a couple of times in a day immediately led to suspicious looks.

Local women were not exposed to the public space as much as I was. Other than working and shopping, their existence in public space was very limited. There was a disparity between my behaviour and what local men

were used to as an appropriate form of female behaviour. Very simple things became a problem, such as where to have lunch or where to go to the toilet. Until I found out hidden, small female spaces in the public area, or was actually shown by local women, I had to intervene in male spaces and confront sometimes suspicious and sometimes disturbed male eyes.

Since I went to Göktepe very often, suspicion and rumours were most visible there. It was common for me to be approached by a male, while I was shopping or having my lunch and to be asked who I was and what I was doing there. I later heard from my female friends that a rumour existed in the district that I was a journalist and was carrying a hidden camera. I therefore tried to find a middle way between being as little deviant as possible, while continuing to do the research. I dressed down in the midsummer weather of Turkey, wore no make-up and tried to be seen in open public spaces as little as possible to make my visibility invisible.

Other concerns were why my husband was not with me and how I could stay with a friend or in a university hall by myself. I had been warned by the female workers not to say that I was married, but to say that I was engaged and that I stayed with my relatives instead of my friends. In this way, there would still be an element of male protection, but the reason why he was not there was justified. This explanation also underlined that I was protected by my relatives. These suggestions and attitudes towards me were actually important clues about the gender relations and the tension around gender identities in the region.

The interviews were also affected by my gender. Access to the employers was easier than access to the female workers. Unlike the workers, they had plenty of time to talk and a suitable place for interview without anybody trying to control their words. However, being a woman without a male guard influenced some of the interviews. As women are not often seen in public spaces in the peripheries, it was not common to have long

conversations with an unknown man. However, this was what I had to do while conducting the interviews. Although I wanted to develop the conversation in a friendly atmosphere, since my position led to confusion from time to time, I had to establish my authority and make the workshop employers feel that I was there for solely work-related reasons during the interviews.

My gender was an obstacle to me being in male socialisation spaces without affecting those spaces. I had limited access to the informal networks that employers used for information and support. However, for the interviews with female workers, it was the opposite. These interviews were relatively easy and friendly, since I was a woman and I looked close to their age. Furthermore, I had the privilege of being accepted in private spaces that belonged to local women. This privilege was an advantage in observing and gaining inside information related to the gender relations, acts of resistance and solidarity networks among the garment workers.

9.1. Strategies in Interviewing the Garment Workers

During the interviews, I realised that a friendly conversation was much more productive than using notebooks, tape recorder or camera. These items developed immediate walls between the workers and me. Firstly, recording meant a threat to the informal settings. As soon as these items are used, they destroy the friendly and informal atmosphere of the conversations. These items represented authority, government officers and at the very least the educated, middle class elite. Therefore, the use of these technologies underlined the power differentiation between the workers and me. When I contacted the worker for the first time, I did not use a tape recorder or camera and did not take notes during the interview. Only on several special occasions, after being sure that a relationship of trust and friendship had been built, did I use these items with permission.

If I could find a suitable place, I noted down keywords, quotations and the physical character of the place, after the interviews. If I did not have the time or suitable conditions, I tried to take mental notes to help me remember crucial conversations, the person and the place. During the night, I transformed the interviews into the written form. Other than the documentation of interviews, I had another diary for general field notes consisting of my observations, new analyses, and the plan for new actions.

My first interviews with the workers were in the workshops. Until I found other ways, I had to ask the employer's permission to be able to talk with the workers. During my initial contacts, I faced different strategies of confrontation, the strongest being either a total refusal to talk with me, or a refusal to allow me to contact the workers. This happened twice. In the end, I was not able to conduct any interview in these places.

The more common strategy of employers was to say that the female workers were ignorant, that they had nothing to tell me or they were not worth talking to. The employer would then suggest either talking on behalf of the workers (!) or that I should conduct my interview with their foreman who was usually a middle-aged man or a relative. When I overcame the first barrier, the second barrier occurred when employers tried to be there during the interviews.

These strategies actually gave me clues relating to the general attitude of the employers towards the workers. I coped with almost all of these attempts by saying that I wanted to talk with the female workers related to female issues. I also said that as a man it would have been better if he did not attend. They were usually ashamed at this point and left us alone. So, I actually used existing gender segregation to my benefit to be able to create free space for the interviews.

In a short period of time, I realised that if I first asked permission from the employer and conducted the interview in the workshop (during the lunch or tea breaks), female workers felt uncomfortable talking to me. I decided as much as possible not to conduct the interviews in the workshops. However, since the working hours were extremely long, it was not very easy to find the workers outside the workshops.

Garment workers spend their lives between little, dark, noisy and depressing workshops and their homes. Early in the morning, they disappear into the basements of multi-storey buildings and reappear late in the evening with their quick steps heading back to their homes. So, my second alternative was to conduct the interviews in the workers' homes. I visited workers during the evening or weekends together with my 'gate keeper' friends. I conducted some of my interviews during these visits. However, even then, many of these interviews were influenced by the presence of either the worker's mother or father or in couple of cases her husband.

I felt either the pressure of the employer or the family throughout my research. I had to come and go between two power points, the employer and the family and had to try to develop strategies to limit their power, just like the female workers do in their daily lives. Afterwards, I discovered tiny, little spaces, cracks where the light gets in, such as the 'family side'[27] of a restaurant, the 'family side' in a park, and a patisserie where the female garment workers usually go. I conducted most of the interviews with the garment workers in those places.

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[27] There is a special area called the 'family side' in some of the traditional restaurants in Turkey. The 'family' actually means women or women and children with a male companion. These places are separated from the bigger front area of the restaurants and are usually located at the back or the second floor of the restaurant.

10. Conclusion: The Issue of Empowerment

Feminist scholars highlight the relationship between feminist research and the politics in which the research occurs. Mies (1993: 69) suggests that feminist research cannot take place within purely academic concerns, restricted to the ivory tower of research institutes and universities. Laurie et al. (1999: 48) define feminist research as being on the side of the oppressed and invisible and aiming to 'make a difference' for women.

I aimed to uncover the potential of solidarities and acts of resistance among the garment workers in my research. Although those solidarities were suppressed, broken and short-term, I hoped to show that these women are not merely passive victims of restructuring policies and the international market, but actors who try to give it a different shape within the limits of their power and as a part of their local daily reality. Therefore, this research is a feminist project within this context.

Researchers suggest that participation in research itself can actually be an empowering experience for women, since it creates a chance for the socially marginalised to express their opinion (Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000; Laurie et al., 1999; England, 1994; Opie, 1992). For many of the workers, the research meant a chance to talk about their work.

Sometimes, it helped a young bride to justify her work to her husband and to prove that what she was doing was actually worth considering.[28] On some other occasions, while I was interviewing a garment worker, her other female relatives intervened asking me to interview them. Many women were happy to talk about their experiences, which have been undervalued and

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[28] Maviş was an ex-worker. After they were married, her husband did not let her work in the garment workshops. While we were conducting the interview, her husband came for a lunch break. He listened to our conversations for a while. Then, she returned to him and said, "You still undervalue my work. Researchers come and interview me. Is there anyone who interviews you?"

considered as unimportant for so long. Nonetheless, still what did the research mean in relation to their real problems? Actually it meant very little.

Researchers suggest that critical feminist research examining gender and class inequities reveals aspects of women's disadvantages and makes women's voices heard. So that it can inherently challenge the status quo (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000; Laurie et al., 1999). However, if the research remains in academic circles, it means little in terms of the actual problems of women, even if it claims to be feminist research aiming to empower the women involved (Gatenby and Humphries, 2000).

During the research, I had difficulties in legitimating my work, to a tired worker coming home from work early in the morning, after she had worked in the workshop for a full twenty-four hours. I would be getting a PhD, but what would she get from it in practice? Why was I doing these interviews, what was in it for them?

I did not want to give false hope, yet I needed to legitimise what I was doing. In the long-term, I would say that this experience would be transformed into an organising practice and it would help to increase visibility of the female workers at the national level and in academic circles. However, what was the meaning of the research for Zeynep, Neriman, Filiz, and Beyhan as individuals, for those who participated in the research and for those who were actual supporters of mine throughout the research? It only meant that someone listened to their problems and said that what they were doing was important. It helped them understand a little bit more that they were a crucial link in the chain. Perhaps, for some of them, it meant a new friendship. But, perhaps, this was the paradox between the workers' harsh reality and the 'noble' ideals of a middle class academics.

Considering these dichotomies, I got involved with a voluntary women's group, the Working Group on Women Homebased Workers, between 1999 and 2001. The group is an informal network of home-based workers, activists, researchers and professionals. It aims to contribute to increase the visibility of women home-based workers in Turkey. It also tries to create a national policy around home-based work and to support home-based workers in developing their own organisations.

I had a chance to a certain extent to transform my research experience and findings onto another level via this group. I participated in the meetings organised by HomeNet and tried to contribute to the information exchange with the group and HomeNet between 1999 and 2001. We co-ordinated two activist roundtables with the participation of women home-based workers, the representatives of local NGOs and trade unions in the International Association of Feminist Economics year 2000 annual conference. We also attempted to conduct an action-research together with two group members on vertical and horizontal chains of home-based work in Istanbul. The value-chains research aimed to trace the subcontracting chains and to address the extent of home-based work according to regions and sectors in Turkey. At the horizontal level, it also aimed to identify major problems and action points for organising and establishing local groups. Unfortunately the research remained at proposal level because of the lack of funding. Because of my long-term stay in UK, I am not actively involved with the group since 2001. However, the group currently continues its activities in Turkey.

CHAPTER 5

THE LAST CHAIN: INDUSTRIAL WORKSHOP PRODUCTION IN SUBCONTRACTING CHAINS

1. Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 2, large firms in globalised production systems participate in many different countries as part of their production and distribution strategies. Researchers suggest that one of the most important characteristics of restructuring in less developed countries is the flexible organisation of industry along with subcontracting relations (Kayasü 1995; Lawson, 1992; Beneria and Roldan, 1987). The emergence of subcontracting chains has been analysed as one of the strategies used by firms to maintain profitability and flexibility in response to the growing instability of the world market, fluctuations in demand, rapid shifts in design and the increasing pace of international competitivity (Lawson, 1992).

In this chapter, I attempt to analyse industrial restructuring processes in garment production in Turkey. I also aim to reveal how industrial changes influence the nature of employment relations within workshop production. In particular, I focus on how subcontracting chains in the clothing industry tap into labour pools in the peripheral settlements of Istanbul and how this structure influences workshop employers' survival strategies and workers' perceptions of production relations.

In this chapter, I first concentrate on the structure of subcontracting relations in the clothing industry in Turkey. Secondly, I elaborate upon state policies for the textile and clothing industry and particularly garment workshops. The main body of the chapter rests on the impacts of this structure on workshop production. I primarily aim to understand the extent to which workshop production is connected with other levels of subcontracting and the nature of this connection. I further seek to answer the following questions: How do garment workshops, which are placed at the bottom of subcontracting chains, fulfil the flexibility required for the industry? How do they cope with the downward price pressure of the international market? And lastly, what kinds of labour dynamics are generated by these processes?

2. Linkages with the International Market

2.1. Nature of Commodity Chains

In this section, I will attempt to address some of the key literature on commodity chains to establish a framework for understanding the nature of relations which the garment workshops are tied into. Leslie and Reimer's study (1999) gives us a useful framework for conceptualising commodity chains. They suggest that the concept of the commodity chain covers a whole trajectory for a product including design, production, retailing and consumption. They classify different approaches which help us to understand commodity chains. The first one, the global commodity chain approach, derives from world system theory and centres upon the global dynamics of commodity chains. This approach has been criticised as overemphasising the production dynamics and undermining social relations where production takes place. It has also been criticised as having an uni-directional and linear understanding of the chains. Although the global commodity chain approach particularly tries to explain power relations within the chains, it fails to explain

how buyers control the production relations. It pay insufficient attention to the complex practices through which the production and retail stages are linked (Hughes, 2000; Leslie and Reimer, 1999).

Another approach mentioned by Leslie and Reimer is 'circuits of culture' approach. They suggest that this approach perceives the movements of commodities as non-linear circuits rather than as a linear chain. This approach focuses on a cultural analysis of commodity circulation. The 'circuits of culture' approach has been criticised as not providing enough understanding of exploitation within commodity circulation.

Finally in 'network approach', commodity movements are perceived as complex 'webs of interdependence' rather than vertical, uni-directional commodity exchange relationships (Hughes, 2000: 178). According to Hughes, this approach overcomes the shortcomings of the 'circuits of culture' approach in terms of understanding exploitation at the site of production. It also allows us to introduce agencies such as design, research and development stages, NGOs and consumer groups into the analysis of commodity movements. The network approach is particularly useful for understanding the way in which retailers drive commodity movements. It also helps to explain the complex relations at the buyer stage, since it introduces the influence of fashion houses, different consumer choices and changing technologies into the analysis.

This study does not particularly focus on the retail stage of production. It mainly aims to understand how buyers' demands are perceived at the production stage and how the unequal distribution of power within subcontracting relations are experienced in garment workshops. Although it has not been introduced within the context of commodity chain analysis, the influence of cultural values, gender relations, trade unions and NGOs on production relations in the garment workshops have been included as part of this study.

The global chain approach is helpful for understanding the dependency of production stage and different 'modes of organisation' within subcontracting relations. As suggested by Hale and Shaw (2001), this approach draws particular attention to the unequal power relations and helps to focus attention on labour conditions. Gereffi (1994), whose work is associated with the global commodity chains approach, argues that power relations in subcontracting chains vary according to the type of industry and the structure of the chain. Gereffi (1994) classifies commodity chains as buyer-driven and producer-driven. Producer-driven commodity chains are capital and technology intensive. In these chains, manufacturers are the key economic agents in terms of earnings, control over raw materials and marketing. Gereffi exemplifies the sectors dominated by producer-driven commodity chains through the production of aircraft, automobile and computer systems. While producer-driven commodity chains are controlled at the production stage, the consumption stage is more dominant in buyer-driven commodity chains. Gereffi suggests that these industries have high entry barriers at the level of brand names and require high levels of investment in terms of product development and advertising. Therefore, they are design and marketing intensive.

Light consumer goods such as garments, footwear and toys are buyer-driven industries. Buyer-driven commodity chains are labour-intensive at the manufacturing stage. This leads to very competitive factory systems at the global level. These industries are subject to seasonal fluctuations, which demand 'flexible' production conditions. The manufacturing stage is required to give a quick response to these fluctuations. This entails flexible labour strategies and 'flexible' work periods (Wilson, 1991).

The difference in power relations between the production and marketing levels of light industries can be easily observed from the profits or expenses in those areas. For instance, in 1992, Michael Jordan earned $20 million for advertising Nike's running shoes. This amount was more than one

year's combined earnings of Nike's 30,000 Indonesian workforce who produced those shoes (Ross, 1997: 9). Hale and Shaw (2001) state that wage costs make up 0.4 percent of the final price of a sport shoe sold in the US for $100. On the other hand, Haitian workers making Pocahontas shirts for the Walt Disney receive for 28 cents per hour, yet Disney's chief executive officer earns $78,000 in a day (Hartwick, 1998). The garments produced in Turkey with a subcontracting relationship with firms located in the Netherlands have been sold at a price four or five times higher than their production costs (Ercan, 1995).

2.2. Textile and Clothing Industries within International Commodity Chains

"*The care tag tells you how to treat the garment but not how the worker who made it was treated*" (UNITE's Consumer Guide, cited from Ross, 1997).

Particular forms of subcontracting take place in particular locations together with the internationalisation of the market. Pike et al. (1998) suggest that increasing numbers of textile and clothing firms in Britain are using offshore subcontracting in LDCs. The picture is similar for other developed countries. According to an ILO report (1996a), the geographical distribution of buyer-driven industries, such as footwear, textiles and clothing, which comprise today's main export sectors for most LDCs, has changed dramatically in the past twenty-five years. While there are sizeable employment losses in Europe and North America, important gains have taken place in the developing world, including Turkey.

There is a spatial distribution of the garment industry at the international level. Whereas production in the clothing industry has been concentrated in LDCs, design, marketing and control over the chain have still been concentrated in giant retailer firms in developed countries. Through subcontracting chains, retailers maintain control over production by defining

price, quality control, strict delivery times and having fragmented production alternatives all over the world. The risks coming from production, such as fluctuations in the market and changes in consumer demand are transferred to the manufacturing subcontractor and through the subcontractor to the lower levels of the chain.

The international company has little concern for labour standards and the working conditions of the production in the sub-contractor firms. The company at the top is in a position of 'customer' rather than employer of the huge global factory. As a customer, their main concerns are quality, low prices and on-time delivery rather than labour standards. There are attempts to improve labour conditions through ethical trade initiatives and codes of conduct campaigns in which retailer companies in DCs are also involved. However, as suggested in Chapter 2, these codes have a limited impact on the informal sector workers in their current form (Barrientos, 2000b; Hale and Shaw, 2001). They do not redress the power relations that the retail and production stages are tied into (Hughes, in press; Kabeer, 2000). Furthermore, they have been implemented in a paternalistic fashion without strong linkages with local NGOs, trade unions and workers in LDCs (Hale and Shaw, 2001; Kabeer, 2000; Blowfield, 1999).

Although studies on subcontracting in the clothing industry suggest that there is a long-term relationship between the international companies and indigenous supplier firms (Crewe and Davenport, 1991), this relationship is still hierarchical. For instance, Smith (2003) states that regardless of the forms of contract, many clothing plants in Slovakia are involved in asymetrical flows of value and power relations with Western European retailers. This relationship is based on low-cost outward processing. In his example, a Slovakian production firm receives fifteen percent of the final value of goods that are exported to German merchandisers. Four percent of the final value received is for wage payments. Similarly, Dicken (2000) states that Indonesian export-oriented clothing production is almost entirely controlled

and coordinated by foreign firms. Indonesian clothing manufacturers carry the entire risk of production and have a weak bargaining position vis-a-vis foreign retailers.

In their Toreon-Mexico case study, Bair and Gerrefi (2001) state that local blue jeans manufacturers increasingly become part of an organisational relationship with US retailers in which buyers control production processes with detailed production specifications. High-value added activities, such as design, product development, marketing and retail stages are closely guarded by leading US firms, so that manufacturers will not develop skills which enable them to be potential competitors of buyers. Hence, no manufacturer in Toreon directly markets its own brand in the US. Furthermore, the US buyers benchmark Mexican manufacturers against other global suppliers. This position leaves manufacturers under pressure to reduce their production costs to a minimum level to be able to offer competitive prices. The case studies on Indian and Kenyan Clothing industries are based on similar findings (Dolan and Tewari, 2001; McCormick, 2001).

Long-term business relations with the buyers do not guarantee that subsequent contracts will be carried out with the same firm. Therefore, at whatever cost, the subcontractor firm has to offer the lowest price in order to prevent the 'customer' seeking alternative sources of supply. The price competition between international retailers leads to more and more downward cost cutting at the manufacturing level.

During one of the interviews that I conducted with the vice general director of the garment export company, he described the position of international companies in Turkey in the following terms:

> Indigenous firms do not have bargaining power over prices. If your firm suggests a price of seven DM[29] and a firm in Portugal suggests 6.5 DM,[30] the customer in London will subcontract the work to Portugal in a minute. In subcontracting, the conditions are defined from Paris or London. The foreign company does not make any contact with the workers. They do not have any responsibility towards the realisation of production. The only thing that they are interested in is the final product. On the other hand, there are producers. If they produce under the defined conditions, they get the money. If they cannot, they lose their jobs.
>
> (Export company vice general director)

One of the workshop employers described this 'trap' in the following words:

> Companies from Germany want to buy products at $15.[31] They also want us not to hire child workers and not to have workers without social security. If we produce the garments at higher prices, they don't accept our offer. It is impossible to produce with these profit rates and to hire adult workers with social security. You cannot have both. We are bound to these working conditions.
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

Hale and Shaw's study of the garment industry supports the current argument. They state that with the on going competitive pressure of subcontracting chains, it is unrealistic to hope that local contractors would be able to institute a reasonable level of labour standards and bring health and

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[29] Seven DM is £2.3 in summer 1999 (TCMB, 2002).
[30] 6.5 DM is £2.1 in summer 1999 (TCMB, 2002).
[31] $15 is £9.3 in summer 1999 (TCMB, 2002).

safety measures into effect without going bankrupt (Hale and Shaw, 2001). Integration and concentration of retailer firms and the fragmented structure of production allow for the creation of a steady downward price pressure on clothing manufacturers by retailers. The foreign firm comes with an order package. The indigenous firms either accept the conditions defined by the customer or allow the order to be got by another firm. The 'customer' position of the main firm, the international price competition and the fragmented production alternatives define the production relations at the lower level of the subcontracting chain in the clothing industry.

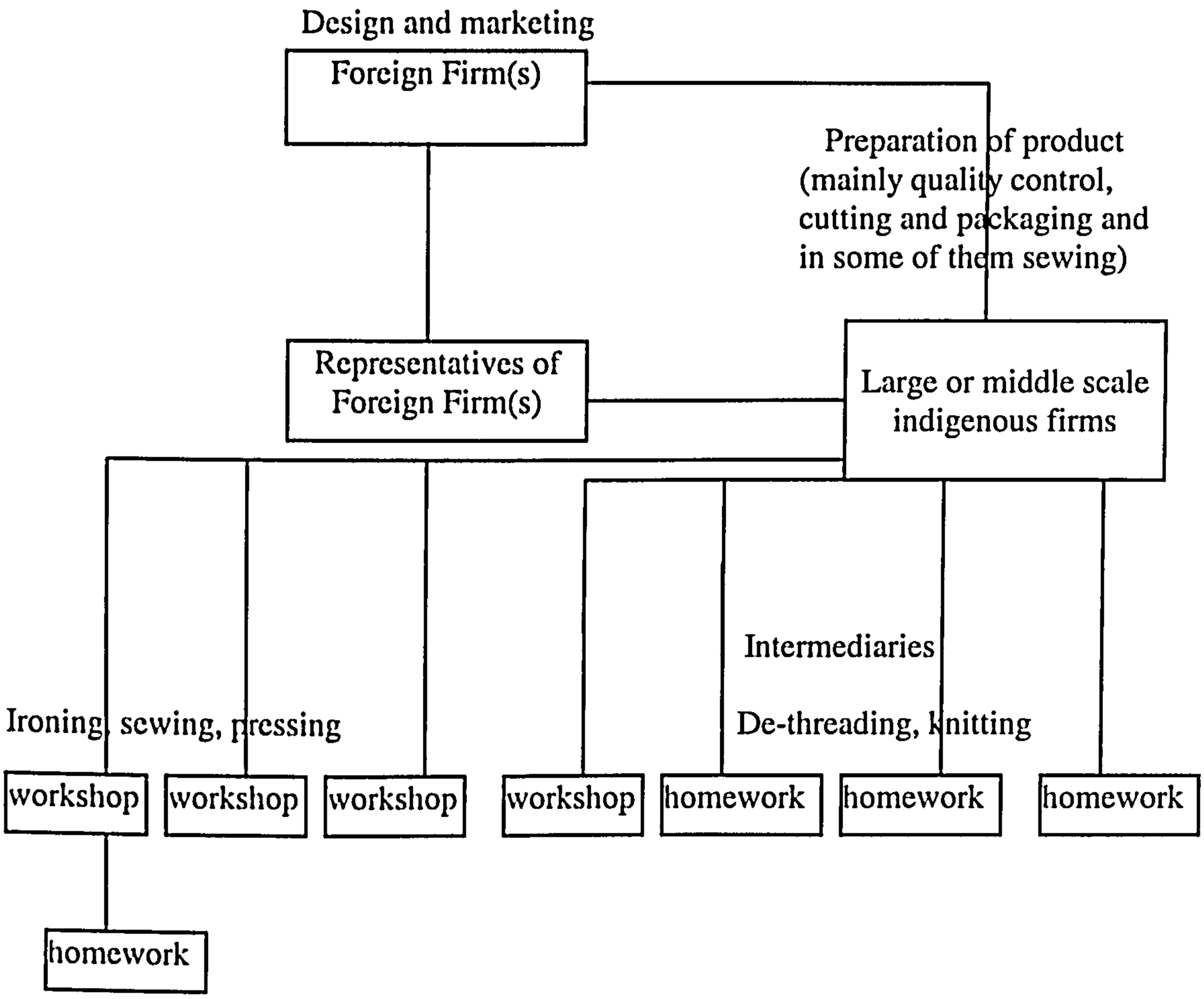
3. The Clothing Industry and Subcontracting Relations in Turkey

The Customer is Always Right.

There are several combinations of subcontracting chains in the clothing industry in Turkey. The organisational structure of the subcontracting chains in the clothing industry is given in Table 5.1. The foreign firm gives the order to the indigenous firm located in Turkey either through its representative company or directly. Designs, fabric styles, production periods and most importantly prices are defined at this stage by the foreign firm. The subcontracted indigenous firms are usually responsible for the entire production.

Indigenous firms mainly have two different types of organisational structure. Some firms carry out the entire production process by themselves, from the production of textiles, quality control, cutting, dying, printing and ironing to sewing. When there is excess in the order, the firm subcontracts the sewing stage to the workshops. This form of subcontracting is called 'capacity subcontracting' (Lawson, 1992: 5).

Table 5.1. The Clothing Industry Production Chain*



* *Mainly drawn from Kayasü (1995).*

The most common garment production organisation is called 'specialisation subcontracting'. In this form, the indigenous firm divides all the production processes and subcontracts to other specialised firms and workshops. The parent firm mainly carries out quality control and cutting in its own production location and subcontracts the rest of the production process. Either homeworkers or workshops are placed in the last link of the subcontracting chain. Homeworkers are employed directly by the parent firm or linked to the parent firm through workshops and intermediaries.

The process of production is greatly separated in specialisation subcontracting. Every workshop or firm is specialised in a particular stage of garment manufacture. The parent indigenous firm and its subcontractors have a similar hierarchy to that of the foreign and indigenous firms. Production is controlled by the dominating company, which has the status of 'customer' as opposed to its subcontractors. Whilst the workshop continues to give the lowest prices together with the necessary levels of quality, the relationship survives. One of the export company managers described their workshop criteria in the following terms:

> The company abroad does not have time. When they complain, it is the end of the relationship. Therefore, on-time delivery and quality are very important. When they make the order, the rest is your responsibility; how you finish it; whether you will work during the night or during festival days...etc. those are your problems. We choose the workshops with the similar perspective. The quality, the price and the delivery on time, and lastly, in order to control production easily, the close distance of the workshop are our main criteria.
>
> (Export company general directorate)

3.1. The Spatial Division of Labour

As stated above, almost every stage of the production process has been carried out in different workplaces in clothing subcontracting chains. However, there is a consistency in terms of separation of the tasks and how specialised production locations are spread in the city.

Work processes, which need 'qualified' white and blue-collar workers, are mainly located in large-scale firms based in industrial zones. In those regions, most of the workers have formal protection such as having a formal

work contract, social security and all social rights related to social security. These regions are the main focus of the trade unions in terms of worker rights.

On the other hand, 'unskilled', labour-intensive and routine tasks such as sewing and embroidering are subcontracted to the workshops located in residential peripheries. One of the export company managers expresses their reasons for subcontracting these stages in the following terms:

> It is cheaper to subcontract the sewing part rather than producing here, they produce cheaper.
>
> (Export company employer)

> But, how do they manage this? (The researcher)

> In short, their cost is less than ours, in terms of rent, service or labour expenses. Somehow, they produce cheaper.
>
> (Export company employer)

Although the working conditions in workshops are known, the export companies turn a blind eye to this issue. The world in the workshops is different from the sterilised and clean face of retailing companies and from formal, industrial production places.

During the first days of field research, I did some observations in one of the ex-textile production districts, Merter, which is now mainly a retailing area for the export extras of garment production.[32] I met with the owner of a subcontractor firm of a European company. After a short discussion, I asked him to help me establish a contact with their subcontracted workshops. He asked me "Why do you want to see the workshops?" and I replied, "I want to

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[32] The garments that are produced for export, but cannot be exported, are sold in the domestic market.

interview the employers and the workers." He said, "Those places are not suitable for you. What do you expect to see? I could tell you instead, the working conditions are not very good." Then, he refused to help me contact their workshops. Afterwards, I learned not to ask export companies for contacts with their subcontractor workshops.

Researchers suggest that the separation of tasks and subcontracting are based on reasons such as labour cost reduction, increasing profitability of capital, recruiting particular forms of labour and undermining the power of organised labour (Pearson, 1991; Wilson, 1991). Compared to other stages, the sewing stage requires the highest number of workers in clothing production.

The indigenous firm avoids the responsibility of supporting redundant workers during low seasons by subcontracting the most labour-intensive part. Furthermore, it does not need to have any formal responsibility towards the bulk of workers to complete the labour-intensive part of the production. However, the parent firms continue to exercise their control over employment relations through defining the production periods, the flow and volume of work available and, most importantly, production prices.

The fragmentation of the work process between different enterprises not only serves flexibility in terms of order, but also creates the possibility of informality, and therefore decreases the cost and opportunity for competitiveness at an international level. On the one hand, cost reduction strategies are based on cheaper rents in the peripheries and lack of expenses for workers' transportation, because the workshops are already located in residential districts. However, there is another side to the coin. The physical concealment of the workshops also creates the possibility for clandestinity (Wilson, 1991).

Location choices are not accidental. As suggested by Pearson (1988), these choices are not merely a matter of seeking the lowest cost environment. They are also related to maintaining an 'ideal' structure of labour at national or regional levels. Location choice has a connection with the dispensability of the labour force in response to market fluctuations, the absence of trade union activities and lack of work, as well as workers' experience (Pearson, 1988). In these terms, peripheral neighbourhoods constitute an ideal location for the workshops.

3.2. The Last to be Rescued in the Case of Crises

International companies relay the risk of sudden changes on to the indigenous firms through subcontracting chains. Likewise, the indigenous firms pass the risk on to smaller firms and workshops. The risk of sudden changes in market conditions is reduced or rather transferred to the informal sector by subcontracting chains. This is a deliberate process. Necessary price reductions and competitive power on the international market are handled through shifting the labour-intensive part of the production process and the labour problems to the informal sector.

In the following section, I will elaborate upon how production is affected at the workshop level by the strategy of 'shifting-risk' and by the 'customer' position of the main profit holders. However, first, I would like to concentrate on State policies in the textile and clothing industries, as subcontracting decisions are also influenced by them.

4. State Policies for the Textile and Clothing Industry and The Informal Sector

Pearson (1988) suggests that location choices of subcontracting firms are influenced at the international level by a wish for the political and economic security of the region. They are also affected by the scope of incentives provided by Third World governments, and by the ability and willingness of the governments to apply labour legislation in the production spaces in question.

The governments in Turkey have actively shown their willingness and enthusiasm towards foreign capital investment and the introduction of neo-liberal policies. As pointed out by Ahmad (1993), in the early 1980s, the government was behaving as if it were an active partner of the private sector in search of foreign markets, with incentives given to export firms and in terms of creating the infrastructure necessary for foreign and national capital.

As suggested in Chapter 3, the textile and clothing industry has become one of the favourite industries of the State since the 1980s. Textile and clothing production has received official recognition as one of the major industries of Turkey in terms of foreign exchange earnings, employment generation as well as state support. Here I concentrate on the eighth five-years development plan of the State Planning Institute (DPT) for the textile and clothing industry.

Five-years development plans and specialised commission reports, which are part of these plans, are a major source of information that reflects macro-level policies on particular industries. Together with the eight five-years development plan in the textile and clothing industry, interviews with the DPT and Ministry of Labour representatives are the main source of information on State policies related to the textile and clothing industry and the informal sector.

4.1. The Textile and Clothing Industry in the National Development Plan

The eighth five-years development plan reports on the textile and clothing industry were prepared by advisory committees comprising government officials, textile and clothing producers, representatives of related finance units, trade unions and chambers. These reports are important sources of information on State policy considerations and on the main concerns of the textile and clothing exporters.

The perspectives of DPT representatives and specialised commission policy recommendations on the Textile and Clothing industry can be summarised as follows:

- Increasing the quality of the production and 'human resources' and improvements in production via modernisation of technology.

- Increasing Turkey's competitive power via advertising products of Turkey in a better way, creating own brand names and searching for new international markets.

- Establishing research and development institutes, and training and consultation units to support the enterprises (DPT, 2001).

State policies on the textile and clothing industry have concentrated on products, supporting export survival, and activating and increasing export potential, rather than on conditions of employment. Although, specialised commission reports briefly mention abstract concepts, such as 'sensitivity' to the environment, workers and child labour, the main concerns are not workers' well being, but customers' expectations concerning these issues.

The production carried out in the workshops is significant in terms of its export capacity for the country and in terms of international competitiveness. It is also assumed that workshop production is an important source of employment for workers who cannot be employed in the formal sector. Furthermore, it contributes to the participation of peripheral neighbourhoods to the urban workforce. This perspective was confirmed during the interviews with DPT representatives:

> Small- and medium-scale enterprises make a significant contribution to the total production in Turkey. One of the main focuses of the State is the way in which the production in small-scale enterprises and the capacity within the informal sector can be used as part of export-oriented production. The relationship between current industrial policies and the informal sector is a new issue in DPT. The State's main aim is to develop strategies to support the export potential of Turkey and to maintain this potential. The informal sector is crucial in terms of creating employment. The production within the informal sector is also significant for maintaining export capacity and international level competitivity. So, to some extent, a blind eye is turned to the informal sector.
>
> (DPT representative)

Although workshops are crucial for many workers' survival,[33] the work supplies a very low level of income, usually below the minimum wage. For instance, while gross minimum wage was 93,600,000 Turkish Lira in summer 1999 (Çalışma Bakanlığı, 2002), the salaries of de-threaders and floor workers in garment workshops were approximately 30 to 40 million Turkish Lira.[34] While the product is within the legal margins of the economy in terms

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[33] Unemployment benefit does not exist in Turkey.
[34] £1 is 650,000 TL in summer 1999 (TCMB, 2002).

of taxes and contribution to the economy, workers lay uneasily on legal margins.[35]

The main official policies concentrate on competitivity and profitability. Informal work, workshop production and workers themselves receive no attention in State reports on the textile and clothing industry. The supply of workers and the condition of employment seem unproblematic.

After mentioning macro-level State policies for the textile and clothing industry, I want to focus on their reflection in workshop settings. Since it represents the State's major influence on workshop settings at a local level in terms of regulations and labour protections, I will particularly focus on the relationship between labour inspectors and the workshops.

4.2. The Relationship between Labour Inspectors and The Workshop Employers

Although workshop workers officially have rights of equal treatment with other wage earners, none of these rights are valid when it comes to implementation. The laws are systematically floated. No formal work contract exists between the employer and the worker. Work is accomplished under a verbal agreement. Almost none of the workers are covered by social security. Formal social regulations such as the right to retire, statutory holidays, maternity rights, limits on over-time, vacation pay, minimum wage and regulations in terms of health conditions of the workspace are not applied in the workshop settings. Formal legislation loses its significance and protective powers for these workers.

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[35] According to Sabah newspaper news on 4 April 1997, IMF representatives searched the Laleli textile market which is called the centre of 'suitcase' trade, able to forecast the 'secret power' of the economy and Turkey's actual export potential. IMF representatives suggest that Turkey can fulfil the debt repayments by taking the 'suitcase' trade to the legal limits of the

The lack of application of labour legislation on workshop workers appears to be closely linked to the physical concealment of the workshops and their informal character. As stated above, industrial workshops are located in residential neighbourhood districts on the peripheries of the city rather than in industrial zones. Workshops look like domestic residences from the outside, and therefore, they easily escape labour inspections. The incidences mentioned by the workers also underline the informality of the workspaces and the difficulty of implementing labour legislation.

> One day two men with smart clothes came to the workshop. As soon as they came in, we knew that they were government officers. The men asked the boss where the employer was. The boss himself said "the boss is not here, he won't come today. He went to his village for a visit. I am just a worker in the workshop." The labour inspectors went and did not come again.
>
> (Zeynep, 18 years-old female workshop worker)

As stated by Berik in her valuable study on carpet workers (1987), the smaller and darker the workshop, the more difficult for labour inspectors to detect the workshops and apply labour legislation. Ironically, the worse the working conditions are, the easier it is to avoid sanctions. However, this perspective provides a limited view of the picture. Since Turkey is integrated into the international market via its labour cost advantage, the limited profitability rates and instability of the workshop production do not lend themselves easily to standard labour regulation.

The application of labour standards by increasing labour inspection, without creating any alternative support, results in bankruptcies in industrial workshops. For instance, as stated by DPT representatives during the interviews, a project was developed in 1996-1997 in the western cities of

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economy. However, while attempts are made to forecast and include the production and consumption in legal limits by all means, labour remains illegal.

Turkey. This project was supported by the Ministry of Labour, local governors, police head quarters, municipalities and guilds.

The project involved imposing certain labour standards in the workshops, such as limiting the maximum amount of working hours, implementing over-time payment, social security, compensation payment, official holidays and abandoning child labour. In only one of the cities, Uşak, 10000 workers were covered by social security as a result of this project. The working hours were decreased to 7.5 hours with the support of the police force. However, at the end of the year, approximately forty per cent of the workshops had gone bankrupt.

Workshop employers in Istanbul also mention the impossibility of imposing formal social rights under the existing power relations in the market.

> The work is very unstable. Sometimes, there is no work for 6 months. How can I hire workers with social security, while the future of the work is so insecure?
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

Legally established norms and labour standards are widely tolerated and abuse of these standards has been considered as legitimate in workshop settings. In many cases, labour standards are reduced to a question of bargaining between employers and labour inspectors.

> I have forty workers and fifteen of them have social security. Even those fifteen are covered by social security for a minimum wage. If I were to accept the need to provide social security for all of them, I would have to lock the door and give up the business. When the labour inspector comes, I say "this is the key, take it, cover all the workers with social security. And if you can, run the business by yourself."

(Determination Clothing, workshop employer)

We have twenty workers. When the labour inspectors came, they asked me to cover at least half of the workers with social security. Nine of them are now covered by social security.[36]

(Beautiful Garments, workshop employer)

Knowing these bargaining processes between their employer and labour inspectors, workers in Kücükçekmece welcome the inspectors with the expression "sharks are coming."

There are only 650 labour inspectors in the Ministry of Labour to control the labour standards in the whole country. As stated in Chapter 3, it is estimated that there are three million textile and clothing workers in Istanbul alone. Obviously, the labour standards cannot be controlled with this limited number of labour inspectors even in the garment workshops, hidden in the peripheries of Istanbul, let alone in all workplaces in Turkey. Policies on small-scale production in the export clothing industry focus on the foreign exchange inputs and on the employment potential created by those enterprises, rather than on the working conditions of production. These policies reinforce the informality of workshop production.

5. Survival Strategies of the Workshops

Most of the literature on survival strategies, which particularly influences writings on gender and development, focuses on how individuals or households maintain survival under harsh economic conditions. Laurie

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[36] Since many workshop employers mentioned this argument, I felt obliged to ask the official validity of it during the interviews with the Ministry of Labour. It was made clear that there were no such kind of flexibility according to the labour law.

(1997) suggests that work-related survival strategies are mainly conceptualised around workers and their solidarities or networks in relation to the needs of the household. Survival strategies can also occur at the level of the enterprise. These strategies can be understood in terms of how workshops in the informal sector are reproduced in particular circumstances and how these strategies frame the position of workshop workers. Garment workshops in the peripheries of Istanbul develop survival strategies against the ongoing pressure of the market.

Unlike artisanal enterprises, industrial workshops specialise in particular stages of the production process. Industrial workshops do not have sufficient knowledge about defining style, cutting and printing processes. Hence, they cannot command the entire production process.

Workshops are dependent on the parent firm for raw materials, end products and marketing. They need all the intermediary firms to transform the commodity into a marketable product. They do not have any choice or flexibility over style, the necessary skills for production or the standard of quality of the product. Moreover, the production period, amount, quality, prices and actual products are defined by the upper links of the subcontracting chain, mainly by the immediate contact, the parent firm. As stated above, the work process is indirectly controlled by the subcontracting firms, which have a position of 'customer' and do not have the burden of workers.

The power of the parent firm over the employer and the workshops can be easily observed from the submissiveness of the employers in the face of the regular controllers of the parent firm.

> I have been scolded in every check of the firm. Even a seventeen years-old female quality controller (!) treats me as badly as she wishes. If she could she would even beat me.

> They throw the products onto the floor or at my face. Last time, one of them said that "If we were the workshop, we would do the donkeywork. Now you are the workshop and you do the donkeywork." Unfortunately, it was true.
>
> (Quick Delivery Textile, workshop employer)

The capacity of the workshops to cope with price pressures and the level of flexibility imposed by the international market is limited. The workshop employer does not have much manoeuvrability over the parent firm. So, the only way to survive is to decrease the costs rather than increase the prices. The main costs of a garment workshop are rent, electricity, workshop tax, garbage tax, workers' lunches and wages. The first five do not have very much elasticity. The main area of flexibility for the employer is the worker's wages. The workshop employer's power is based on his effect on labour costs and the informality of the labour force.

The workshop employer elaborates different strategies to combat fluctuations in the market and to survive under the downward price pressure coming from the international market. One of the ways of decreasing costs is to search for a cheaper workforce in other regions. Some workshop employers shift their workplaces from the inner periphery of the city to the outer periphery, which is inhabited by relatively new migrants who are willing to accept lower wages.

> I will move the workshop to Alibeyköy.[37] I cannot go on here anymore. I have always been losing during the last two years. I heard that in Alibeyköy, a machine worker can be hired for 50 million TL per month.[38]
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

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[37] Alibeyköy is one of the peripheral settlements on the North European side of Istanbul.

In the peripheries of Istanbul, the pressure of the international market is balanced by labour cost reduction strategies.[39] As stated above, the social security and social rights coming with social security are denied in the workshops. There are no paid holidays and no payment regulations related to over-time. Working hours can be extended as much as the employers want. Wage levels can be lowered so that they constitute only 'pocket money' in the case of child labour. The employer does not have any responsibility for compensating fired workers or for retirement or illness. So, the labour cost mainly corresponds to workers' net wages. However, the informality of the workforce may still not be enough to meet the needs of the market and the ongoing price pressure. The lowest limit of the labour costs is the final limit of the workers.

How do you survive under such unstable conditions?

(The researcher)

By doing the same thing to the workers that is done to me. For the last year, the sewing prices have not increased. So, I have not increased workers' wages.[40] I said to the workers "I can't ask you to stay without any increase in your wages. If you want to give up the work, you can." But, nobody gave up work, because they knew that other workshops were under the same conditions as well. Plenty of workshops went bankrupt last year.

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[38] In the district, the average wage for a machine worker was 80-90 million TL in autumn 1999.

[39] Dikmen (2000) argues that the most efficient ways of reducing labour costs are:

a. Devaluation of national currencies

b. Regional or sectoral crises leading to an increase in the reserve labour

Turkey has been subjected to two major economic crises since the 1990s. The Turkish Lira devaluated by approximately 200 per cent on the foreign exchange, literally overnight in 1995 and 2001. As suggested by Dikmen, the level of labour costs was still not satisfactory for the exporter association. However, rather than emphasising the international or national level labour cost reduction strategies, I focus on local level strategies in this section.

[40] According to the State Planning Institute data, formal wage increases in 1999 were as follows: The minimum wage was increased by 121.7 per cent. Workers' wages were increased by 134 per cent in the public sector and by 115 per cent in the private sector. The Central Bank declared that the inflation for 1999 was 60.8 per cent (TCMB, 1999).

> There are many unemployed garment workers. In any case, it is easy to find workers.
>
> (Beautiful Garments, workshop employer)

The worker turnover is very high in the workshops.[41] Under price pressures, employers sometimes fire the existing workers and hire less experienced workers willing to accept lower levels of payment.

> The conditions have not been very good for the last year. However, we are lucky with our workers. Every week, at least four or five workers come to ask for work. We try to survive by decreasing workers' wages. Last week I fired four workers. They were experienced and hard working, however, the new comers accepted 10 million less in their wages.
>
> (Industrious Clothing, workshop employer)

Since workshops produce with a low level of profit, producing a lot in a limited order time is crucial.

> I gain 30 pence per garment. If I produce 1000, then it means something.
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

For that reason, producing fast is more valuable in the workshops, than being experienced and having the knowledge to produce a garment from its first stage to its last. Furthermore, working hours are extremely flexible. Producing bulk orders in a limited amount of time and making a profit in this way are gained by extremely long working days, which involve working all through the night. Over-time is common and often compulsory in workshop production.

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[41] This is a two-sided process. On the one hand, there is a high risk of being fired in workshops, but on the other hand it is also easy for workers to enter the market.

In workshop production, durability for long working hours and high speed are supplied by young labour aged between 11-30 and mostly 14-22, and by childless, preferably single female workers.

> When we hire elder women *(which actually means women over twenty-five years-old)*, they cannot work as much as, and as fast as, the youngsters.
>
> (Beautiful Garments, workshop employer)

> We usually try to hire single women. Married ones have more problems. They ask for leaves more often. They do not want to come at weekends. They do not want to stay overnight often. They have family problems. Their children get ill...etc. etc.
>
> (Leader Clothing, workshop employer)

The workshop is vulnerable to changes in market conditions. Changes affect the workshops harshly. Sometimes, cutting labour costs and making workers work to their last limits may not be enough. It still may not be possible to gain a new order. Thus, workshops run on a temporary basis. That means running the workshop when there is work and closing it down when there is none.

> The garment business is very stressful. You can only plan today. There is no guarantee for the future. You live daily. If there is no work, we can survive only for a month. Even to survive a month, we need to use all our savings and sell my car. Then, we go bankrupt.
>
> (Our Garments, workshop employer)

If there is a lack of orders, the workshops close for a couple of months and the workers are left to their own resources. If they can find another job, they restart work. Otherwise, they continue to wait for their employer to have

an order and to re-open the workshop. However, even with temporary work, not all the workshops can cope with the pressure. In the peripheries where the research was conducted, workshop bankruptcies were very common.

> For the last 2-3 months profits have been better. Before the conditions were very bad. In the neighbouring district, 500 workshops went bankrupt in the last year. That alone is a quarter of all the workshops in that district.
>
> (Cascade Clothing, workshop employer)

> I have been a workshop employer since 1990. For the last ten years, I went bankrupt and re-opened the workshop five times. If you are a garment workshop employer, you must face frequent crises.
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

The workshops do not have an infinite capacity to resist the ongoing pressure from the international market through labour cost reduction policies and temporary production carried out by easily-hired-and-fired workers who have no formal protection. Even under these conditions, some workshops cannot continue to survive. Many of the workshops run the risk of bankruptcy. Furthermore, the workers are under the constant risk of losing their jobs without any compensation.

6. 'Exploitation' in Workshop Production: Blurring the Class Distinctions

Describing class as a category in which the employers and workers are two separate entities does not give us enough understanding of the class relations in workshop production. The differentiation between the workshop employer and workshop workers as separate groups is blurred because of

the complex structure of extraction of surplus labour in international subcontracting relations.

The nature of exploitation in the industrial workshops is different to factory production or traditional artisanal workshops. The exploitation is beyond the polarisation between the worker and the employer. The extraction of surplus labour occurs in the workshop and the workshop employer extracts the surplus labour as much as, and as harshly as, he can. However, every stage of subcontracting involves the appropriation of surplus value. The appropriation and distribution of surplus labour mainly takes place at the further stages of the subcontracting chain, outside the workshop and with a lion's share being taken at the marketing and retailing stages. Therefore, defining workshop employers and workers as two separate entities does not greatly illuminate our understanding of the complexity of production relations.



There are similarities between workshop employers and workers in terms of life styles, cultural backgrounds and social networks as well as the fact that they are both subject to the pressure of the parent firm. Nevertheless, the subcontractor firms, along with the employers, define and control the labour processes and the working conditions via strict delivery times, quality control and price-fixing.

Figure 5.1. Behind the Curtain of Fashion.
Source: Andrew Ross (1997).

The fear of workshop closures, accompanied by job losses and job insecurity, affects workers' perception of their position in relation to the employer. The workers are also well aware of how unstable the work is, and how much their own future and their employer's depend upon the decisions of the parent firm. It is more difficult for the workers to perceive the extent of exploitation compared to classical forms of factory production or traditional artisanal production. Exploitation and dependency can be perceived by workshop workers only up to the immediate contact. That is up to the parent firm.

> The big firms oppress us a lot. They know we are desperate and they force us to do the work for lets say 200 TL when it should be 400 TL. I do not think our boss gets 400 and is cruel to us. He works as much as we do. A year ago, we were twenty-five workers in the workshop, now we are only eight. The boss went bankrupt and couldn't support the rest of the workers anymore. I always work harder, because, if we cannot finish the work on time, the boss goes bankrupt again and we lose our jobs.
>
> (Zeynep, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

> The firms do not give much money to our boss and the boss cannot give much to us. If the others were to give enough to the boss, the boss could give enough to us.
>
> (Cevriye, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

These words of the workers could be perceived as fatalism, submissiveness or even 'false consciousness'. However, I would argue that the workers are well aware of their daily reality. The workers' experience and perception are based on the working relationships in the workshop and to some extent on their employer's relationship with the subcontractor firm. The vulnerability of workshop employers in the face of market fluctuations and

powerful 'customers' blurs the distinction between the workshop employers and the workers as two separate homogeneous groups.

Treating workshop employers and workers as two separate groups in class analysis undermines the complexity of production relations within international subcontracting. In the subcontracting workshops, class distinctions can rather be perceived as a contingent and permanently negotiated positionality and therefore as a process. Taking class as a process allows us to focus on its relational aspects and helps us to highlight the space that joins and separates workers and employers. In the next chapter, I will try to focus on the alliances and resistances in the garment workshops, which enable us to explore this positionality, and space, which is constantly established and undermined by the workers and workshop employers.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I suggest that the firms located at the upper end of the subcontracting chains are transformed into a customer position and thus, they have no obligations in relation to the working conditions at the lower end of the subcontracting chain. Nonetheless, they continue to control the production process. The structure of the subcontracting chain allows the transfer of market risks to the informal sector, in this case to the garment workshops, which are placed at the bottom of the chain.

A great power imbalance exists between international retailer firms, indigenous manufacturer firms and subcontracted workshops. Relations of power and the autonomy of workshop employers, which are influenced by subcontracting chains, have particular impacts on the stability of the

employment situation, workers' potential to control their conditions and lastly on workers' resistance strategies.

International price pressure has been transferred to the workshops and manifests itself through the informality of the workforce and through pressure on wages. The 'flexible' production has turned into over-time, temporary work, the risk of bankruptcy and the constant threat of losing jobs. This structure frames the position and the coping strategies of the garment workshops within the market. Moreover, it influences the employer-worker relationship, workers' position in the workshop production and workers' perception of exploitation. As the next chapter will illustrate, it also frames how we understand emerging class relations within the context of class as a process.

CHAPTER 6

BARGAINING MECHANISMS IN WORKSHOP PRODUCTION

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the mechanisms operationalised in the extraction of surplus labour and on aspects of employers' domination. I also attempt to identify patterns of conflict and struggle among female garment workers. Furthermore, I discuss whether it is possible to talk about class-based resistance and solidarity in industrial workshop production.

In this chapter, I question whether the non-existence of formal, organised movements and long-term militant class struggles means that class struggle does not exist at all. I try to understand whether the existence of traditional forms of social relations in the workspace, such as kinship and family networks can be considered sufficient to suggest that strong ties exist between the employer and workers and that workers are submissive within these relations. Further, can the existence of these ties and the heterogeneity of work relations be analysed as the non-existence of class-based solidarities and conflicts? And can the logic of traditional forms of social relations exhaust the space of explanation of production relations in workshop production? Finally, if we perceive class as a process, what kind of space does this perspective open up for understanding workspace relations and workers' strategies in the industrial garment workshops?

In Chapter 5, I discussed the working conditions from the perspective of the enterprise and of the employer. Here I will firstly try to explore the same issue from the workers' viewpoint and I will examine various characteristics of workshop settings. Secondly, I will concentrate on existing forms of supra-local, formal organisations and their policies targeting workshop settings and informal sector workers. Formal organisations and their activities have a crucial influence in determining the limits of local forms of solidarity and the bargaining channels open to informal sector workers. Thirdly, I will discuss the areas of conflict between employers and female workers. I will also focus on the local forms of solidarities developed by the workers. Lastly, I will discuss why the acts of resistance are few and why solidarities around class interests are not systematic and long-term.

2. Workshop Conditions

Working hours in workshops are excessively long. Working days start at 8.00 am and continue until 7.00 pm during the week. They start at 8.00 am and continue until 1.00 pm on Saturdays. Workers have fifteen minutes for tea breaks, twice a day, and a one-hour lunch break. During the peak production period, the working day extends until 10.00 pm and sometimes continues through the night and weekends.

Over-time is compulsory and has no upper limit. Workers are hired only if they accept over-time. Since the goods are exported, over-time increases before export delivery days. The amount and period of over-time are not defined in advance. Over-time starts with an announcement by the employer just an hour or a few minutes before it is due to commence. For instance, in the workshop where I worked, working hours would normally end

at 1.00 pm on Saturdays. However, workers did not know until 1.00 pm whether they would have to do over-time that day or be allowed to go home.

When workers are ill, they need to cover their health expenses by themselves. Visits to the doctor during working hours are deducted from their daily wage. As stated in Chapter 5, when there is no order, workshops are closed temporarily. The workers do not receive any wage or compensation during this time period. The labour force is not unionised and no local organisation exists to support the workers in their work-related problems.

ILO (1998) research on health problems suggests that skeletal disorders, poor postures, lung diseases such as asthma and bronchitis are well-known health hazards of clothing workers. The workers that I interviewed also commonly mentioned asthma, eye problems, arm rheumatism, back pain and bad posture problems.

Workshops offer neither proper heating nor air conditioning. Garment workshops are heated by burning waste cloth in a stove. Depending on the material used during production that day, workers and employers breathe cotton or polyester dust all through the day. They return to their homes entirely covered with this dust from head to toe. When a garment worker blows her/his nose, it is possible to identify the colour of the garment sewn that day. The dust is not only in their nostrils, but also in their lungs. Some workers said that when coughing, garment dusts came out of their mouth. After working in the workshop for a couple of days, I too started to experience breathing difficulties.



Figure 6.1. Workers during their tea break in a workshop in Istanbul.



Figure 6.2. A female worker in front of her workshop.

3. Protecting Worker Rights via Formal Organisations

In Chapter 2, I examined examples of international level networks that aim to give support to workers, particularly to female informal sector workers in LDCs. I tried to analyse the nature of these networks. I also tried to explore the possibilities opened up and closed down for informal sector workers and local level worker solidarities via these movements. In this section, I will focus on the organising possibilities of garment workers at the national level in the informal sector in Turkey.

The analysis of formal, supra-local organisations is mainly based on in-depth interviews conducted with trade union representatives, women's NGOs and community centres of municipalities. A detailed consideration of trade union policies and NGO activities for women is beyond the scope of this study. Here, I will mainly concentrate on their perspectives on informal sector workers and their capability to organise informal workspaces.

3.1. NGOs and Municipality Community Centres

The NGOs and community centres interviewed mainly aim to support poor women in general rather than particularly targeting women in the labour-force and their working conditions. The only exception is the Working Group on Women Home-based Workers (WG-WHW).[42] The foundation for the Support of Women's Work mainly trains poor women to find employment and start their own business. It helps them market their products. It supplies micro-credits, organises meetings among its members to exchange experience, and gives support to poor working women via childcare centres.

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[42] The aim and activities of the group are examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

Similar to the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, community centres also support poor women in finding jobs and marketing their handmade products. Community centres also give welfare support such as the provision of food, fuel, free health and legal services for their members. They also organise training programs aiming to create employment possibilities for their members. The Küçükçekmece Centre also aims to provide shelters for women who are victims of domestic violence and supports them until they can survive by themselves.

There are other national and local level women's organisations that also concentrate on providing training programs and services for poor women.[43] They give food and clothing support to female-headed households and support income-generating activities for women. The activities of these organisations and centres mentioned above are crucial for poor women. One can suggest that some of their activities create an alternative to informal work. However, the number of women in employment reached by these organisations is limited. Furthermore, none have policies targeting women who are already in the informal sector. Improving working conditions and controlling work ethics are not in their policy framework. Hence they are not a main focus of this study.

The WG-WHW is the only exception to the welfarist model of women's support groups. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the group focuses on organising female workers in the informal sector and aims to create the required conditions that will lead home-workers towards gaining the working conditions and rights that they deserve. However, WG-WHW does not include workshop workers as part of their organising strategies. The NGO maintains their activities in a targeted fashion and limits their activities only to home-based workers. Although there are other small initiatives, which target female

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[43] These organisations were not contacted directly, but include the Association for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women, the Association to Research Women's Social Lives, the Women's Education and Culture Association, the Association to Support Modern Life, and the Turkish Women's Culture Association (KSS, 1995).

informal workers, none of them, including WG-WHW, are widespread nor are they well known among workers. Consequently, I did not come across any activities of these organisations among the workers in my fieldwork region.

3.2. Trade Unions

Although some of the trade union members are aware of raising the importance of the informal sector to some extent, as admitted by trade-union representatives, none of the three main trade union confederations have developed a major policy to target informal sector workers. There are several reasons for the lack of policies towards informal sector workers. One of the main reasons is related to the erosion of the power of the trade unions as a result of macro-level economic and social policies.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the implementation of SAP was difficult in Turkey with strong opposition from civil society organisations and trade unions. After the military intervention, the bargaining power of labour was diminished with a series of articles in the new Constitution of 1982 and the new Labour Code of 1983 (Yeldan, 1994). One of the main trade union confederations, DİSK, was banned for more than ten years after the military intervention. Trade union activities were prohibited for the first ten years of the free trade zones with free trade zones legislation of 1985. According to Türel (1993), trade unionisation came to a stop after the policies in the 1980s. Hak-iş representative describes their conditions in the following terms:

> The textile and clothing sector has recently been in a very bad position. Many workspaces in which we are organised have been closed. Companies established for thirty or forty years have been disappearing rapidly. We cannot protect our existing organisations let alone trying to operate in the informal sector.

The number of trade union members has been decreasing as a result of the decline in employees working in life-time-guaranteed jobs and with state restrictions on trade union activities. There is an enormous gap even between the number of trade union members and the number of formal sector workers. For instance, while the total number of registered labourers was 7,379,000 in 1992, trade union members amounted to only 2,224,000 (Türel, 1993). Trade unions have been struggling to maintain their existing membership and have therefore been unable to develop new strategies to organise the growing number of informal sector workers. Today, like in many other countries, trade unions in Turkey are in danger of being the representatives of 'core' workers who do not perceive the problems of informal sector workers as their problems.

Despite the fact that some of the union representatives are aware of the importance of industrial workshops and the informal sector, particularly for the clothing industry, none of the textile and clothing branches of trade union confederations has major strategies targeting workshops. Trade union representatives in Turkey mention that one of the main reasons is the difficulty of organising industrial workshops - with current forms of trade union strategies -. They suggest that any attempt can be easily detected and prevented by the employer.

> We cannot even get organised in medium-scale workshops, let alone in the small ones. Suppose that we tried to get organised in a workshop with forty workers. The employer has his own friends as workers. If one worker registers with the trade union, s/he would find him/herself outside the door - i.e. s/he would be dismissed - on following day.
>
> (Hak-iş, union representative)

It has been suggested that another reason is related to the current structure of the industry.

> Unionisation cannot be introduced in the garment workshops because when the workers are unionised they have many social rights, such as the introduction of holiday payments, retirement rights or the control of working hours. The employers of the workshops cannot support such a type of workforce.
>
> (Hak-iş, union representative)

In Chapter 5, I analysed the structure of the garment industry, its influence on the workshop employers' strategies and the vulnerability of the workshops, in relation to subcontracting chains. It appears to be that this structure also affects the willingness of some trade unions to develop strategies for organising industrial workshops.

Trade union representatives also argue that it is more feasible to concentrate their limited efforts on larger workspaces, so that they can obtain a reasonable sized membership to pay fees, and therefore gain a greater power base. Hence, despite the fact that no limit on workspace size in relation to unionisation exists in the labour law, trade unions only target the workplaces that hire more than 30 to 50 workers.

Rather than putting their efforts on the cumbersome and long-term project of organising small industrial workshops, trade unions focus on more influential public events such as organising demonstrations against the erosion of labour rights and social services. Since these attempts have an indirect effect on informality, they are crucial. Even though they do not offer any solution for organising informal sector workers.

The last obstacle facing the unions is the conservative influence in these organisations. Until the 1980s, the prevailing approach towards homeworking was based on ILO studies, which saw it as the least unionised and least regulated sector within the workforce and therefore in need of abolition (Karslı, 1992). Unfortunately, a similar perspective on the informal

sector is still held by many members of the trade unions in Turkey. It is argued that informal work via subcontracting relations is an attack on the social state because the sector decreases labour costs and eliminates labour unions (Koç, 1999). Informalisation via subcontracting chains is described as a trick to disempower unions by dividing the work process into small units (DİSK-AR, 1994).

It is a fact that a decrease in the workspace size, the clandestinity of work in residential areas and low labour cost policies of the clothing industry present difficulties for unions to organise in the informal sector. However, the perspective that sees the informal sector as an attack on unionisation also creates an obstacle to develop a positive strategy for organising.

Conservative influences in trade unions still perceive the workers in large-scale factories as 'real' workers and therefore as most central. Furthermore, they either undermine the labour in the neighbourhoods, or worse, perceive them as a threat or an obstacle to the organisations of factory workers. A trade union representative admits this situation in the following words:

> The workforce in the informal sector is not even viewed as 'real' workers by many union members. This perspective is adopted not only by trade unions, but also by many factory workers. Some of them see their status as privileged relative to informal sector workers. They do not perceive these workers' problems as their own problems. This workforce is seen as temporary, unpolitical, unorganised or too young to be organised or inexperienced in labour struggle. They are viewed as the 'dregs of the society'.
>
> (DİSK, union representative)

In summary, formal organisations provide limited alternatives for informal sector workers at national, regional and local levels. Bearing in mind this poverty of existing organising possibilities for the informal sector workers, I now turn to analysing acts of resistance, workspace conflicts and the nature of solidarities maintained by informal sector workers.

4. Control and Surveillance in the Workshop Settings

Employers are usually in the workspace. Many of them work as machine workers in the workshops. Most workshop owners start their work-life as apprentices or as wageworkers. As suggested by Ayata (1991a), since employers have once shared similar experiences with the workers, they are easily able to comprehend the problems in the workshop and to understand workers' conditions. However, this also means that they have the necessary knowledge and hence the possibility to exercise continuous and direct control over the workers. Furthermore, they can more easily penetrate resistance strategies and solidarities developed by the workers.

The relations between employers and workers in the garment workshops are personal. Surveillance and monitoring in the workshops are carried out by the employer without any mediator. The employer has more autonomy and direct power over the workspace and has more control over the work process in comparison with an employed manager or a foreman in a factory. The workshop employer is the sole authority in the workspace. He is the only one who decides when work starts, when it ends and when to have a break. These decisions are sometimes made as a response to the market situation as discussed in Chapter 5, but in many cases, they are also related to the employer's need to show his power in order to obtain the obedience of the workers.

Discipline in the workshops is strict. The organisation of the work is completely dependent on the employer's personality and his wishes. Thread cleaners and floor workers have to stand all through the day in many workshops. This means being on foot from 8.00 am until 7.00 pm, amounting to eight-and-a-half hours a day excluding the breaks. These workers are forbidden to sit down. On the other hand, machine workers are forbidden to stand up. They have to sit through the working day. Speaking with each other or laughing are forbidden during working hours. Who will stay for over-time and how many hours will be worked are defined as the employer pleases.

Unlike factory production, the production process has not been entirely mechanised in workshop production. Floor workers work as a replacement of the assembly line. They come and go through the day and carry unfinished garments from one machine to another, and from one production area to the other one. Work is organised according to the will and the ability of the employer. The employer uses his authority as much as possible to increase the pace of work and to extract the maximum surplus labour.

Sometimes, religious values can be sacrificed to make labourers work continuously. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, although employers seem to follow existing moral values in the workspace, they can easily sacrifice these values according to the needs of the market.

> When we first applied for the work, the boss said that there is a separate place for praying. Then, he added "If you need to pray, you can go inside and pray."[44] He is actually a religious man himself. He prays regularly. However, he said a couple of days ago that we had been praying to shirk work. The boss cannot

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[44] The prayers (namaz) are five times a day in Sunni Islam, two of which coincide with working hours. One of them can be performed during the lunch break, but one needs to be performed during working hours.

> even tolerate a couple of minutes for prayer. We won't pray in the workshop anymore.
>
> (Sevgi, twenty-two years-old female workshop worker)

Coercion is imposed systematically to obtain workers' obedience to the harsh working conditions in the workshops. Physical violence and verbal insults against female and child labourers are usual events in a working day. When the market relation is deeply asymmetrical, coercion remains essential for the appropriation of the labour power.

> Normally, I do not hit anybody, even my wife (!). However, some workers make me crazy. One day, they were arguing with each other downstairs. One of them came and informed me. I said to her "tell the others that if I come downstairs, I will beat all of you." They continued. Then, when I went downstairs, I saw a notice on the wall: "Jungle rules are valid here." I became mad and beat all of them.
>
> (Dobo Dobo Clothing, workshop employer)

Almost all the workers that I interviewed mentioned their employer swearing at and beating child and female workers. It is one of the ways that employers make employees work. Physical violence is used as a mechanism of domination in the workshops.

> Another day, a girl didn't do what I said. She was a machine worker. I said "be careful, you are making one size smaller than the actual size. You are wasting the cloth." She didn't listen to me and continued to do what she was doing. I took her hair in my hand and showed her outside the door.
>
> (Dobo Dobo Clothing, workshop employer)

This was the end of that particular working agreement between the workshop worker and her employer. For the employer, it was that easy to finish the work contract by "taking her hair in his hand and putting her outside the workshop." No formal dismissal was required.

5. Conflict and Resistance among Garment Workers

Details of the employer's policies on decreasing labour costs and increasing working hours and the pace of work have been discussed in Chapter 5. Here, I will mainly focus on how workers resist these strategies.

I observed that the main disputes in workshop production are related to wages, working hours/over-time and the pace of work. Increasing working hours and pace of work are linked to the control of labour processes and all these issues are related to the extraction of labour power. At the earlier stages of my fieldwork, I thought that social security would also be one of the main sources of conflict between the workers and the employer. I assumed that besides having cheap health services, holiday payment and retirement rights, social security coverage would mean a work contract and a reasonable decrease in threats of job loss. However, this was not the case. Social security was not one of the main areas of tension. Besides the fact that employers did not want to cover the workers with social security, it was also not a vital issue for the workers themselves. Before I focus on conflict and resistance in the workspace, I want to focus on the issue of social security and explore why social security was not one of the main motives of conflict in the workshops.

5.1. The Issue of Social Security

When I walked down the streets in which the garment workshops are located, I often came across job vacancy notices on electric poles, supermarket windows and in front of workshops, "Machine workers wanted. Lunch, service and social security are provided." However, these promises seldom came true. Almost none of the workers were covered by social security and none of them had a work contract.

Instead of formal social security, employers offer other informal forms of support. For instance, some employers remunerate workers who leave work for compulsory reasons with employer's consent. In other cases, the employer remunerates the worker who serves him loyally for a long period of time.

> Veli is my beloved worker, he has worked for me for the last fifteen years. I always say to other workers, "be like Veli". Let me tell you a little bit about him. Veli is a pliant, flexible person. If I shout at him, he does not say anything. He just smiles. If I say, "tomorrow we are not very busy, instead of 8.00 am, we will come at 8.30", he says "why boss, we will come at 8.00 am again." I like him very much. If work goes well, I'll buy him a flat next year.
>
> (The Peak Textile, workshop employer)

I never knew whether his employer ever bought a flat for Veli or not. However, the key issue is that none of these forms of support were based on actual workers' rights. Rather they reflect patronage relations. This type of remuneration does not cover all workers. Legitimate leave compensation and retirement premiums are not applied in every case. The remuneration only covers obedient, experienced and hard-working workers. These acts are

employers' favours for 'beloved' workers. They are not valid in every case either.

Although the informality of the workforce affects the work in a negative way in terms of the protection and social services received by the workers, the workers did not raise the lack of social security as a main source of conflicts. Some of the workers highlighted the social security issue by saying "why would I bargain for social security, to wait in queues in State hospitals or not be able to retire while I am alive?" These findings were in conflict with my initial expectations, but can be explained within the context of macro level strategies and structural adjustment policies.

After the military intervention, politics were transferred to the civil government in 1983. However, the military era continued to influence the social and political life of Turkey for a long period. The constitution prepared by the military government continued to be applied. General Kenan Evren was 'elected' the President of the Republic. Deputy Prime Minister of Junta and the architect of SAP, Turgut Özal became Prime Minister as the leader of Anavatan Partisi (Mother Land Party, referred to here as ANAP).

Özal's philosophy was "first the economy, then democracy" (Ahmad, 1993: 197). An ideological attack was made against statist, interventionist and economically protectionist policies during the ANAP period. The fluctuation of black markets and increasing queues in front of shops were seen as the mistake of statist policies (Ergün, 1995). The role of the State in the economy had been challenged. The State was no longer perceived as an active agent that manages and organises the economy through steering the macro-economy, the wages and the employment. Özal was arguing that the protectionist policies made Turkish industry inefficient, expensive and uncompetitive (Ahmad, 1993: 204).



Figure 6.3. A job advert: "Machine workers and quality controllers wanted: lunch and social security."



Figure 6.4. Garment workers reading an advert for a possible job opportunity in a workshop.

According to the current agenda, the only alternative to prevent economic problems was the free market economy. The economy was opened to market forces. SAP primarily aimed at reducing the role of the State in the industrialisation process and in the economy. It attempted to withdraw the State from production. It also aimed to decrease public expenditure and to concentrate on infrastructure, transportation, energy and communication. The State is therefore no longer a major employer and regulator of wages and employment. State-based social services that still cover a significant part of society have been diminished.[45]

Social security services have been gradually eroded under the restructuring policies. Real wages for public service workers decreased by 34.6 per cent between 1991 and 1996. While the minimum wage covered sixty-five per cent of necessary food expenses in 1993, it could only cover thirty-six per cent by 1997 (Ecevit, 1998a). Until the 1980s, women had to work twenty years and men had to work twenty-five years in order to be able to retire. The retirement age limit was issued under the restructuring program. It was first designated as fifty for women and fifty-five for men and then increased to fifty-eight for women and sixty for men.

The population over the age of sixty is 7.1 per cent of the total population in Turkey and the average life expectancy is 65.9 years (DİSK, 2000). If we consider that a garment worker usually starts to work aged 13-14, s/he needs to work forty-five years or more to be able to retire. If we also think that the usual upper age limit for a garment worker is 25-30, and it is almost impossible to see a worker over the age of forty in the workshops, retirement is more or less a fantasy under these circumstances. Unsurprisingly, during the fieldwork, I came across only one garment worker who was retired.

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[45] Davis (1984) states that the weakening of trade-union force is an *a priori* exclusion of welfare statist outcomes of the social and economic crisis.

Social health services are in a no better condition than pensions. The share of the health services in the national budget was only 3.25 per cent in 1997. This amount is the lowest share relative to all other OECD countries (Ecevit, 1998a). There is one doctor per 3360 patients in Social Security hospitals. A patient waits seven months on average for treatment and operations. She or he also needs to wait in five different queues on average for a medical examination (Türk Tabipler Birliği, 1995). There is gradual erosion in all aspects of State social services provided for the workers. It is therefore clear that garment workers have little incentive to fight for social security coverage.

In her work on the development process, Elson (1995) examines stabilisation and structural adjustment programs at a macro and micro level in order to make gender visible. She suggests that structural adjustment programs look at the economy as a whole rather than at individual firms or households. The programs use neutral concepts in terms of distribution differences with little awareness of gender or class differentiation. Yet, the burdens of stabilisation and structural adjustment programs fall unfairly on particular groups.

According to Elson, a hidden set of assumption underlies macro-economic thinking that treats human resources as if they were a non-produced factor of production and as if this resource could be transferred between different activities without any social cost. Adjustment policies ignore domestic work by treating labour as a non-produced resource. Implicitly, it is assumed that households can absorb the effects of adjustment policies. The compensation for this economic transformation by households and people is taken for granted.

Elson (1995) also argues that the erosion in social services, which are applied as part of structural adjustment policies, puts an additional burden on households and women. Households and women have become the 'shock

absorbers' of SAP. The only alternative left in the face of the deterioration in public health services is to care for people at home with traditional methods. The so-called 'increased financial efficiency' of hospitals means that the compensation for this service is carried out by the household, i.e. usually by women. Rises in food prices and the erosion of real wages are also compensated by the household by finding the cheapest food and/or buying it raw and then processing it at home.

Following Elson, I also argue that a gradual erosion in State social services and labour protection regulations within the framework of SAP reduces the reliability and desirability of these services among informal garment workers. Furthermore, it diminishes the legitimacy of social security and other forms of social protection and reinforces informality.

Garment workers prefer to secure their future by themselves, instead of relying upon the uncertain future of State services.[46] Consequently, garment workers are not so keen to struggle for social security, neither is it the central issue of their bargaining strategies.[47] Remuneration, which works within the context of paternalism, seems to be a replacement for formal State support in an environment of eroding social services.

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[46] Eraydın (1998) reports similar findings in her research on female garment workers in Istanbul. She observes that many workers try to survive rather than guarantee their future. If they can have savings, they prefer to have a flat, instead of having social security and waiting for a State pension.

[47] However, I did come across the demand for social security in some cases, as elaborated in more detail below. Interestingly, the female worker who demanded social security was quite above the average age of garment workers. She was thirty-seven. As I stated before, the majority of the workers are out of the workforce when they are over twenty-five. As employers have no responsibility for workers' health problems, when the workers have children or are likely to be ill they are either thrown out of the workforce or since they cannot bear with the

5.2. Work-based Conflicts and Local Solidarities

As argued in Chapter 2, a structuralist or economically reductionist analysis of class is far from adequate in explaining the type of workplace relations found in the workshops. Here I try to base my analysis of these relations on processes of domination, conflict and resistance, rather than on particular categories of social groupings and structural alliances. I also attempt to analyse class-based solidarity and conflict beyond the strict boundaries of the workplace. This is especially crucial since the main focus of analysis is the workshops in peripheral neighbourhoods where the differences between domestic space and workspace relations are blurred.

In this section, I examine workspace conflicts within the context of social networks and the conditions that influence class-based solidarities such as the (in)security of work and coercive market forces. Since kinship relations have been analysed as a crucial influence in the workspace relations in small-scale production in many research projects, including research on Turkey, I will first discuss the role of kinship relations within the workspace. I will question whether the existence of kinship relations can be interpreted as a lack of resistance in the workspace. Then, I analyse the acts of resistance in the workspace as individual level strategies and workers' collective struggles at a local level. I examine separately the effects of family and of the community on workplace relations and the operationalisation of gender relations by workers and employers in Chapter 7.

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working conditions anymore, they leave by themselves. So, the young character of the workforce might be another reason for the lack of demand for social security.

5.2.1. Control and Resistance: Kinship Relations as Part of Workspace Relations

Two dominant explanations exist regarding the relationship between kinship and workshop production. First, the capital and labour relations and control over labour processes within small-scale production are either completely undermined and the informal workspace is considered as a unit with the artisan/ small industrial entrepreneur as a typical central element (Ayata, 1991a; Gelder, 1989; Ayata, 1986; Bernstein, 1986). Or second, and more pervasively, domination and authority are viewed through a lens of kinship, fictitious kinship,[48] community or family relations (White, 2000; White, 1994; Brass, 1986). For example, Atauz and Atauz (1992: 8) and Demir (1993b: 44) understand workplace relations in the informal sector in Turkey as part of the master-apprenticeship, family or kinship relations. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Dubetsky (1977) extends the same argument and suggests that the traditional forms of social relations such as kinship, membership to the same sect or coming from the same region determine workplace relations, not only in small workshops, but also in large factories in Turkey.

Traditional forms of social relations based on kinship, sect and local origin are used by many researchers as an explanation of the 'deep bonds of solidarity' between the employer and the workers. This solidarity, therefore, becomes the rationale for the lack of class consciousness and class-based conflicts in small-scale production. Traditional forms of social relations are perceived as factors, which deflect class antagonism within simple commodity production.

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[48] There is a rich international literature on this issue in rural contexts. Brass (1986), for example, illustrates how labour is extracted through debt bondage mechanisms of kinship relations in small-scale production in Peru. According to Brass, production in the agrarian sector is mainly based on an exaggeration of non-wage labour. He states that 'it (actual/fictitious kinship) enables an employer to exercise a unique and powerful form of social control (based on patriarchal authority) over the labour power of kinsfolk, co-parents, and/or god children' (1986: 59).

Here, I will particularly focus on White's studies (1994, 2000) to explore this argument, since she makes an extensive analysis of how kinship relations work as part of the production relations in small-scale enterprises in Turkey. Similar to the current study, White focuses on women's involvement in small-scale production in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Istanbul. However, unlike my research, White covers all forms of small-scale activities, which take place in neighbouring districts of Istanbul. Her study includes handicraft production, packaging, shoe stitching, as well as garment production. She does not prioritise industrial workshops.

White (1994, 2000) uses reciprocity as an exchange of debts, rather than as an exchange of gifts as the key concept to analyse exploitative, as well as solidarity relationships between the employer and female workers. Each person becomes, and feels to be, a member of the group through the exchange of debts. According to White, reciprocity, which leads to dependency and solidarity, provides the main cement for social relations in Turkish society. White highlights reciprocity in terms of hierarchy. The 'inferior' gives labour and gets long-term protection and has the possibility of access to resources. Reciprocity and indebtedness are sources of solidarity, as well as power and domination between the employer and female labour.

Thus, White conceptualises working relations in small-scale production in Turkey within the context of kinship. She argues that kinship - either actual or fictitious -, family and community are central to women's production relationships in Istanbul. In her research, female labour is viewed as an expression of family and community obligations. She analyses reciprocity and fictitious/actual kinship solidarity at the vertical level as the legitimisation of exploitation in small-scale production and as the explanation for the 'obedience' of female workers. According to White, the exploiter and exploited are not necessarily in conflict. The production relation might represent solidarity as well as exploitation.

In White's analysis, the extraction of surplus labour occurs with the ideological support of collective reciprocity and group solidarity within small-scale production. Women's labour power becomes the property of the group through debt. Necessary payments for work are denied in kinship and gender relations.

White (2000: 127) suggests that labour, money and time are 'freely' given without any immediate expectations. Workers are not coerced into providing labour. They give it freely. Women's productive activity may not have any monetary return, but it brings long-term social and economic security and solidarity in terms of kinship and neighbourhood relations.

Women's and children's labour are presented as either a 'natural' contribution to the family life or as an obligation to the community in White's analysis. Eventually, the relations of domination and subordination and lack of resistance against harsh conditions of exploitation are located within the context of actual/fictitious kinship relations and the bondage of reciprocity. Cooperate ideology and authority within kinship relations structure the lack of class antagonism and explain the employer's control over labour power.

5.2.2. Mobilising the Kinship Relations

During the field research, I also observed that being a relative plays a role in defining workspace relations in industrial workshop production. However, my findings do not support White's argument.

Family and kinship labour can be classified into two categories in workshop production. The first category mainly includes the brother, cousin or wife of the employer. When the employer is not in the production place, these relatives or family members are in charge of managing and controlling the workspace. They play a crucial role in the organisation of work. They have a





Figure 6.5. Before the researcher's camera, young floor workers display their hopes that they will be machine worker one day by sitting at the machine.

more privileged position in relation to other workers. For instance, if it becomes compulsory to cover some of the workers for social security, they are the ones who are usually covered. They are usually more experienced and older relative to the other workers. In most cases, they act as foremen or as company partners to the employer.

The second category consists of young boys who are mainly recruited from the employer's village and entrusted to the employer by their parents, with the words 'his flesh belongs to you and his bones belong to me'.[49] These young people maintain a sort of 'apprenticeship' relation with the employer. The employer gives them pocket money and covers their maintenance costs. Some of them even live in the employer's house or sleep in the workshop.

Young relatives are recruited from the countryside as cheap labour and as workers who are 'always ready to work'. Their position as workers is different to the relatives in the first category. The employer is their main connection with the city. They are extremely dependent upon him. However, they have greater possibilities for receiving training relative to the other workers and they have more chances of becoming experienced machine workers within a shorter period of time.

However, relatives, either as company partners of the employer or newly recruited cheap migrants, are not the only workforce in the workshops. The workshops systematically use non-relatives as paid workers who comprise the majority of the workforce. The main criteria concerning hiring workers are related to their production efforts. Workshops are capitalist enterprises, which try to survive under the highly competitive environment of an international market. Employers prefer cheap, young, obedient and fast working labourers who accept long hours of over-time, rather than someone

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[49] A common saying in Turkish meaning I trust you and you can do whatever you want with him. You are the sole authority over him.

who is simply a relative or a close neighbour. The latter is only valuable if it comes together with the former.

Dikmen (2000) suggests that ongoing economic crises have created a category of workers in Turkey who are willing to work under any conditions in the garment industry. He argues that some of the garment workers cannot leave their jobs, because they are in danger of starving. He observes that some of the garment workers put extra food on their lunch plates in order to carry the remaining food to their family members. I observed similar events in the workshop where I worked. A female worker who was five months pregnant used to eat half of her lunch and take the rest for her husband and her small son.

Although White and Dikmen examine the same type of workspace, the pictures drawn by White and Dikmen are dramatically different from each other.[50] In my opinion, the majority of workers needed their wages to continue their daily life and to supply their instant needs, before guaranteeing their long-term security. It is difficult to endure harsh working conditions if the only concern is to give labour freely as part of bondage and reciprocity without any immediate financial returns for daily survival.

Also, not all the claims about kinship relationships necessarily reflect real or fictitious family ties. For example, Berik (1987: 32) mentions that carpet weavers working in small workshops are instructed to say that they are all relatives in case of questioning by an inspector. Claiming to be a relative,

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[50] Dikmen and White conducted their research in different time periods. White's study was carried out in the late 1980s and Dikmen in the late 1990s. While it is not possible to know the local factors which influence White's and Dikmen's findings, macro-level indicators show that the effects of SAPs on the urban poor were severe in the late 1980s. As stated in Chapter 3, real wages declined by forty per cent between 1980 and 1988 in Turkey (Yeldan, 1994). The unemployment rate relative to the total labour force increased from 7.8 per cent in 1978 to 9.8 per cent in 1988 (Ertan-Lamontagne, 1991). According to Güçlü and Pamir who conducted their research on the causes of suicides in the late 1980s, suicide rates increased by 745 per cent between 1981 and 1986, and fifty per cent of suicides were motivated by economic hardships such as poverty and unemployment (cited from Ertan-Lamontagne, 1991).

actual or fictitious in White's terms, can allegedly be used as protection from labour inspectors or outsiders.

Above I have argued that kinship is not a homogenous, equal category valid in all employer and kin-worker relationships. In my opinion, we cannot talk about a unique, broad concept of kinship. Kinship relations are cut across by age, gender, experience and the power sources of the worker-relative in relation to the employer. Within this differentiation, as will be elaborated in more detail under the title of collective struggles in section 5.2.4, kinship relations are not only operationalised by the employers at the vertical level. However, they can also work as part of bargaining strategies for the workers. They can be operationalised as part of solidarities among workers. These ties are not fixed and can be mobilised by co-workers at the horizontal level, as well as being mobilised by the employers. The existence of kinship relations by itself does not explain the lack of resistance, rather it shows that the acts of resistance may take place in different forms.

Kinship relations can have a certain effect in defining the power relations in the workspace. However, I argue that these relations are not enough by themselves to explain the current conditions of the informal sector as the sector is articulated in the world market and subjected to continuous cost reduction policies and harsh working conditions.

Although economic reductionism needs to be avoided in the analysis of female labour and informal work settings, cultural reductionism must also be avoided to the same degree. Without this balance, as elaborated in detail in Chapter 2, there is a danger of portraying informal sector workers as passive recipients of cultural values and local ideologies, even though their conditions are severely determined by harsh economic realities. The solidarity among workers is mixed with solidarity based on ethnic, kinship relations or local origin. However, as explored in the following sections, class relations also cut across kinship, and other forms of social relations. Just as cultural

values and traditional forms of social relations cannot be reduced to economic relations, kinship networks or traditional forms of power hierarchies cannot be collapsed into class relations either.

Obtaining workers' consent through the legitimisation of kinship, religion or cultural values plays a role in defining workspace relations. However, the mechanisms of control and the appropriation of surplus labour are complex and the legitimisation of power through kinship or traditional forms of social relations only explain these relations to a limited extent. These ties conceal gender and class differences and form part of domination in some cases. They are also operationalised as part of class relations in other cases.

In the following sections, I elaborate on different forms of workers' resistance strategies and class-based solidarities in the workshops. First, I concentrate on workers' acts of resistance based on individual strategies outlining the main disputes that these strategies flourished from. Then, I focus on the acts of resistance operated in solidarity among workers, rather than in conflict or through covert individual strategies. I also attempt to analyse why these acts of resistance are rare, unsystematic, short term and mainly result in workers leaving their jobs.

5.2.3. Individual Level Strategies

Conflicts in the workshops sometimes lead to individual level strategies without any support being sought from or given by fellow workers. The employer forces the workers to perform the maximum amount of work without employing extra workers. Some workers try to face the acceleration of exploitation using individual strategies, such as breaking the needle on the sewing machine in order to rest during the replacement time, slowing down the work during unmonitored hours, hiding sewing mistakes, enjoying

themselves when employers are outside the workshop, or searching for other cracks in the monitoring process and using these cracks to decrease their share of the work. However, these attempts are rare, isolated cases, rather than consistent, common patterns. They neither present a challenge to the employer's close control, nor claim a renegotiation of power relations in the workplace.

In other cases, solidarity is not being sought by fellow workers. Significantly worse scenarios occur when individual level strategies are developed against other workers. Harsh working conditions lead to conflicts among workers.

One of the key disputes among workers is related to defining who sews poor quality goods and who works most slowly. Being the fastest is a status symbol in workshops. Workers compete among themselves to define the fastest worker. These competitions may even take place between workers in different workshops. Employers encourage these competitions. The competitions 'cherish' female workers for their skills and their labour. However, they also serve the interest of employers well and create 'dog-eat-dog' competition on the work floor. Working slower or faster creates one of the main tensions among the workers. When the targeted production or the pace have not been fulfilled, workers may attempt to blame each other.

Although wage increase happens for all workers at the same time, special increments are defined separately for individual workers. Two workers who are in the same position might have different wages. The wage difference leads to jealousy and conflict among workers. Increases in salary, decreases in working hours, or in general, improvements of the working conditions are for the interests of all workers. However, these interests might be transferred into overt or covert conflicts among the workers instead of unification.

In these cases, workers try to control each other, if not exploit each other, in order to avoid the employer's cruel criticisms. They carry out self-surveillance to decrease their share of work, rather than challenge their relationship with capital. Individual level strategies might deny the claims of employer, however, they do not lead to a re-negotiation of power relations in these examples. They rather 'naturalise' current harsh conditions and existing power inequalities. So, these strategies work as part of mechanisms, which maintain the existing system. Covert individual strategies do not automatically lead to the renegotiation of labour contracts, but at most, produce relief and breathing space for some within the existing power relations (Kandiyoti, 1998).

5.2.4. Collective Struggles

Although often unsystematic and short-term, the workers co-operate with each other for fairer working conditions, higher salaries and for an increased control over the workplace. They attempt to enter the bargaining process, or resist against the working conditions together. Sometimes, spontaneous acts of resistance are successful.

> We were on the over-time-shift that night. Two girls came five minutes late. The boss asked why they were late. They said "our family didn't let us come before." The boss said "then tell your family, not to let you work, either." And he fired them. After the girls went, five workers *(male and female mixed)* became annoyed and gave up the work. The partner of the boss intervened by saying, "why do you let the girls go out during the night? They will be afraid now (!).[51] We should go and bring

[51] There is a clear reference to gender relations and the perception of young female workers among the employers here. The operationalisation of gender relations by employers and workers will be discussed separately in Chapter 7.

them back." At the end, the employer had to call those two girls back *(in order not to lose his seven workers all at once*).

(Zeynep, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

In some cases, collective actions are less spontaneous and based on relatively long-term solidarity, which is expressed in terms of friendship among the co-workers.

We were two good friends in the workshop. We used to stick together and protect each other all the time. For instance, we replaced each other for over-time. I was faster and more experienced than she was. The boss increased almost everyone's salary, but he didn't increase hers. I knew that he wouldn't want to lose me. I went and asked him to increase her salary. I said that otherwise we would find another job together, me and her. He increased her salary as well.

(Zahide, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

Bargaining attempts are successful or unsuccessful depending on a series of factors: The workers' ability to act together, existing work alternatives, the current needs of the employer, and whether it is easy to replace worker(s) who are in the bargaining process.

Workers do not have equal opportunities in terms of their bargaining power. De-threaders, floor workers and quality controllers do not know how to use sewing machines or are too old to be fast enough on industrial sewing machines. Although the work done by these workers requires high levels of physical effort and attention, it can be learned relatively quickly and the worker who does this kind of work can be replaced easily. These workers do not have any bargaining power over their rights. They can only be part of the bargaining process through sharing solidarity with experienced machine workers.

Another differentiation is based on the ability to use different kinds of sewing machines. There are three different sewing styles, which are used on different parts of the garment. Most of the workers know only one style and can use only one type of machine. Learning all three different styles entails more bargaining power for the workers. As stated above, producing fast is also crucial because of the limited profit ranges and rigid export delivery times. Young workers are usually much faster than older ones.

Being young, fast and experienced means having more bargaining power over the employer. When there is a dispute, workers usually try to convince more experienced ones to talk with the employer.

> We hadn't had any wage increase for the last ten months. We couldn't stand it any more. We got together and decided to talk with the employer. We convinced our most hardworking friend to go and talk with the employer. She went to talk with the boss and told him that the workers were not happy with the current wages. The boss asked who were complaining? All of us, including me, were scared and didn't go. The boss said, "I'll fire anyone who makes trouble. Even if s/he is my best employee." Then, he fired her. None of us could do anything.[52]
>
> (Seyhan, twenty years-old female workshop worker)

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[52] In this quote and the next one, there is a clear attempt to bargain by mobilising workers' workspace solidarities or kinship relations, but at the same time withdrawing from it. Although the last words of the worker can be perceived as obedience, I would suggest that it rather shows the limits of such attempts. This issue will be clarified in more detail in section 5.3 where I will elaborate on the nature of workspace resistances in the workshops.



Figure 6.7. De-threaders, floor workers and quality controllers can be part of the bargaining process by being in solidarity with experienced machine workers.



Figure 6.8. De-threaders at work.



Figure 6.9. Two young machine workers in the workshop.



Figure 6.10. On the production line.

In some cases, solidarity between workers is operationalised through kinship or family relations. Some of the female workers co-operate with their relatives to negotiate working hours and higher salaries with the employer or to increase their control over the workspace. Resistance strategies are reinforced by the (in)dispensability of kin-workers for the employers.

> My mother, my cousin and I work in the same workshop. My mother asked to have social security for herself *(she and her cousin do not have social security either*). The boss didn't accept it. Then, my mother, my cousin and I said that we would give up the job. Then, the boss accepted giving her social security. We asked him again a couple of days ago, but he said that he had forgotten (!). But, I hope he will do it.
>
> (Ceylan, fifteen years-old female workshop worker)

In other cases, kinship can be mobilised as part of workers' resistance within the hierarchy of kinship relations. Workers may try to oppose the despotic authority of the employer by answering back, using the authority of kinship relations. If workers come from a powerful family, they ask their father, brother or uncle to intervene, when the level of control and domination is unbearable, or they use their male relative's name to protect themselves.

> There was a problem between a worker and the boss in one of the workshop where I worked. The boss wasn't satisfied with her performance and the quality of her sewing. The boss got angry one day and took the girl's hair in his hand and dragged her. Her hair was on the floor torn in pieces. She left the workshop crying.
>
> She didn't have a father. Later on, her uncle came with a gun, saying that he would kill the boss. The second boss and I took

him into the office and we calmed him down. The boss was more careful with her afterwards.

(Filiz, twenty-two years-old female ex-worker)

These strategies can exclude non-kin workers or can also be an affirmation of the authority of kinship relations. However, in some cases, such strategies can still be mobilised as a form of resistance in the workspace and used as part of the bargaining process with the employer. So, within their own limitations and dilemmas, these strategies do not only constitute domination and obedience, but they can also work as pressure groups against the employer and they can be part of workers' solidarity and resistance.

Other forms of solidarity are not necessarily based on being in direct conflict with the employers. In some cases, workers replace each other in over-time-shifts. They look for jobs together to support each other in the workshop where they will work. They help each other to know which workshops are recruiting workers, which have better working conditions, which employers are fairer to their workers and which employers can be trusted in terms of payment.

5.3. Bargaining within the Limits

As suggested by Scott (1985), when we distinguish various levels of resistance such as formal versus informal, individual versus collective, spontaneous and short-term versus organised and long-term, we are actually speaking about the limits of available options framed by the level of repression. The parameters of resistance also need to be analysed within the context of repression. I will elaborate on these limits for the garment workers in this part.

Workers are under the constant threat of losing their jobs in the workshop. They do not have any formal guarantee of work. There is no sanction against employers in cases of unfair dismissal. This is the main threat mechanism used by employers. Acts of resistance and solidarity among workers are broken and suppressed by the insecurity of work and the constant threat of losing the job. Perhaps for that reason, resistance and solidarity in bargaining with the employer have a chance of succeeding when the workers envisage giving up work. However, for the very same reason, solidarity among workers mainly focuses on giving up the work.

> There isn't any solidarity in garment work. This is the rule of workshops, because the workers are compelled to work. When they open their mouths *(i.e. ask about their rights or criticise)*, the boss says the door is over there *(i.e. if you are not satisfied, give up the work immediately)*. We are always under the threat of being fired. For that reason, the workers are afraid of the boss a lot. They do whatever he asks them to do...
>
> ...When you try to complain about something to the boss, everybody thinks that you are on the edge of being fired or giving up the job. The boss fires anyone who answers him back. I have never tried to bargain with the boss. The only thing that I can do is to give up the job, when the knife touches the bone *(i.e. when the conditions become unbearable)*. I cannot do anything else.
>
> (Berna, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

On the basis of the ease within which employment in another workshop can be found, one may wonder why workers endure the current situation; why they do not resist; and then, when they are fired, why they do not simply seek employment in another workshop. An obstacle to this strategy is the control of the family over female workers, the collaboration

between family and employer and the mobility constraints on female workers. These aspects are analysed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Another strategy used by employers is debt bondage. Instead of increasing wages, some of the employers make advance payments with written proof. On the one hand, the advanced payment is part of patronage relations. These are the favours of a 'good boss'. On the other hand, it is an enforcement strategy used by the employers to bind the workers who they do not want to lose. Workers cannot use 'giving up the job' as a bargaining strategy in these cases. They cannot leave the job without paying off their loan.

If the worker decides to change the workshop despite all the constraints mentioned above, then there is no guarantee of better conditions in the next workshop. Since bankruptcies and fraud workshops are common, workers feel relatively financially secure and prefer to stay in their workshops thinking that at least they have their wages.

> When the workshop that I currently worked in was closed temporarily, I worked in another workshop for more than four months. I never forgot it. During the Ramadan, I worked three days non-stop.[53] I broke my fast with dry bread and water. The boss owed me 250 million TL.[54] At the end, he said that he was in debt and he couldn't pay me. What could I do? If I would go to the police, they would think I was guilty, since I worked without social security, without a contract. Now he sells trousers in our local market, as if nothing happened. He doesn't even

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[53] If one fasts in Ramadan, she or he cannot eat, drink or smoke anything during the daylight.
[54] 250 million TL was approximately £500 in summer 1999.

need to disappear. How shall I ask for my rights? Here at least, everybody knows everyone else.[55]

(Zeynep, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

Workers do not have enough information about their existing rights. Many of them do not know how they can claim their rights. Even when they are granted by fraud workshops, workers do not know which formal institution they need to contact or how to contact them. Workshop workers cannot decide whether their demands are appropriate or not and the level to which they can extend their claims.

No local or supra-local organisation exists to offer information about workers' rights. As stated above, formal organisations targeting the informal sector either do not exist or have limited activities and support. The informal sector workers are out of collective bargaining mechanisms at the national or regional level. Workers are obliged to find their ways without any support from formal institutions and local or supra-local organisations. Solidarity and resistance in the workspace are left to informal relationships maintained by the workers.

6. Conclusion

Here, I have suggested that exploitation is not consensually based on kinship logic or traditional forms of social relations, but it is also strongly supported by the coercion of market forces. Surveillance and coercion in workshop production are complemented, in some cases, by strong norms connected to the legitimacy of authority such as kinship and community

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[55] According to the labour law in Turkey, until recently, the declaration for social security was the responsibility of the employer. Workers had no obligation to obtain it (Süzek, 1997). However, according to the recent law, in case of non-declaration of social security, workers are responsible as well.

membership. For the current study, if social norms were strong and deeply internalised, employers would not require powerful surveillance and threat mechanisms. Physical coercion and the constant threat of being fired are inconsistent with an image of a fair employer who is bound through family or (fictitious) kinship relations.

The existence of kinship relations, by itself, does not explain the employer's authority and workspace relations. Kinship networks or social norms are not only mobilised by the employer. They can also be mobilised by the workers as part of their bargaining strategies.

When we consider class as a process, rather than as coherent and homogenous group solidarities, class struggle can take diverse forms. Customs and cultural ties can be mobilised as part of class relations and these processes can be perceived as mutually articulated. The articulations of customs and cultural ties in work relations do not show a lack of class cleavages between workers and employers, as these ties can also be mobilised as part of class relations. These processes are interwoven, overlapped and mutually constituted as part of the formation of class politics in workshop production.

Although customs, kinship relations and cultural values may influence what class relationships are, they cannot be collapsed into class relations. Female workers' workspace relations, strategies developed against the harsh working conditions and the strategies for the extraction of labour power are complex and cannot be understood only within the context of kinship logic or paternalistic values. The articulation of workshop production with the market creates new dynamics and new solidarities in the workspace, on the one hand, and existing forms of social relations are mobilised in new forms, on the other hand.

I do not suggest that female labour is 'freely' given in workshop production. However, solidarities around class interests are rare. They are not systematic and are not based on long-term co-operation. Acts of resistance in workshops mainly rest on 'giving up the job'. Some acts of resistance have immediate returns. Since the risk of losing the job is very high, if the worker(s) cannot face the risk, some of the solidarities result in leaving the worker who starts the bargaining process alone and letting her/him be fired. Resistance is related to how much bargaining power one has, whether there is any channel through which the demand is transferred, whether any formal organisation exists to support the resistance, and what the cost of resistance is for the individual worker.

Acts of resistance in the workshops are suppressed by the insecurity of the work and the constant threat of losing jobs. Garment workers develop resistance strategies as part of their local, daily reality. Sometimes these strategies occur through the mobilisation of traditional networks, sometimes developing covert individual strategies, and sometimes in the form of open, collective and spontaneous protests. Workers develop these strategies according to the stake of power available to them. However, no formal channel or social protection exists that would help to transform these strategies into long-term solidarities and extend them to a wider context.

CHAPTER 7

THE DISCLOSURE OF WOMEN'S LABOUR IN 'SECURE' PLACES

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the role of gender relations in women's engagement with workshop production in Istanbul. Some researchers have focused on the way in which demand-led industrialisation has created flexibility for women in the clothing industry of Turkey (Eraydın and Erendil, 1999; Eraydın, 1998). This chapter will mainly highlight the way in which flexibility is mediated through existing forms of gender relations, which are actively formulated by the family, community, employers and female workers.

In the first part of the chapter, I will discuss the characteristics of workshop employment and why young female labour constitutes the majority of workshop workers. Then in the main body of the chapter, I will elaborate upon how existing forms of gender relationship are absorbed, transformed and manipulated in the context of work processes. I will specifically focus on the organisation of the workspace, the role of the district and the family in defining work relations, and lastly, the strategies developed by female workers between the power points of gender ideologies and the market.

2. The Nature of the Workforce

2.1. Preference for Female Labour and Mobility Constraints

As stated in Chapter 4, the case study district has a heterogeneous population, which includes Kurds from Bitlis and Adıyaman regions, migrants from the Black Sea region - mainly from Sinop and Zonguldak provinces - and migrants from Thrace. Most of the workers are first or second generation migrants. Only 1.4 per cent of the workers were born in Istanbul.

Despite some cultural differentiation and minor conflicts, I have observed no clear polarisation between the workshops based on religious background, regional or ethnic origin. Rather than religious, ethnic or local origin, being 'from the district' is the main requirement for employment in a workshop. An important characteristic of the researched workshops is their location. As stated in previous chapters, the workshops are located in residential neighbouring districts rather than industrial zones. The workshops are ground or basement floors of residential settlement flats. They look like residences from outside. They have no signboards or names. There is no special environmental arrangement outside of the workplace.

The physical concealment of workshops is crucial in terms of creating the possibility for clandestinity, informality and flexibility (Wilson, 1993). As discussed in Chapter 5, the location of workshops serves the needs of the global market by decreasing costs through cheap labour and supplying high levels of flexibility. Furthermore, hiring workers from the district decreases costs owing to reductions in transportation and food expenditures. In addition, it allows for flexible working hours. This is especially important for export delivery deadlines when workers are required to work day and night. When the workers reside next to the workspace it is much easier to get them ready for over-time or ask them to work through until the morning.



Figure 7.1. Workshops are ground and basement floors of residential flats.

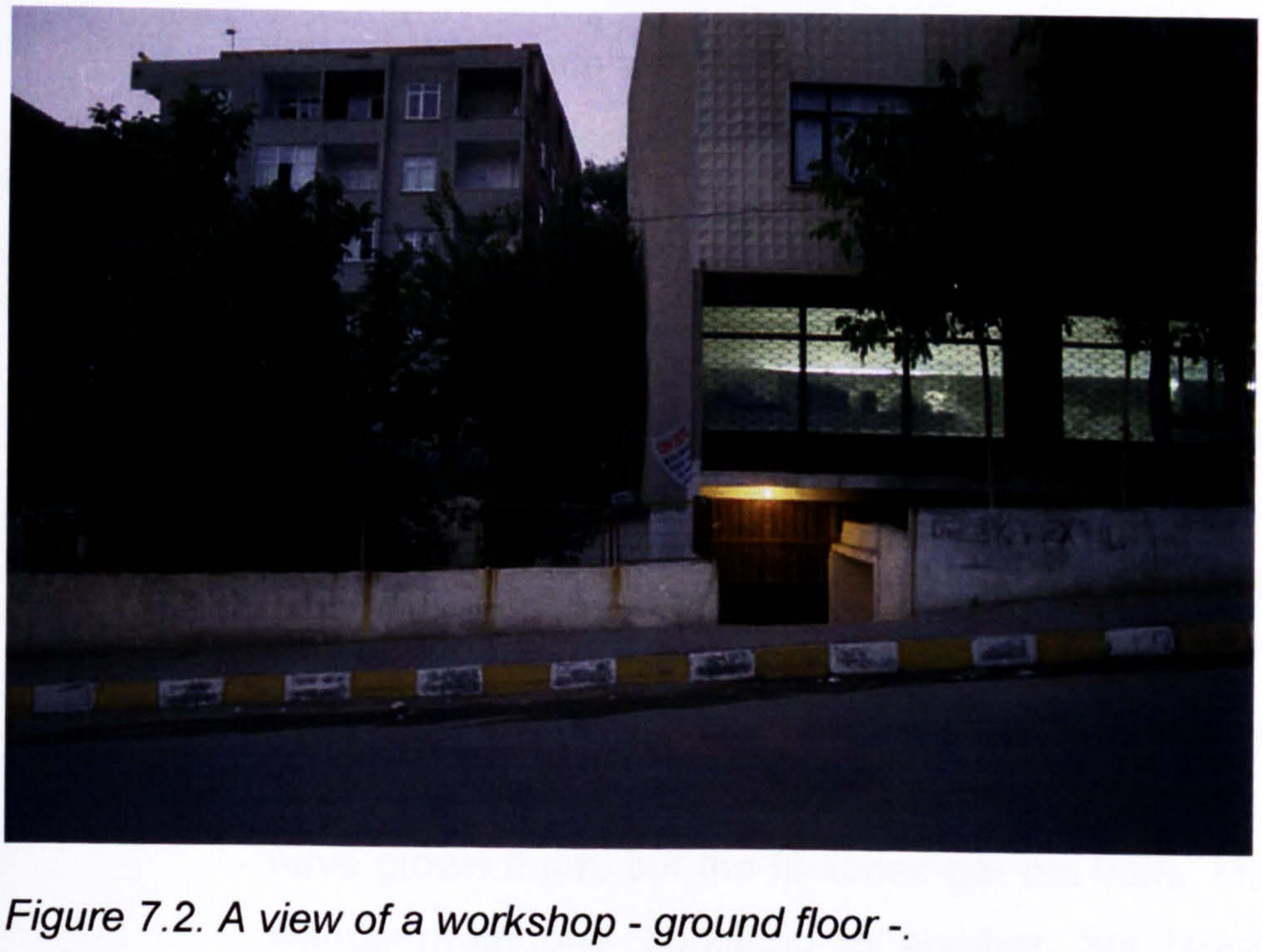


Figure 7.2. A view of a workshop - ground floor -.

The garment workshops are particularly suited to the organisation of women's labour in the peripheral housing areas. Flexibility relies upon variable working hours and temporary based production. These conditions are fulfilled by young female workers who can be easily hired and fired.

This local arrangement is not a one sided process. It is not only employers who prefer to hire workers from the district, but also families 'permit' their daughters to work in a workshop which hires workers from the district. They believe that those workshops are morally 'secure' places to send their daughters to a job, which often requires extra overnight work. Since the workers do not have any legal protection, they also think that the district workshops, which they know more about, are relatively 'secure' in financial terms. For employers, these conditions lead to a constant reliable source of female labour and they prefer to employ female workers. The employers have a strict rule not to hire outsiders, especially male outsiders.

> We prefer female workers. Except my brothers, there are only a couple of experienced male workers in the workshop. We keep them to do porter's work or to bring tea from the local cafe.[56]
>
> (Cascade Clothing, workshop employer)

> Why should I hire men, I try to hire women as much as I can. You cannot find experienced male workers who have completed their military service.[57] Male workers come here, get trained and find a job in a factory as soon as they can. Then, they start to ask for their social rights within three days. Experienced factory workers wash their brains. This work is like a nursery school, we have grown them, but the factories get the fruits. Male workers wander from one workshop to another, but female workers

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[56] Although mixed-gender cafes exist today, cafes in Turkey are traditionally male space like many other public spaces.
[57] The military service is compulsory for men and lasts eighteen months in Turkey.

> cannot change their work without the permission of their families.
>
> (Quick Delivery Textile, workshop employer)

Some of the employers repeat the cultural stereotypes about women's 'natural' abilities in this type of work such as female workers' obedience and patience. The following words are a typical comment about why female workers are hired.

> Female workers are more obedient, dextrous and loyal. It is as if male workers live just to break the rules. They don't listen at all.
>
> (Solid Clothing, workshop employer)

However, these stereotypes may not be valid in all cases. Depending on female workers' access to other resources and her networks of power, she may not be so 'obedient' and 'loyal'.

> There are some troublesome ones in the female workers, too. One of them worked here for one month and then I fired her. She sued me claiming that she had worked here for five years. I was very busy here and I couldn't deal with legal procedures (!). In the end, I had to pay her compensation as if she had worked here for five years.
>
> (Determination Clothing, workshop employer)

Eraydın and Erendil (1999) argue that female worker circulation is quite high across the textile and clothing industry. My study shows that the worker turnover in residential workshops, in particular, is also quite high. However, this turnover is not only due to workers' choice. Since there is no written work contract or formal security for the workers, as suggested in Chapter 5, the turnover is also based on the employers' firing-hiring strategies, which are operationalised to cope with the risk of sudden changes

in market conditions. After gaining experience in the workshops, some of the female workshop workers also find jobs in larger firms in other regions or industrial zones. However, the number of those workers is limited. For the majority of female workers, work circulation occurs within the district.

Because of the ideological constraints of gender identity, female workers in the workshop production have limited chances to make contact with the market by themselves. Since male workers do not have the mobility constraints which often restricts many of their female co-workers, they prefer to work in a workshop either for a short period of time or until they are experienced. Thus, women present a reliable workforce for the workshop employers. For female workers, however, other than having a job to earn money, these conditions mean that there is no possibility for upward mobility. They are stuck in the district's dead-end jobs.

2.2. Characteristics of Female Labour

Most of the workers in the garment workshops are adolescent, single females. The majority of the workforce is between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three. In the field area, eighty per cent of female workers are twenty years-old or younger and eighty-five per cent are younger than twenty-five years-old.[58] Most of the workers start to work between the ages of thirteen to fifteen. However the age limit might decrease to ten. Although child labour is not legal according to Turkish law, hiring child workers is a common practice

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[58] While it is not possible to suggest that the qualitative data yielded by fieldwork have a representative value in numerical terms, other research conducted using quantitative techniques are based on similar observations. For instance, according to Eraydın's research conducted with 500 female workers in the garment industry in Istanbul, twenty-eight per cent of the workers are younger than twenty and 53.5 per cent are younger than twenty-five. Less than ten per cent of the workers are forty or older (Eraydın, 1998). Eraydın's study includes large-scale production spaces, as well as small workshops.

in the workshops.[59] The employers particularly prefer young workers and the workers who are trained before they are fifteen years old.

> The age of the worker is important. It is not easy to train workers older than fifteen. They learn too slowly. And you cannot pay them the amount that you pay to twelve or thirteen years-old. They are not satisfied with a little pocket money.
>
> (Beautiful Garments, workshop employer)

For a worker above the age of thirty, her chances of finding another job in a garment workshop are rather slim.[60] As stated by a middle-aged, married home-based worker, the workshop employers do not want to hire older women because they think that they cannot order and dominate the middle-aged women as easily as they do the adolescent girls.

Eraydın (1998) suggests that since maternity rights are not applied, marital status is not a crucial criterion in the informal works settings. In my opinion, a married female worker is still in a disadvantageous position compared to a young and single female worker in the garment workshops. Workshop employers prefer not to hire middle-aged or married women and especially women with small children.[61] Since the amount and period of over-time are unstable and working days are usually extremely long, the garment workers need to be exempt from the responsibilities of having children and domestic work. Hence, most of the workers are young, single females and some are young males.

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[59] The legal age limit is fifteen according to the labour law. Children can work between the ages thirteen and fifteen as an apprentice. However, they have to be allowed formal training of a minimum of eight hours a week. Furthermore, if they are students, their school hours must be included as 7.5 work hours of a day (Süzek, 1997).

[60] For this reason, while I was living in Göktepe and looking for a work in workshops, the garment worker, Zeynep, who helped me all through the field research, was constantly warning me to lower my age to twenty-four. Actually, if she was there during the conversation, she was immediately answering the question on my behalf without waiting.

[61] While 51.3 per cent of female workers are single in Eraydın's research, seventy per cent of female workers are single in this study.

Married women, they are the difficult ones. Their children get ill. They cannot stay for over-time. They come for over-time once or twice, and on the third occasion, their husbands make trouble. And also, older women cannot work as fast as young girls.

(Industrious Clothing, workshop employer)

The lack of married women in the workshops is not only a result of the employer's choice. As stated in previous chapters, garment work is a demanding job. There is an enormous pressure on the shoulders of the workers to work until their final limits.

I feel very weak nowadays. This work is eating *me (i.e. I am exhausted from the work)*. I am constantly losing weight. When I started to work in the workshops, I was fourteen and I was fifty-three kg. Now I am eighteen and I am forty-two kg. A couple of days ago, I felt dizzy during the lunch break. I lost consciousness and fell down the workshop's stairs. I asked for a break and came home. A couple of hours later, the boss phoned and he said "Zeynep whom I know is a strong girl. She does not care about illnesses." He was immediately asking me to go back to the workshop.

(Zeynep, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

Pearson (1988: 455) suggests that since the employers have no formal responsibility for the workers' health or maternity rights, if workers' physical or social conditions prevent them from maintaining the level of productivity demanded, they eventually withdraw themselves from employment. These conditions include becoming pregnant, having children, getting older, the increase in domestic responsibilities, or even a work-related illness.

The energy springing from the workers' youth is vigorously sucked out in the workshops. Illnesses and the requirements of domestic life are denied as much as possible. If the employer thinks that there is a risk of worker absenteeism due to the domestic responsibilities or physical limitation, he prefers not to hire that worker. Furthermore, if the worker cannot cope with the level of demand in the workshops owing to her domestic responsibilities or her physical limits, she eventually leaves the job.

Adolescent workers' domestic responsibilities are mainly transferred to their mother or another woman who stays at home. However, most of the workers lose this support when they are married. At that stage, if the worker cannot withdraw herself from the workforce and if she does not have access to the support of her family, the result might be a personal tragedy.

I would like to give a Kurdish worker's words as an example of this handicap. Eight years ago, she arrived in Istanbul from a village near Bitlis with her family. When I met with her, she was married to a Turkish man from Bartın. Her husband was unemployed. She was a highly skilled machine worker and earned the sole income of her household. She had a one-and-a-half year old son whom she needed to look after. She was also five months pregnant and had to continue to work in the workshops.

> I have grown up in a very crowded family. My uncles, my brothers and their wives, all of us lived together. While I was not married, I missed a peaceful and peaceful life. Many Turkish people didn't have to live together with their mother-in-law, because of that I wanted to get married to a Turkish man and be like Turkish people.

...While I was working in a workshop, I met my husband. He was the brother of one of female workers.[62] Now I understand that our tradition is much better. So what if my mother-in-law does not live with us? She still intervenes everything.

Married women do not work in our tradition and men don't degrade this much.[63] Look at me now. It is a disgrace. I still work in this condition. I still have to bear the workshops.

(Macide, twenty-two years-old female workshop worker)

This quote refers to ethnicised gender identities mediated through workspace relations, as well as referring to the tension between women's domestic responsibilities and working outside. An in-depth analysis of the influence of ethnic differences on gender relations is beyond the scope of this study. However, I want to focus on the above quote particularly from the aspect of ethnicity, since I do not want to generate the easy dichotomy of 'traditional' Kurdish women versus more 'liberated' Turkish women.

When Macide arrives to the city from her single ethnic village, she has a chance to know more about Turkish women via her life experience in the district, her interaction in the workshop with other female workers and then, afterwards, via her marriage. Through these experiences, as she meets with 'others' and as she meets with the different aspects of the 'other' - i.e. her interaction with her husband's family - she redefines her identity as a Kurdish woman. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Kurdish migrants from Bitlis are the last generation migrants to the district. So, Macide's experience is also mainly related to being a recent migrant to the city and associated with reflection on the role of the extended family in shaping women's experiences. It is

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[62] She was able to convince her family that she could choose her husband by herself rather than having an arranged marriage.

[63] She is referring to her husband's unemployment. I had a chance to meet with her husband later on. During an informal chat, he mentioned that he looked everywhere for a job, but, wherever he went, they asked for female workers.

important to recognise that it is not possible to talk about a unique, coherent form of gender practices within Kurdish communities. These practices change according to regions. For instance, although the family that I lived with in Göktepe was Kurdish, they were not an extended family. However, they were from a different region. While the father continued to live in his village, two young female workers, their mother and brother lived and worked in Istanbul. Gender identities mediated through ethnicity are also influenced by education, class background and generation. District women's experience of their Kurdishness might be different to a university graduate upper class Kurdish woman. So, Macide's comments refer to particular forms of Kurdishness carried from the Bitlis region and transformed within urban experience. There is a lack of research in feminist literature in Turkey that acknowledges ethnic difference in relation to gender identities. Further research, which considers ethnic differences within gender relations in Turkey are required to be conducted.

The quote mentioned above also refers to the extent to which women's domestic responsibilities are challenged through working outside. The normalisation of women's work outside the home without any compensation may cause an increase in woman's burden rather than in her empowerment. Kandiyoti (1991) suggests that if no empowering alternative exists, the breakdown of classic power hierarchies can be threatening for women. If women's work outside the home and the decrease in male responsibility as a 'breadwinner' are not compensated for at home, some women actually prefer the protection and stability of classic gender hierarchies. Therefore they prefer the restoration of male responsibility, rather than working outside of the home.

> I have worked in the workshops for eight years. After I got married, I gave up work. Married women do not work in our tradition. If men cannot look after his family, he shouldn't marry

either. I am much in comfort now. My husband should look after me.

(Rabiye, ex-workshop worker)

In Chapter 3, I suggested that the studies on home-based work in Turkey mainly focus on married women's limitations via traditional forms of gender relations. They argue that these limitations serve to identify married women with their motherhood and domestic responsibilities, and thus, bind them to the home-based work (Karslı, 1992; Lordoğlu, 1990). In my opinion, these constraints are not only a result of the restrictions based on existing gender ideologies. They are also, as argued above, capital's preference for a particular type of female labour. Furthermore, these conditions are based on women's choice for the stability and protection of existing power hierarchies in some cases. There is a significant lack of social services at the peripheries of Istanbul, which could decrease the burden of domestic work. This means that if no family member shares this burden, married women are eventually withdrawn from the workshops, either by the employer or at their own initiative. Hence, these processes maintain the characteristics of garment work as single female adolescent work.

3. Labour and Gender Identity

In Turkey, apart from women from the social elite who receive a good education followed by prestigious and satisfactory careers, the ideological construction of gender is a primary constraint for women's economic activity. Women's clothing and movement outside of the home and male-female interaction are restricted in the peripheries of Istanbul. White suggests that,

> If an unmarried girl is reported to have been alone in a room with an unrelated man or even she is seen on the street talking to a man, her modesty and virginity is under doubt (1994: 169).

Since, according to existing moral values,[64] woman's virginity prior to marriage and sexual purity are essential, unmarried women need to be protected and strictly controlled in terms of maintaining her virginity. Virginity is so important that it takes priority over any other 'value' that an adolescent woman can have.

In one of my visits to a worker's home, a twenty-two years-old ex-worker was talking about her memories of work in her village. She talked about how difficult it was to collect cotton in the fields. She said:

> One day we were returning from the field. The truck was overloaded with cotton bales. It was almost ten meters high. I was travelling on the top of the cotton bales. The truck stopped, I wanted to climb down using the rope, which packages the bales. One of the workers did not realise that I was coming down and untied the rope from the other side. I fell down from the top of the track. I had so much pain in my back and I lost so much blood. I thought I was going to die.

Suddenly her mother who has ten other children interrupted our talk and said "Why didn't you tell me that you lost blood? I would have taken you to the doctor." I assumed that she might think the event could have had long-term effects on her daughter's health. But she added "Your virginity might have been damaged, if we could have gone to the doctor just after you fell down, s/he could have given us a report showing that it is not your 'fault'."

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[64] The moral values mentioned here should be perceived within its particular time and context, not as fixed, unchanging concepts.

Hall (1994: 442) suggests that the changing balance and relations of social forces throughout history reveal themselves in struggles over the culture of working people. The constitution of a whole new social order around capital required more or less a continuous process of active destruction of particular ways of life and their transformation into something new.

The garment workshops supply a new activity in response to intensified financial needs and opened markets. The workshop production in the peripheries attempts to conciliate the moral standards of gender relations while disclosing women's labour. On the other hand, it conflicts with existing social norms, which restricts women's movement and work outside of the home and male-female interaction. While the workspace is placed in the basement of a family flat or a few streets behind the family flat, the workers are easily policed. Women's work still takes place within the community and within the control area of the family. However, since women and unrelated men working together is not desirable yet it takes place in front of everyone else from the community, the tension between existing social norms and the needs of the market become sharper.

The borders around the domestic space and the workspace, both socially and geographically are blurred in workshop production. Moreover, the moral values around gender relations are actively reformulated. While some forms of gender relations are still strictly followed, some others are pushed aside.

Anna Secor (in press) focuses on the relationship between different forms of work practices and 'appropriate' forms of gender identities in Turkey in her research on rural-urban migrant women in Istanbul. She points out the paradox between being a 'good woman' and working outside of home and having access to different parts of the city. She suggests that being a 'good woman' is associated with working in 'suitable places' approved by relatives



Figure 7.3. A view of a workshop - ground and basement floors -.

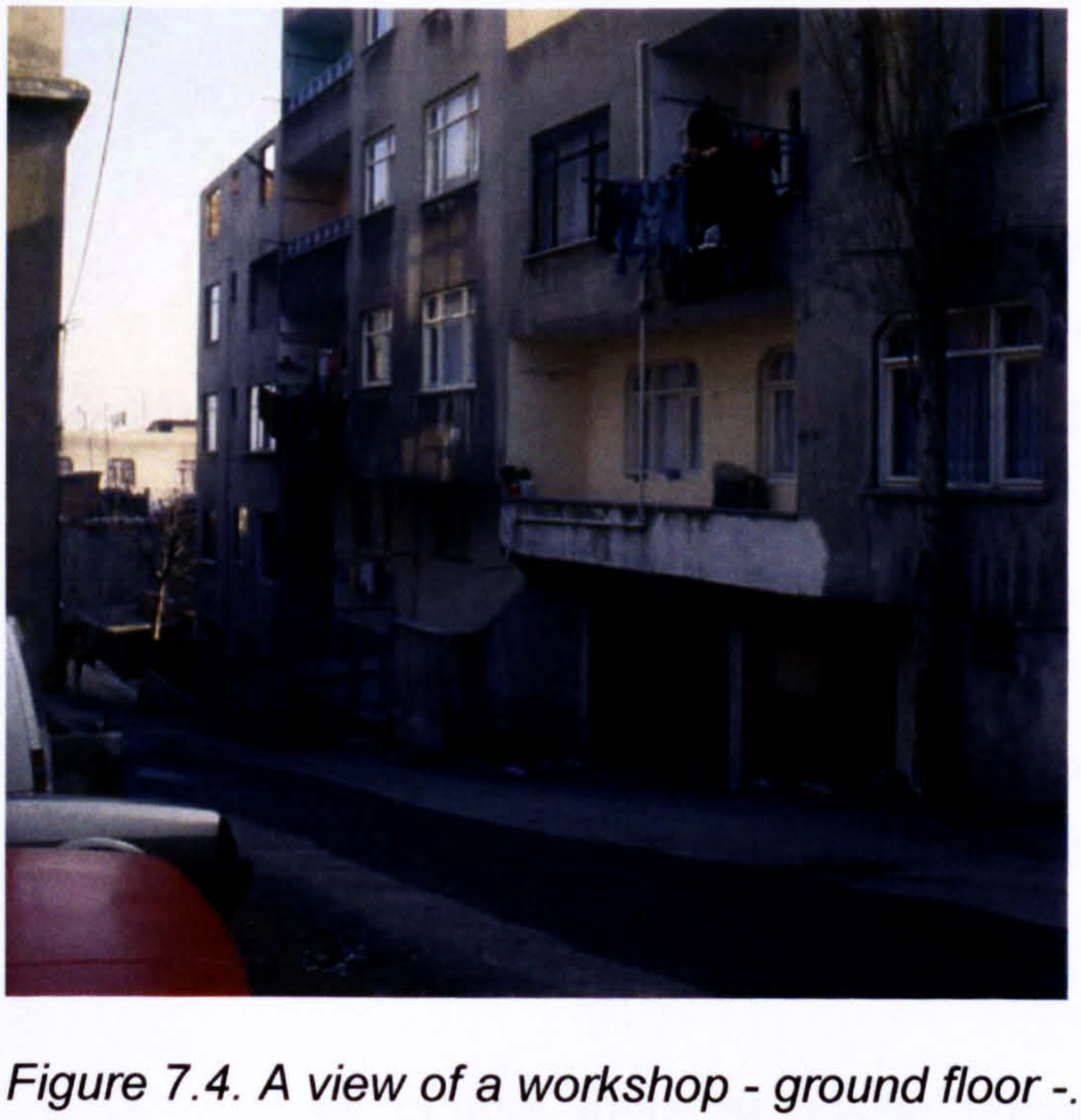


Figure 7.4. A view of a workshop - ground floor -.

or the community and ideally remaining at home. Similarly, in the rest of this study, I focus on how existing forms of gender relations are operated within the context of work relations in workshop production. I try to reveal the tension between the attempts of the community, family and employer to create 'suitable' and 'secure' workplaces for female labour, and the female workers' strategies to increase their control over their sexuality and adulthood.

4. Community Tension and Social Control

The sexuality of young female labourers becomes an active threatening power when they start to work outside of the home. The late night work-patterns and open visibility of young women on the streets are one of the main centres of attention and gossip in the district.

> We stay for over-time during the night, the service brings us to our home late at night. The following day, the neighbours start to gossip by saying that a woman came home with a taxi late at night. Then we say "God knows the truth." What else can we do?
>
> (Sevgi, twenty-two years-old female workshop worker)

The moral status of workshop girls seems the main worry of the local public figures, rather than the burden and responsibility that those young shoulders have to carry.

> Of course there is gossip about the workshop girls in the garment workshops. They stay there day and night. The light is on in the workshops until late at night. Who knows what they do there? Girls and boys go outside of the workshop together

during lunch and tea breaks. Girls find boyfriend there. People here do not think well about them, but they do not say much. Because, either their relatives or their friends' daughter work there as well.

(The district mayor)

The priest of the local mosque (imam) had preached that the workshops are the nests of prostitution. I went there and said to him "why do you say that? Tell it to my face. What you said is not true. I am the owner of one those workshops."

(Cascade Clothing, workshop employer)

Aiming to decrease community tension concerning the late night working patterns of young male and female employees working together, many employers try either not to hire outsider men or not to hire men at all.

I do not like gossips. This place should be secure. Some of the male workers are vagabond. They come to entice female workers or they are rebellious, tough guys. Because of that, I try to avoid hiring male workers as much as I can.

(Determination Clothing, workshop employer)

Likewise, many employers demand certain moral standards from the female workers. This attitude of the employer claims to emphasise the 'safety' and 'security' of the workshop, which is purged of 'tough guys' and 'loose girls'.

A couple of weeks ago, a young girl asked for a job. Believe me, she didn't have a bra. I looked at her and said "girls like you are

no use to us." She asked "Why do you say so elder brother (abi)?"[65] I said "if you don't know, go and look in the mirror."

(Dobo Dobo Clothing, workshop employer)

It is a common practice for the employers to intervene in every aspect of female workers' lives. Some of them criticise or ban cigarette smoking by young female workers. Some workshop owners criticise female workers who stand outside the workshop during the breaks. Some of the employers ban dating in their workshops.

Employers' strategies aim to prevent the creation of a bad reputation and gossip about the workshops on the one hand, and on the other, to win the implicit co-operation of the community and the family in controlling female workers. Furthermore, they attempt to increase their control and authority over the female workers by reinforcing their own values about appropriate forms of femininity.

These strategies still do not completely prevent gossip, which is another form of control over the female workers in the workshops. Knowing the power of social control and the threat of 'immodesty' over the young female workers, elder female workers also use gossip against the young women in some cases.

Jealousy and slandering is very common in the workshops. Elder workers get angry with us for something else, and then, they gossip about our modesty. I heard that one of the women in our workshop is gossiping about me. She says to the others that I supposedly go out with her son and make him spend all his money on me. I don't even know her son. I never met him.

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[65] Abi (elder brother), abla (elder sister), bacı (sister), kardeş (brother or sister) are commonly used in Turkish and imply respect.

> They get angry about something in the workshop then they slander you.
>
> (Yaşar, sixteen years-old female workshop worker)

Attacked by an 'immoral' reputation, workshop workers often seek self-control. Those with more conservative values exempt themselves from the 'loose' female workers and see uncontrolled workers as responsible for the image.

> We do not befriend the men. We do not get close to them. Otherwise, our reputation wouldn't be good. If you become friendly with a man, they immediately exaggerate it. Here, people say that workshop workers are prostitutes. This hurts me a lot. Some dally with each other and people blame all of us.
>
> (Sibel, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

Female workers often try to oppose the threat of being 'immodest' by highlighting that they internalise existing forms of gender identities. They undermine their sexuality and claim that all workers are 'brothers' and 'sisters'. The emphasis is on a platonic, almost kinship relationship which denies any sexuality within that relationship.

> We are very busy in the workshop. We sometimes work until the morning. It is difficult to work all through the day and night. My family worries about it. They say "you are working until morning, what if you sleep and something happens to you *(meaning risk of rape)*." Then, my sister and I say "if we had to think like that, then we would never go to work neither day nor night. All the male workers in the workshop are our brothers."
>
> (Elif, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

The threat of being 'exposed' by working outside the home is transformed into the symbolic protection of the unseen walls of 'fraternity' between men and women and a denial of sexuality. Thus, female modesty is still protected.

5. The Organisation of Workspace

As stated in Chapters 5 and 6, subcontracting relations blur the border between formality and informality. Wilson (1991: 11) suggests that crossing the boundary between formality and informality via subcontracting relations is also associated with a difference in the way in which production is gendered. Workshop production has different implications to factory-based production in relation to gender and family ideologies.

The workshops located in residential areas have particular dynamics in terms of gender relations. The moral values on gender relations play a more active role in defining workspace relations in workshop production. The relations in domestic space can easily extend to the workspace. For instance, employer's family members can intervene in worker issues without holding a position in the workshop.[66]

> Even the boss' mother criticises us. When she comes, she grumbles that we stay too long in the toilet.
>
> (Sevgi, twenty-two years-old female workshop worker)

The employer's area is usually divided by mat glass walls in a typical workshop. The rest of the workshop is a huge room. The workshop is arranged according to production lines. However, male workers who usually

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[66] As suggested in Chapter 6 and elaborated in detail below, in a similar way, workers' family members and relatives can also intervene in workspace relations.

do finishing sewing sit in the front while the female workers sit behind or to the left/right hand side of them. The workspaces are arranged in such a way that the male workers do not usually see female workers. If the arrangements disregard this segregation there might be problems. For instance, one female worker explained how women were ashamed to go to the toilet in the workshop because male workers might see them. In the end, the female workers asked the employer to rearrange the workshop. The places of workers were reorganised so that the male workers could not see the female workers while they walked to the toilet. Other employers also mentioned their attempts to consider a tangible segregation of gender in the workspace.

> Since men and women are mixed in here, it is difficult to run a workshop. We make them to sit in separate tables during the lunch breaks. We put female workers at the back of the workshop and the male workers to the front. We try to manage it like that.
>
> (Leader Clothing, workshop employer)

During lunchtime, male and female workers tend to sit at different tables. The workers who do floor work and have contact with all other workers are usually children who do not have a sexual connotation. If it is necessary for older workers to do floor work, males usually do the floor work for male machine workers and females for the females.

6. 'Protection'

Workers' families play an active role in defining work relations. The family, mainly a father or a elder brother often has the right to decide on behalf of female workers: where they will work and when they will give up work.



Figure 7.5. A view from the inside of a workshop.



Figure 7.6. On the production line.

Some of the families 'consign' their daughter to the employer by saying that they trust the employer's decisions and rely on his control over her. Therefore the employer starts to have double power over his young female workers as a boss and through the family. In some cases, the employer might use the power given by the family in an 'unjust' way. Knowing the pressure of morality on the workers, the employer can prevent female workers from giving up work or make them work for lower salaries by threatening to tell the family about their 'immodest' behaviour.

> A female worker started to go out with the boss in one of the workshops where I used to work. Later on they split up and the girl wanted to leave the workshop. The boss didn't let her go and threatened to tell her family about their relationship. He forced her to work for a long period of time with a low salary. She couldn't even get her over-time payments.
>
> (Zahide, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

In most of the cases, if the family find out about dating with the employer or another worker the girl is immediately penalised. At least the family forces her to leave that workshop. In some cases they completely ban her from working and restrict her movement outside of the home or even send her back to their village.

The employer might also use the power coming from the family to break workers' solidarity by demanding that the family control their daughters' disobedience.

> If there is any problem in the workshop, the boss immediately tells our family. For instance, the boss fired Adnan and Aynur. I got angry and gave up the job. He talked with my mother. She forced me to return to the work. Now here I am again.
>
> (Selma, sixteen years-old female workshop worker)

However, employers' strategies may not always result in success. The family may undermine the comments of the employer and support their daughter on some occasions. But the threat and the risk of being accused of 'immodesty' are always present for the worker.

> There was a disagreement in the workshop where I used to work and I wanted to leave. Previously, my sister and I used to work in the same place. She was engaged. My sister, her fiancée and I used to go out together. The boss hadn't given my wage for the last two months. When I said to the boss that I planned to give up the job, he threatened me by saying that he would say that I was going out with men.
>
> I went home and told my family what happened in the workshop before the boss could. Then, the boss came to our house to talk with my family. They argued with my father. After this argument, the boss had to give me my salary and I gave up the job.
>
> (Sibel, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

The sexual intimidation of female labour is used to repress individual acts and as a strategy of domination by the employer and the male workers.

> In one of the workshops where I worked there was an ongoing theft. One day, the boss came and said "as soon as I find the thief, I will make (her) naked in the middle of the workshop." It was so degrading for me to accept this insult. I decided that I would find the thief...
>
> (Zahide, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

Unlike physical abuse, when there is sexual abuse, workers do not share the incidence with their family or reveal it in the workshop. They are

worried about community gossip or accusations by the family about being 'loose' or 'easy' women.

During the field study, I heard from a middle-aged woman one version of the sayings that accuse the victim of sexual abuse: "If there wasn't any wind, leaves wouldn't move" (Rüzgar esmeyince yaprak kıpırdamaz). It means that it is the woman's fault if sexual assault occurs. In other words, the woman provokes the man by her behaviour.

Sexual assaults in the workshops encourage tensions in the community and increase social control over female workers. The targets become female workers, more than the males who assault them. When there is an assault, workers try to solve the problem by themselves, by avoiding that particular worker or the boss or by opposing the person by themselves. When the problem becomes threatening, they usually change jobs.

7. Worker Strategies

Operationalising gender relations is not the sole prerogative of the employer, family or the local community. Female workers, too, employ strategies against the control mechanisms operating through traditional forms of gender relations. As suggested in Chapter 6, the workers can also use their power adherence to kinship relations. If there is trouble in the workshop some workers ask their fathers or the elder male member of the family to intervene or they collaborate with their fellow relatives against the employer. However, while the employers use 'honour' or 'immodesty' as a threat mechanism against the workers, female workers often obtain the support of their family or their relatives against physical abuse or economic pressure from the employer.

Young female workers co-operate with each other to negotiate control of the community and the family. If they do not want their family or employer to know about what they are doing they collaborate with each other. For instance, they support each other when they are going to meet with their boyfriends or when they want to walk around somewhere outside the district.

> While I was single my family didn't let me go anywhere. For instance, once I went to the post office to make a phone call. My older brother saw me by chance. This event created a crisis at home for a week. "Why did I go? What was I doing?" etc.
>
> I wanted to wander around that weekend. I waited for my brother to leave home. Bad luck, he didn't. He decided to stay at home that Sunday. I wanted to go to the seaside so much. I said to him "Ayşe is going to visit her aunt in Bakırköy, can I go?" Ayşe was a close friend of mine from the workshop. My brother knew her and trusted her.
>
> I went to Bakırköy. I wandered around a little bit at the seaside. What can you do on your own? I got bored in an hour and returned back home. In following day, I asked Ayşe to cover me up just in case if my brother checked upon me.
>
> (Macide, twenty-two years-old female workshop worker)

In order to prevent the direct control of the family in the workspace, young female workers try not to work in the same workshop with their male relatives who may have strict monitoring over their behaviour.

> Girls here don't want to work together with their male relatives, because men usually think exactly the same way as the family. If a girl has a male relative in the workshop, she can't smoke a cigarette. If a male worker comes to her side during the break,

she has to leave. If the girls want to walkabout by saying that they are going for over-time, she can't do that. A male relative can even cause her to be banned from work.

(Zeynep, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

Despite the harsh working conditions and intensifying control mechanisms, the work floor is a space of freedom for young female workers. Since it creates a space of freedom the family and the community have perceived the workshop floor as a threat. Because of that, attempts are made to control this space closely. Furthermore, forcing female workers to cease working is also a vital punishment for the workers.

It felt like a death, when I was banned from working and forced to return back between those four walls (i.e. home).

(Filiz, twenty-two years-old female ex-worker)

Clashes occur between young workers' demand for an adulthood and accepted forms of gender identities. Via their own or their friends' discovered experiences, young females are well aware that a challenge on existing norms of modesty and sexuality is severely punished. Hence, their attempts are hidden behind the elusive spaces and covered by a front of young female solidarity.

Although young females do not openly challenge existing norms, they show that they do not accept the values of the community about female modesty and sexuality and they do not approve of the family control. They covertly have a boyfriend, or befriend male workers, make elusive visits outside the district and secretly wear fashionable clothes, which they replace with more 'appropriate' ones while they are going back home from work.

Some of the girls in our workshop used to wear trousers. I liked how it looks and I wanted to wear them. I knew my family wouldn't let me do it. I secretly bought a pair with my wage. Then, I started to wear it under my skirt when I was coming to the workshop. I used to take the skirt off in the workshop. One day, my brother found the trousers at home. He got very angry. He tore the trousers and burned them in the stove. It was terrible. I will never wear trousers again.

(Zeliha, eighteen years-old female workshop worker)

While demanding control over their sexuality and adulthood young women follow a covert strategy supposedly claiming that they are still within the limits of dominant gender ideologies. Young females try to walk a thin line, which seems less dangerous than open conflict. As suggested in section 6, if these strategies are found out, the family may increase its control over daughters. Depending on the nature of the attempt, the family may restrict their daughter's movement outside the home or may completely ban her from working. So, there is a risk that the attempt may result in a personal catastrophe. Their covert acts may backfire and produce the opposite effect to what was intended, sometimes leading to harsh penalisation and strict permanent control.

Although not openly manifested, adolescent women attempt to use the space created through the work floor to increase their control over their sexuality and their identity. Despite the fact that the workshop is on the doorsteps of the community, young women are less tied to their house with workshop work and have an opportunity to claim more control over their lives. Supporting Wilson and Ong's argument discussed in Chapter 2, about workshops providing a space for young women to claim their adolescence, I would argue that although the family and the community attempt to control their daughter's workspace relations, young women experience a relative

freedom in the workshop. This freedom inevitably affects their perception of gender and selfhood.

> After I started to work, my views have naturally changed. Before, I wouldn't even be able to go out without my mother's or my father's company. I was very shy talking with men. Now I come to the workshop by myself, we work until late at night. I earn my own money and stand on my own feet. I have many male friends in the workshop now. Sometimes I even share my problems with them that I don't share with female friends.
>
> (Elif, nineteen years-old female workshop worker)

An ex-worker told me about a sexual assault that happened to her in the workshop. She was recently married and her husband did not want her to work in the workshop. She was trying to convince him to let her return to work. I asked her "why do you still want to work in the garment workshop, despite these problems?" She said "but, now I know how to protect myself." Similar to others who are penalised because of their 'loose' attitude in the workspace, she may or may not be successful in her struggle to return the work. However, the memory of her work experience will influence her current life as well as her own interpretation of modesty and sexuality.

8. Conclusion

Local ideologies of gender are actively reworked by family, community, employers and female workers in workshop production. In terms of gender relations, what is actively pushed aside and what remains is important. The young female workers are 'permitted' to work under the heavy control of the family and the community in a 'safe' environment within the borders of their residential district. Female workers are asked to work together with male

employees with minimum contact between them. Moreover, this contact is tolerated only under the necessity of work relations. This 'permission' comes from the necessity of financial needs and stretches existing moral values just enough to disclose labour.

The 'permission' given for contact with unrelated men does not include befriending males, going out together, or gathering for any other reasons. Furthermore, this 'permission' does not cover obtaining formal education either. If the young girls attempt to cross the border of 'permission' and if this crossover is realised, the punishment is either imprisonment in the home or being sent back to the village. Both forms of punishment mean complete isolation from the outside world that they have become used to.

The female workers are allowed to work but they are asked to remain the same in terms of their gender identities. While moral values that are in conflict with the market are reformulated and eroded, the employer, family and the community attempt strictly to apply the others. Existing forms of gender relations construct 'secure' workspaces for female workers based upon the opportunities they provide to 'police' women's behaviour in the workshops skulked in the edges of Istanbul. Thus, these values act as a power point, which turn into profitable export commodities produced by cheap labour. However, this does not mean that the ways opened up by market relations may not result in new challenges for gender relations.

Gender ideologies and capital do not reinforce each other in all cases as suggested by early works on gender and development. They might also conflict with each other. It is not possible to argue that a coherent and linear relationship exists between the local gender ideologies and the market. The relationship between the construction of gender and the market has fluid and multiple forms, which are actively formulated by the female workers as well as the employers.

Women subjected to control also engender new techniques of self-management. The female workers attempt to create spaces of freedom for themselves by trying to increase their control over their sexuality and their labour. Aiming to avoid punishment for their 'immodest' behaviour, the former occurs through passive forms of resistance that pretend to stay within the limits of existing moral values. Since the latter relates to labour more than sexuality, it is expressed in a more open way.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

This thesis has been concerned with understanding the patterns of conflict and solidarity among female garment workers, and the way in which gender relations are operationalised within work relations. It tackles these issues through a focus on the industrial workshops located in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Istanbul. In this concluding chapter, I summarise the implications of this research for the ways in which we understand the interconnections between industrial restructuring and female labour, both locally in Turkey, and globally, through the mechanisms of subcontracting. Next, I highlight the important policy agendas that emerge in Turkey from this research and outline the questions these raise about the future role and focus of international solidarity campaigns targeting the garment industry. In the final part of the conclusion, I discuss the contribution that this thesis makes to understand women worker's acts of resistance and solidarities in informal work. I place my findings in the context of current discourses of globalisation and continuing restructuring.

2. Interconnecting the Garment Workshops And the Restructuring Process

2.1. Flexibility and Survival Strategies of Workshops

This research has attempted to link local strategies of industrial workshops to global restructuring processes and to reveal the unequal character of these processes. The study has indicated that there is a great power imbalance between the industrial workshops and upper levels of the subcontracting chains in the clothing industry in Turkey. International retailers are exempt from the risks of manufacturing and responsibility towards the labour force by taking the position of 'customers', yet they maintain their control over production by defining prices, the quality of the product, and delivery times. When the subcontracting chains pass from the international level to the national level and reach into the industrial workshops at the peripheries, which absorb the majority of the workforce, little power is left in the hands of the workshops in the face of the demands of their 'customers'.

Labour cost reduction strategies and the informality of the workforce, which conform to the international market and the required flexibility of the clothing industry, are the main forms of power available for workshop employers. The workshop employers try to combat the fluctuations in the market and respond to downward price pressures in a number of ways: by moving their workplaces from the inner periphery to the outer periphery of the city where the workers are willing to accept lower wages; by denying social security and social rights, and thereby reducing the labour cost to absolute wages; by giving no pay rises despite the high level of inflation in Turkey; by firing experienced workers and hiring inexperienced workers with lower wages; by demanding long working hours; and finally, by temporary closures with no wages. These survival strategies, however, are often not enough to respond to the demands of the market. The industrial workshops often face bankruptcy and forced closure.

The international subcontracting chains are organised under the premise that the price pressures and demands of the upper levels will always be absorbed by the industrial workshops placed at the bottom of the chain. Regardless of the level of pressure, it is assumed that the required level of flexibility will be supplied by the low end of the chain within the rules of an open market economy for the sake of competition. It is assumed that the workshops and informal sector workers are infinitely elastic. However, the case of Turkey shows that the workshops do not have an infinite capacity for absorbing price pressures and the flexibility demands of the subcontracting chains. A breaking point has been reached in the garment industry.

2.2. Global Restructuring Processes and Acts of Resistance

Another major contribution of this research is related to the focus on the experiences of female garment workers in the informal sector within the context of industrial restructuring processes. An analysis that concentrates on the interpretation of these experiences in terms of female workers' acts of resistance is innovative and departs from the existing literature. The literature on women's labour in industrial restructuring processes focuses on the interlinkages between capital's preference for female labour in less developed countries and gender relations that are operationalised in this recruitment (Arizpe and Aranda, 1988; Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1983; Elson and Pearson, 1981a; Elson and Pearson, 1981b). This literature has been criticised because it mainly emphasises the subordination of female labour via economic and social processes. It pictures an image of stereotypical and homogenous female workers in the 'Third World', which undermines an analysis of female workers as part of social and power networks in their localities.

Another set of studies has tackled the same issue by focusing on the participation of women in informal work in particular societies (White, 2000; Ghvamshahidi, 1996; Ghvamshahidi, 1995; White, 1994; Hoel, 1981). However, the emphasis has still remained on women's passivity within economic processes as a result of traditional forms of social relations supported by gendered control mechanisms and existing moral values. In this literature, women's attachment to production, particularly to informal work is analysed mainly as part of cultural norms and kinship relations. Such an approach reinforces women's subordination and obedience in economic processes. Furthermore, it locks the world of women into classical forms of power hierarchies such as kinship relations, religious or ethnic community bonds and collapses these bonds into class relations.

Taking a similar perspective, studies focusing on informal work in Turkey have mainly emphasised traditional forms of social relations in their analysis of workspace relations (White, 2000; Varçın, 1996; White, 1994; Atauz and Atauz, 1992). Religious, local origin or kinship networks are usually analysed as part of the legitimisation of the employer's authority on the one hand, and workers' obedience to this authority on the other hand. They are perceived as a type of 'bond of solidarity' between the employers and the workers that disguise class-based conflicts and solidarities.

This thesis has criticised these studies because of their emphasis on subordination that has left very little space for the agency of female workers. They unquestioningly reduce women's position in the economy to traditional forms of social relations. As a response to such criticisms, some researchers have attempted to show that not all female workers in LDCs who are recruited by global restructuring processes - whether in the formal or informal work - are in disadvantageous positions (Kabeer, 2000; Wolf, 1991; Lim, 1990). These studies have focused on the benefits that female workers obtain through paid work. However, the studies focusing on the nature of female workers' acts of resistance, which take place outside the organised,

formal movements in the informal work, remained limited (Rosa, 1994; Ong, 1987). This thesis contributes to this small, but important literature by analysing the everyday forms of resistance developed by the female garment workers within informal workspaces linked to the international market.

2.3. Globalisation and Linkages between Formal Organisations and Informal Solidarities

This study has suggested that since production relations go beyond the border of the nation state, international level solidarity networks and the ways in which these networks address industrial workshops are crucial in terms of identifying the extent of workers' acts of resistance and understanding the limitations of these strategies. In Chapter 2, however, I also argued that international level anti-sweatshop campaigns targeting the informality of the workforce and harsh working conditions implicit in international subcontracting chains have weak linkages with the garment workers in the informal sector in LDCs. In many cases these movements equalise all employers located at the different stages of production chains and assume that their pressure on the company at the top will automatically result in benefits to the workers at the bottom of the chain. They ignore the complex relationship of dependency between the workshops and the upper parts of the chain. The codes of conduct are developed as a response to these movements and in relation to the wider interest of international regulations aiming to improve labour and environmental standards in the export-industries of LDCs. However, as also suggested by Hughes (in press) and Hale and Shaw (2001), these codes do not redress unequal power relations within the subcontracting chains. The workshop workers are often merely an information source and objects, rather than the active participants of these campaigns.

I have argued that international campaigns can actually cause harm in the informal work settings when they do not develop enough understanding about the dynamics of the working conditions and when they do not create strong linkages with the targeted workers. In the case of garment workshops in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Istanbul, these kinds of linkages do not seem to exist. Anti-sweatshop and codes of conduct campaigns can provide a link between worker solidarities in LDCs and NGOs in DCs. However in their current form, they have limited influence on informal sector workers (Barrientos, 200a; Hale and Shaw, 2001) and this relationship is hierarchical, rather than empowering.

In her study of the social agency of flexible workers in the UK, Cook (2000) argues that access to rights is an important aspect of workers' empowerment. The lack of a right to appeal against unfair dismissal – either at legal or application level – may seriously influence workers' power to challenge unfair treatment. She observes that the insecure nature of the work allows very limited power for the workers to negotiate their rights. The negotiating power of the workers is also influenced by the low-level of engagement by trade unions and NGOs. The lack of grassroot level organisations is closely linked to the workers' lack of awareness about their existing rights.

This thesis has similar findings. Acts of resistance and the solidarity of the workers are threatened by work insecurity and the constant threat of losing the job in workshop production. Furthermore, I have indicated that there is no great support for the workshop workers at the national level in Turkey from formal labour or women's organisations. Improving the working conditions and controlling work ethics are the main agendas for trade unions in Turkey. Yet, rather than targeting small workshops at the peripheries, trade unions still mainly focus on the larger-scale production places in which the majority of the workforce is formally protected. In sum, formal, supra-local organisations provide limited, if any, alternatives for workshop workers. The

acts of resistance in the workshops do not take place as large-scale, open confrontations with the employers. They are not part of organised movements either. However, this lack of formal labour organisation and open, large-scale conflicts with the employers does not indicate that female workers in the garment workshops are merely recipients of industrial restructuring processes and traditional forms of social relations. Acts of resistance do take place in the garment workshops, yet, they take subtler and less obvious forms of resistance.

Female garment workers develop strategies at a local-collective nature aiming to increase their wages, to overcome the discrimination of fellow workers, to have social security and to decrease the employers' control on the work floor. However, their success is limited. The limits of their achievements are related to the security of their job and the social and legal resources available to them. These strategies have the potential to create a basis for open and collective challenges, as long as formal organisations succeed in engaging with them.

3. Practical Implications of the Research and Policy Suggestions

This research has several practical implications. First, the critique of international campaigns and the analysis of subcontracting chains have certain implications. These implications are related to the role of international NGOs in developing strategies for better working conditions in the industrial workshops of LDCs. Applying the strategies and policies developed by the NGOs in DCs do not have any long-term legacy without the active participation of labour NGOs in LDCs, which aim to support the workers in the informal sector. The main policy of the international level 'sweatshop' campaigns needs to shift from perceiving targeted workspaces and workers as merely information sources and passive recipients. They need to find ways

to create strong linkages and networking among the local NGOs in LDCs and encourage the development of NGOs which support and involve the informal sector workers. Without creating these linkages and local solidarity bases, pressuring the retailers in DCs may simply lead them to shift their production to another place and actually cause the workers to lose their jobs. Improving working conditions without addressing the insecurity of work is not possible. Any movement which does not address work insecurity in the informal sector and unequal power relations that workshops are tied into is bound to fail.

New strategies need to be developed at an international level, so that retailers in developed countries have more legal responsibility towards their subcontractor firms and the workers, rather than being a mere customer at the top of the chain. As much as they have power to control the production, they need to have legal responsibility towards the workers just as the immediate employers of these workers do.

An in depth analysis of the literature on the extent to which local NGOs in LDCs can speak on behalf of the workers and existing linkages between the NGOs in LDCs and in DCs are beyond the scope of this study. However, reviewing this literature in the light of the findings of this thesis leads me to emphasise the following policy problems: the nature of collaboration between the NGOs in LDCs and in DCs; whether local NGOs in LDCs are inclusive to all sections of informal sector workers; the extent which they represent the interests of the workers. Townsend et al. (2002) point to this issue and suggest that many of the existing collaborations over-rely on paperwork and documentation, rather than whether this collaboration makes a difference for the working conditions and policies at local or national level. Townsend et al. also highlight the risk that the relationship between NGOs may transform into a hierarchy and lead to a structure of donor NGOs of DCs and recipient NGOs of LDCs. Furthermore, this relationship can be competitive at the local level and some 'influential' local NGOs in LDCs can restrict the collaboration of smaller and/or radical NGOs to their contact NGOs in DCs. All of these

issues require further investigation, if policy making is to become focused on NGO activism.

Another dilemma raised in the NGO literature is that women's NGOs might have implicit assumptions about female workers automatically being interested in using their economic independence. It is assumed that they share similar economic and political agendas with local and international NGOs (Mayoux, 1999; Mayoux, 1995). The influence of these assumptions also depends upon the extent to which preconceived models of international or national level agendas are imposed by NGOs on workers, and whether NGOs are formed by the active participation of the workers according to their needs and priorities.

This thesis pointed to the worrying fact that NGOs, and local and supra-local organizations do not yet exist for informal sector workers in Turkey. If such forms of organisation are to be developed in the future, it is important that the lessons from the NGO literature about experiences elsewhere are born in mind for the creation of supportive policies. The policies must remain sensitive to the possible hierarchy between donor and local NGOs. Local NGOs should be established by the active participation of the workers according to their choices and priorities (Townsend et al, 2002; HomeNet, 1999; Dawson, 1998; Rowlands, 1998; Mayoux, 1995; Rowbotham and Mitter, 1994).

The second implication of this study is related to the critique of state policies. State policy based on maximising export potential and supplying international competitivity via the rules of the market, based on cheap labour costs for the clothing industry, are incompatible with improving working conditions in the industrial workshops and applying labour legislation. Since the subcontracting chains mainly rely on cheap labour and informality in the industrial workshop workforce, limited attempts to apply labour standards and to impose the formal social rights for the workshop workers lead to

workshops closing. Beside the fact that the monitoring of labour conditions are required to be intensified, new policies need to be developed to support the workshops and to shift from products that rely on cheapness and quantity to the specialised and high value-added products. These changes would improve the bargaining power of the workshops.

The third implication is related to worker solidarities. The operationalisation of kinship and family networks in workspace solidarities are based on the fact that worker solidarities in the informal sector are left to their own resources. These solidarities are isolated at the local level. Although these networks create a source of power for the workers in their workspace, they may also affirm existing power hierarchies within those networks. Furthermore, they exclude the workers who are not next of kin or who are not from the same family.

Improvements in working conditions and enabling the application of labour rights in the industrial workshops depend upon establishing and encouraging inter-ethnic and inter-kin neighbourhood organisations in which female workshop workers are actively involved. These organisations should aim to supply constant, reliable information to the workers about their rights and help to develop alternative organising strategies that consider the linkages between women's social life and their workspace problems. Besides working towards the improvement of working conditions, they should also consider gender specific barriers and give support in terms of overcoming these barriers. Furthermore, networking between local, national, and international level solidarities is crucial in terms of overcoming the dispersed structure of neighbourhood production, isolation at a local level, and to prevent the production being shifted when resistance occurs.

In these terms, the establishment of organisations such as the International Network of Homebased Workers in recent years is encouraging. However, new networking relations are required which also consider

workshop workers, as well as homeworkers. Female workshop workers in the neighbourhoods share similar problems and similar life conditions to homeworkers. Therefore both homeworkers and workshop workers should be considered in the establishment of solidarity network and policy development. Furthermore, an organising strategy needs to be developed that targets neighbourhoods and organises women via their livelihoods rather than directly targeting the workspace. This strategy would be successful in avoiding close monitoring by the employers in the small workshops during the organising. This approach would also be more gender sensitive and would allow the linkages and similarities between homeworkers and workshop workers to be considered.

4. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

In this study, I focused on a product and an industry that are both based on cheap labour. In this sense, the approach does not overcome the association of the integration of LDCs to the international market with cheap female labour. Further research is required on processes of flexibilisation and feminisation in different industries in Turkey to gain a better understanding of the significance, nature, and working conditions of workshop work as part of wider subcontracting chains. More work needs to focus on the possibilities created for women via workshop work. Comparative studies on subcontracting chains in different industries, including their international linkages, are crucial for increasing the visibility of informal sector workers, developing new organising strategies and strengthening workers' bargaining capacity.

Little data exists on the size of workshop work and the contribution of workshop workers to the national economy. The population census could be made more sensitive to informal work in order to contribute to the visibility of

workshop workers at a national level. Furthermore, action-research projects which have direct linkages with activists supporting informal sector workers in LDCs and which have direct policy implications - in terms of building contacts and empowering workers' solidarity networks - are required. In this way, knowledge about the workers' solidarity networks could directly be fed into organising.

5. Understanding Women Worker's Resistance in the Informal Work

Taking into consideration that no supra-local or local linkages with labour organisations and women's NGOs exist, I have conceptualised female workers resistance strategies in two veins in this study. First, I have identified workers' strategies in terms of labour, i.e. rethinking the meaning of these strategies as part of class relations. Second, I have identified what these strategies represent as a form of women's resistance, i.e. in terms of gender relations. I have used post-structural theorisation of class and gender in order to advance understandings of female workers' strategies in workshop work in the Turkish export-oriented garment industry. In the final section below, I will first summarise the findings of female workers' resistance strategies in terms of class relations.

5.1. Worker Strategies as Part of Class Relations

In this study, I have suggested that we need different parameters to those of the classical perspective on class struggle in order to analyse female workers' resistance strategies in informal work. The conceptualisation of class relations needs to recognise the influence of cultural and social spheres and to include local, covert and spontaneous forms of struggles. For this purpose, instead of elaborating class as a core homogenous entity and social grouping, I have drawn from Gibson-Graham's (1996) definition of class that

analyses class as a process of producing and appropriating surplus labour. On the one hand, this perspective permits the inclusion of the multiplicity of social life in class processes. On the other hand, it allows class struggle to be seen as part of the local politics of resistance and individual strategies over exploitation.

This research has illustrated that there are a variety of areas where female garment workers and employers fall into conflict. The main disputes between the employers and workshop workers are related to wages, working hours and the pace of work. Workers mainly try to meet their immediate needs and to improve the conditions related to their daily survival, rather than trying to obtain long-term security, such as retirement rights. Social security and social rights coming with social security, such as access to free health service or retirement rights are not the main bargaining issues for the workshop workers. In this thesis, I have argued that the gradual erosion in the state social services and labour protection regulations after the introduction of SAPs has greatly reduced the reliability and desirability of these services for workshop workers. Furthermore, workshop workers' expectations that social services and labour rights will be implemented in informal, temporary work settings have lessened.

In this study, I have indicated that female workshop workers engage in a bargaining process with the employers through their local, informal networks. Even when acts of resistance take place in the form of open, collective and spontaneous protests, they are based on informal networks rather than formal organising. Female workers' strategies are sometimes based on covert and individual acts. In some cases, worker solidarities are articulated and supported by traditional forms of social relations such as kinship networks, local origin or family ties. In other cases, workers' networks can also be based on group solidarities among co-workers developed according to their level of experience, their indispensability in the workshop, and their friendship networks.

In theoretical terms, I have argued that kinship networks and family ties are articulated as part of workers' resistance strategies. Social networks such as kinship relations or family ties are not only operationalised by the employers to reinforce power hierarchies within the workspace. They can also be operationalised at a horizontal level as part of workers' bargaining and resistance strategies. As a result, these networks can also be part of the challenge against the authority of the employer in the workspace.

Acts of resistance may appear to be self-help strategies in one sense, but they can also challenge the existing power hierarchies in another sense. They can be part of solidarity relations for workers' bargaining strategies, while also being an affirmation of power hierarchies in terms of family and kinship ties. Therefore the individual focus on workers' strategies and an analysis of class as a process allow us to perceive the often contradictory nature of resistance.

In this thesis, I have suggested that although class relations and acts of resistance are influenced by kinship relations and cultural values in the industrial workshops, kinship relations and cultural values cannot be collapsed onto class relations. They do not exhaust the space of class-based solidarities and conflicts. Female workers develop new forms of solidarities among co-workers created within the industrial workshops as well as operationalising kinship and family networks.

The existence of traditional forms of social relations does not show the obedience or passivity of the workers, but rather indicates that we need different parameters to analyse workers' resistance strategies. Female workers mobilise their informal networks and develop covert and overt strategies which target changing their employers' attempts to increase the extraction of surplus labour. Workers try to intensify their control over their labour. However, these strategies have certain limits.

Some of the parameters which set these limits are the constant threat of losing work and the insecurity of employment. As summarised above, although production is organised on an international level in the clothing industry, no national or international level labour networking that supports workshop workers' acts of resistance exists. Acts of resistance and solidarity among the garment workers are isolated at the local level. They occur in the form of informal networks that are maintained by the workshop workers. Although workers' acts of resistance take place as open and collective protests in some cases, they are often spontaneous and maintained only for the short-term. The borders of the workers' struggle are drawn by these limits rather than the traditional forms of social networks and cultural values that are based on women's 'obedience'. Female workers develop acts of resistance according to the stake in power available to them. The stake in power, which is available at the moment, appears to be that of kinship and family ties and informal networks among co-workers.

5.2. Worker Strategies as Part of Gender Relations

In this thesis I highlighted the specificity of female proleterianisation in the garment workshops. Chapter 7 indicated how gendered power relations are re-negotiated by female workers who use the work floor as a space of opportunity and solidarity with other female workers. Women's work in the garment workshops takes place on the doorsteps of the community and within the area of control of the family. As the borders between domestic space and the workspace are blurred in workshop production, gender relations are operationalised by the employers, the community and the family, as well as the garment workers.

Although female workers are not passive victims of informal work settings, they are in a more disadvantageous position relative to male workers. They have fewer paid work alternatives, more limited access to work outside of the district, and are subject to greater domestic and reproductive responsibilities and control mechanisms.

In this thesis I pointed out the specificities of the female workforce in the garment workshops. The workshop work demands job training at an early age, often as the age of eleven. Since the amount and period of over-time are unstable in the workshops and it demands a great effort from the workers, the employers prefer workers who are exempt from domestic and reproductive responsibilities, or who are ready to transfer these responsibilities to other family members. Furthermore, since the employers have no formal responsibility in terms of health services, maternity rights or child support, workers who cannot maintain the level of work demanded eventually withdraw themselves from the workshop. These processes help to maintain the labour characteristics of garment workshops, which are mainly based on a single, adolescent female workforce.

This study argued that the sexuality of young women becomes a threat to the community and the family as they start to work outside of the home and within the borders of the community. Although female workers' work in the workshops is accepted because of its financial benefits, attempts are made to closely control and monitor this labour force. The young female workers are 'permitted' to work under the heavy control of the family within the 'safe' environment of the local district. From the side of family and community, this 'permission' is based on financial needs and tries to stretch the existing moral values just enough for the disclosure of female labour. Attempts are made to deny any further freedom. While moral values that are in conflict with the market are eroded or reformulated, workers' family and the community often try to apply the others strictly.

Knowing the pressure of moral values on adolescent females and the threat of being 'exposed' by outside work, the employers also attempt to operationalise moral values and gendered control mechanisms to reinforce their power in the workspace. While some try to impose their moral values on female workers, others use sexual intimidation to repress the female workers. The employers often seek the support of the family and the community to control the behaviour of female workers in the workspace or to break worker solidarities. They use the family and the community as mechanisms of threat to force female workers into accepting long periods of over-time, lower wages, or to prevent them leaving work.

Under the heavy pressure of family, community and employers, some of the female workers seek self-control and try to oppose the pressures upon them by separating themselves from the 'loose' others. They appear to internalise common moral values and undermine their sexuality. As paid work enters the residential peripheries via subcontracting relations, new control mechanisms are created the influence the social and economic activities of young women. However, female workers also operationalise their own networks and resources, and apply self-management techniques to mediate these controls.

In this study, I have suggested that despite the harsh working conditions and gendered control mechanisms, the work floor accomplishes a space of freedom for female workers. Young female workers cooperate with each other to eliminate pressures coming from the community and family. Knowing that an open challenge to female modesty and sexuality is severely punished, their attempts are based on covert strategies supported by other young female workers. Despite the fact that working activities take place within the community, the work floor creates possibilities for female workers to be out of the house and to build new friendships which allow them to develop their own interpretation of modesty and sexuality. Although it is not

openly manifested, young women use the work floor to increase their control over their sexuality and adulthood.

This thesis has shown that traditional forms of social relations - whether as gendered control mechanisms or as kinship and family ties - and economic processes do not work as coherent and singular units. They have multiple and fluid forms which can be mobilised by the female workers as well as the employers, family, and the community. The extent to which these mobilisations are successful for those involved, however, remains an important challenge for contemporary solidarity movements operating at, and across, a range of geographical scales.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

WORKER INTERVIEW[67]

Personal Background

Name:

Where are you from? When and how did you come to Istanbul?

Is there anyone else working in your family?

Where do you live?

How do you come and go to work?

Name of the workshop:

When did you start to work in this workshop? What is your duty?

How did you start to work in this workshop?

How did you learn your work?

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[67] All questions are mainly a guide, rather than a strict framework. Here the questions are presented in a structured fashion to facilitate the reader's understanding. The issues were covered following a thematic organisation during the actual interview settings, especially in worker's interviews. Furthermore, when new key points emerged, the discussion tried to focus on those issues, rather than strictly following the framework, as presented here.

Did you work in other places before?

a. What kind of work did you do?

b. Why did you change workplace?

How did you start working in a garment workshop?

Working Conditions

What do you like in your work when you compare it with other types of work?

What types of problem do you have at work?

Are there any kinds of problems that you have come across as a woman?

Workspace Problems, Solidarity, Conflict

When there is a problem in the workplace how do you try to solve it?
(Do you discuss these problems with other workers? Do you discuss them with all the workers or with particular ones?)?

Do you ask the support of your family or your relatives in these issues? (Was there any occasion when they intervened?)

If you are in need, who do you ask for support?

Are there any specific groups in the workplace?

Do people gossip or quarrel in the workspace?

a. Who argues with whom?

b. Who gossips about whom?

c. What are the issues?

Is there any worker that other workers do not like (avoid or exclude)?

a. Who are they?

b. Why do you think this happens?

When you consider other workplaces together with your workshop, are there specific groups among the workers (across the workshops)?

Exclusion

What kinds of worker do the bosses usually prefer?

Has anybody been fired from your workplace?

In your opinion, what was the reason?

How did the crisis affect you?

a. Has anybody been fired because of the crisis?

b. Who gets fired first?

Are there any high and low seasons in the work?

a. Does anybody work on a temporary basis during this period?

b. What kinds of worker work on a temporary basis and what kinds of worker work permanently?

c. Why do you think it is so?

Kinship and Family

Does your boss have any relative in your workshop? Who are they?

a. Do they have a different status to that of other workers?

b. What is the difference?

c. Does the boss behave differently to them? How?

Do you have any relative or people from your local origin (hemşeri) in your workplace?

a. Are you happy about it? Why (not)?

b. Do you support each other at work?

c. What types of problem do you provide support for each other?

Do your family and the boss know each other?

a. Are they close to each other?

b. Do they talk about problems relating to you? Can you give some examples?

Is there anyone else that your family know in your workplace?

a. Who are they?

b. Are you happy about this?

Did you ask your family's permission when you started to work here?

Do they interfere with your work?

Would your family let you work if the work were in another district?

How do you use your income?

International Market

Do you know where the goods are marketed?

a. Is the type or brand of the goods important for you?

b. In your opinion, does it matter that the goods are sold in another country?

Why do you think that the problems that you mentioned before occur?

a. Who are responsible from these problems?

b. Have you ever tried to change these conditions? How?

Gender

Have your friends changed after you started working here?

What do you think about your old friends now?

Is there any difference between men's work and women's work in the workspace?

a. How is it different? If not, why do you think foremen and employers are men?

b. Would you prefer a female employer? Why (not)?

Does everybody do the same work every time in the workshop?

What are the positive and negative sides to work together with men?

Do you avoid elder workers? If yes, why?

What do you think about working outside as a woman? Is it different from working as a man?

Are women's worksites and men's worksites differentiated in the workplace? Why? (If not, are you happy about this situation?)

Have you experienced any discomfort since you work during the night? What do your family and neighbours think about it?

Is there anybody at work who has a boyfriend?

a. What do you think about it?

b. Has your opinion on this issue changed over-time? How?

Future, Chance for Upward Mobility, Support by Formal Organisations

Do you always plan to do this work or would you like to do something else?

a. What would you want to do?

b. What are the obstacles?

Would you like to be in a better position in this work, work in a factory or have your own workshop? What is the obstacle?

Are you a member of any organisation or foundation? Is there anybody or any organisation, which helped you relating to your work?

Do you get any support from the municipality or State? What expectations do you have from them?

WORKSHOP EMPLOYER INTERVIEW

Description of Work and Work Background

Address:

Name and position of the person:

Work description and product profile:

Work history:

Partners:

Where are you from?

What do you think about the garment industry and the last economic crisis?
Who are mainly affected by the crisis?

Raw Material, Subcontracting, Market

Do you work as a subcontractor?

a. Who are your parent firms?

b. How do you find parent firms?

Do you have any bargaining power on prices over the parent firm? If not, why and who has the power? If yes, how?

Where are the end products marketed?

How do you manage to survive in such a competitive environment?

What are your main expenses?

How do you reduce costs?

Who usually goes bankrupt and who survives in this sector?

Employer - Employer Relations

Are there any groups that dominate the market? Does this situation affect you?

Is there anyone or any organisation which helped you during the set-up of the workshop or later on?

Do you support each other with other employers? How?

When you have a capital problem, how do you supply required resources?

Employer - Worker Relations

Are there any high and low seasons in the work?

Do you have temporary workers during any period?

How many workers do you have? How many of them are men and how many of them are women?

If mixed:

a. Is this a problem?

b. Is there any discomfort because of this?

c. If yes, what are they? How do you manage it?

While you are organising the workspace, do you take into consideration different needs of men and women?

How do you find a worker when you need one?

What are your main criteria in selecting the workers (e.g. age, sex, marital status, personality, local origin, knowing in advance...etc.)?

Why are these criteria important?

If a family known by you brings their daughter, do you hire the worker?

Is this good? (Or does it mean extra responsibility?)

Do you have any relatives in the workshop?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of hiring kin workers?

How do you pay your workers (with an hourly rate or with a piece rate)?

Are there any services that you provide for the workers (e.g. transportation, lunch, social security)?

How do you control that the workers work regularly?

Do workers cause any trouble?

a. What kinds of problem occur?

b. How do you solve them?

Do you sometimes inform their families if necessary?

State and Formal Organisations

Are you member of any guilds or any other professional organisations?

What do you think about guilds?

Do you have any expectation from the State and the municipality? What are your expectations?

EXPORT COMPANY INTERVIEW

Description of Work and Work Background

Address:

Name and position of the person:

Work description and product profile:

Work history:

Partners:

Where are you from?

What do you think about the garment industry and the last economic crisis?
Who are mainly affected by the crisis?

Raw Material, Subcontracting, Market

What are the main stages of the production prior to the finished product arriving on the market?

Which stages do you complete?

Where do you obtain raw materials? Why do you prefer these firms?

Do you do subcontracting? Why (not)? Of whom? What kinds of work and to which types of workshop do you subcontract?

Do you find workshops or do workshops find you?

What are your main criteria in selecting the workshops (e.g. product quality, trust, speed, being part of a network)?

Are there any differences in terms of product quality between the workshops? Which factors do you think affect quality and prices?

How do you define amount of payments to the workshops?

How do you control workshops?

What are your international connections? How do you market the product (Choice criteria)?

Do you have any bargaining power over your parent firms? To what extent? If not why and who has the power?

Do you experience any problems with your international connections? How do you solve them?

What about over your subcontracting workshop? To what extent do you have bargaining power?

Employer-Employer Relations

How do you manage to survive in such a competitive environment?

Who usually goes bankrupt and who survives in this sector?

Is there anyone or any organisation which helped you during the set-up of the company or later on?

When you have a capital problem, how do you supply required resources?

Do you use bank credit?

Do you support each other with other employers? How?

Are there any groups that dominate the market? Does this situation affect you?

State and Formal Organisations

Are you member of any guilds or any other professional organisations?

What do you think about guilds?

Do you have any expectation from the State and the municipality? What are your expectations?

Employer-Worker Relations

Are there any high and low seasons in the work?

Do you have temporary workers during any period?

How many workers do you have? How many of them are men and how many of them are women?

How do you find a worker when you need one?

What are your main criteria in selecting the workers (e.g. age, sex, marital status, personality, local origin, knowing in advance...etc.)?

Why are these criteria important?

Do the workers have any training before they start working or during the work?

How do you pay your workers (with an hourly rate or with a piece rate)?

Are there any services that you provide for the workers (e.g. transportation, lunch, social security)?

How do you control that the workers work regularly?

Do workers cause any trouble?

a. What kinds of problem occur?

b. How do you solve these problems?

APPENDIX 2

Residential Frequency Table Of Female Garment Workers

1. District Names in Istanbul

District Code	District Name
	ADALAR
10001	HEYBELIADA
10002	BURGAZADA
10003	BÜYÜKADA-MADEN
10004	BÜYÜKADA-NIZAM
10005	KINALIADA
	BAKIRKÖY
20001	AKINCILAR
20002	A.NAFIZ GÜRMAN
20003	ATAKÖY
20004	ATISALANI-HAVAALANI
20005	BAGCILAR-BAHÇELIEVLER
20006	BAGCILAR-BARBAROS
20007	BAGCILAR-CEVATPASA
20008	BAGCILAR-CUMHURIYET
20009	BAGCILAR-ÇINAR
20010	BAGCILAR-DEMIRKAPI
20011	BAGCILAR-FEVZIÇAKMAK
20012	BAGCILAR-INÖNÜ
20013	BAGCILAR-MERKEZ
20014	BAGCILAR-SANCAKTEPE
20015	BAGCILAR-YAVUZSELIM
20016	BAGCILAR-YILDIZTEPE
20017	BAGCILAR-YENIGÜN
20018	BAGCILAR-YENIMAHALLE
20019	KIRAZLI-FEVZIÇAKMAK
20020	CEVIZLIK
20021	ÇIFTEHAVUZLAR
20022	ESENLER-BIRLIK
20023	ESENLER-DAVUTPASA
20024	ESENLER-FATIH
20025	ESENLER-FEVZIÇAKMAK
20026	ESENLER-HABIBLER
20027	ESEN.-KAZIMKARABEKIR
20028	ESENLER-MALKOÇOGLU
20029	ESENLER-MENDERES
20030	ESENLER-MIMARSINAN
20031	ESENLER-NAMIKKEMAL
20032	ESENLER-NENEHATUN
20033	ESENLER-SULTANÇIFTLIGI
20034	ESENLER-TURGUTREIS
20035	ESENLER-YAVUZSELIM
20036	GENÇOSMAN
20037	GÖZTEPE

District Code	District Name
20038	GÜNESLI-BAGLAR
20039	GÜNESTEPE
20040	GÜNGÖREN-GÜVEN
20041	GÜNGÖ.-M.FEVZIÇAKMAK
20042	GÜNGÖREN-SANAYI
20043	HAZNEDAR
20044	GÜNESLI-HÜRRIYET
20045	KARABAYIR
20046	KARTALTEPE
20047	KAZIM KARABEKIR
20048	KEMAL PASA
20049	KEMER
20050	KOCASINAN-GÜNESLIMERKEZ
20051	KOCASINAN-SIRINEVLER
20052	GÜNGÖREN-MERKEZ
20053	OSMANIYE
20054	PIRI REIS
20055	SAKIZAGACI
20056	SIYAVUSPASA
20057	SOGANLI
20058	SENLIKKÖY
20059	TOZKOPARAN
20060	Y.BOSNA-ÇOBANÇESME
20061	YENIBOSNA-EVREN
20062	YENIBOSNA-FEVZIÇAKMAK
20063	YENIBOSNA-HÜRRIYET
20064	YENIBOSNA-MERKEZ
20065	YENIBOSNA-SIRINEVLER
20066	YENIBOSNA-ZAFER
20067	YENIMAHALLE
20068	YESILKÖY-SEVKETIYE
20069	YESILKÖY-ÜMRANIYE
20070	YESILYURT
20071	YÜZÜNCÜ YIL
20072	ZEYTINLIK
20073	ZUHURATBABA
20074	ZÜMRÜTYUVA
20075	GÜNESLI-MERKEZ
	BAYRAMPASA
30001	ALTINTEPSI
30002	CEVAT PASA
30003	ISMET PASA
30004	KARTALTEPE
30005	KOCATEPE
30006	MURAT
30007	ORTA
30008	TERAZIDERE
30009	VATAN
30010	YENIDOGAN
30011	YILDIRIM

District Code	District Name
	BESIKTAS
40001	ABBASAGA
40002	AKATLAR
40003	ARNAVUTKÖY
40004	BALMUMCU
40005	BEBEK
40006	CIHANNUMA
40007	DIKILITAS
40008	ERTUGRUL
40009	ETILER
40010	KONAKLAR
40011	KURUÇESME
40012	KÜLTÜR
40013	LEVENT
40014	MECIDIYE
40015	MURADIYE
40016	NISPETIYE
40017	ORTAKÖY
40018	SINANPASA
40019	TÜRKALI
40020	VISNEZADE
40021	YILDIZ
	BEYKOZ
50001	ANADOLUHISARI
50002	ANADOLUKAVAGI
50003	ÇAMLIBAHÇE
50004	ÇIGDEM
50005	ÇIFTE HAVUZLAR
50006	ÇUBUKLU
50007	ESKI SU DEPOSU
50008	GÖKSU
50009	GÖZTEPE
50010	GÜMÜSSUYU
50011	INCIRKÖY
50012	KANLICA
50013	KAVACIK
50014	MERKEZ
50015	NURKÖY
50016	ORTA ÇESME
50017	PASABAHÇE
50018	RÜZGARLIBAHÇE
50019	SOGUKSU
50020	TOKATKÖY
50021	YALIKÖY
50022	YENIMAHALLE
50023	ZINDELER
	BEYOGLU
60001	ARAPCAMII
60002	ASMALIMESCIT
60003	BEDRETTIN

District Code	District Name
60004	BEREKETZADE
60005	BOSTAN
60006	BÜLBÜL
60007	CAMIKEBIR
60008	CIHANGIR
60009	ÇATMAMESCIT
60010	ÇUKUR
60011	EMEKYEMEZ
60012	EVLIYA ÇELEBI
60013	FETIHTEPE
60014	FIRUZAGA
60015	GÜMÜSSUYU
60016	HACIAHMET
60017	HACIHÜSREV
60018	HACIMIMI
60019	HALICIOGLU
60020	HÜSEYINAGA
60021	KADI MEHMET
60022	KALYONCUKULLUK
60023	KAPTANPASA
60024	KATIP MUSTAFA ÇELEBI
60025	KEÇECI PIRI
60026	KEMANKES
60027	KAMERHATUN
60028	KILIÇALIPASA
60029	KOCATEPE
60030	KULAKSIZ
60031	KULOGLU
60032	KÜÇÜKPIYALE
60033	MÜEYETZADE
60034	ÖMER AVNI
60035	ÖRNEKTEPE
60036	PIRIPASA
60037	PIYALEPASA
60038	PÜRTELAS
60039	SURURI MEHMET EFENDI
60040	SÜTLÜCE
60041	SAHKULU
60042	SEHIT MUHTAR
60043	TOMTOM
60044	YAHYA KAHYA
60045	YENISEHIR
	EMINÖNÜ
70001	ALEMDAR
70002	BALABANAGA
70003	BEYAZIT
70004	BINBIRDIREK
70005	CANKURTARAN
70006	DEMIRTAS
70007	EMIN SINAN

District Code	District Name
70008	HACIKADIN
70009	HOBYAR
70010	HOCAGIYASETTIN
70011	HOCAPASA
70012	KALENDERHANE
70013	KATIPKASIM
70014	KEMALPASA
70015	KÜÇÜKAYASOFYA
70016	MERCAN
70017	MESIHPASA
70018	MIMARHAYRETTIN
70019	MIMARKEMALETTIN
70020	MOLLAFENARI
70021	MOLLAHÜSREV
70022	MUHSINEHATUN
70023	NISANCA
70024	RÜSTEMPASA
70025	SARAÇISHAK
70026	SARIDEMIR
70027	SULTANAHMET
70028	SURURI
70029	SÜLEYMANIYE
70030	SEHSUVARBEY
70031	YAVUZ SINAN
70032	TAHTAKALE
70033	TAYAHATUN
	EYÜP
80001	ALIBEYKÖY-ÇIRÇIR
80002	CUMA
80003	DEFTERDAR
80004	DÜGMECILER
80005	EMNIYETTEPE
80006	ESENTEPE
80007	ESKIMAHALLE
80008	GÜZELTEPE
80009	ISLAMBEY
80010	KARADOLAP
80011	KASIRGA
80012	KETENCI
80013	MERKEZ
80014	MIMAR SINAN
80015	MITHAT PASA
80016	NISANCI
80017	SAKARYA
80018	SILAHTARAGA
80019	TOPÇULAR
80020	YENI
80021	YESILPINAR
	FATIH
90001	ABDI ÇELEBI

District Code	District Name
90002	ABDI SUBASI
90003	ALI FAKIH
90004	ARABACI BEYAZIT
90005	ARPA EMINI
90006	ATIK MUSTAFA PASA
90007	AVCIBEY
90008	BABA HASAN ALEMI
90009	BALAT KARABAS
90010	BEYAZIT AGA
90011	BEYCEGIZ
90012	CAMBAZIYE
90013	ÇAKIRAGA
90014	DAVUTPASA
90015	DENIZABDAL
90016	DERVISALI
90017	EREGLI
90018	FATMASULTAN
90019	GURABA HÜSEYIN AGA
90020	HACIEVHATTIN
90021	HACIHAMZA
90022	HAMAMIMUHITTIN
90023	HARAÇÇI KARA MEHMET
90024	HASANHALIFE
90025	HATICESULTAN
90026	HATIPMUSLAHATTIN
90027	HAYDAR
90028	HACI HÜSEYIN AGA
90029	HIZIRÇAVUS
90030	HOPYAR
90031	IBRAHIMÇAVUS
90032	IMRAHOR
90033	INEBEY
90034	ISKENDERPASA
90035	KARIYE
90036	KASAPDEMIRHUN
90037	KASAPILYAS
90038	KATIPMUSLAHATTIN
90039	KASIMGÜNANI
90040	KEÇECI KARABAS
90041	KEÇIHATUN
90042	KIRKÇESME
90043	KIRMASTI
90044	KOCADEDE
90045	KOCAMUSTAFAPASA
90046	KÜÇÜKMUSTAFAPASA
90047	KÜRKÇÜBASI
90048	MELEKHATUN
90049	MIMARSINAN
90050	MOLLAASKI
90051	MOLLASEREF

District Code	District Name
90052	MUHTESIPISKENDER
90053	MURATPASA
90054	MÜFTÜALI
90055	NESLISAH
90056	NEVBAHAR
90057	ÖRDEKKASAP
90058	SANCAKTAR HAYRETTIN
90059	SEYITÖMER
90060	SINANAGA
90061	SOFULAR
90062	SEYHRESMI
90063	TAHTAMINARE
90064	TEVKII CAFER
90065	VELEDI KARABAS
90066	YALI
90067	HOCAÜVEYZ
90068	UZUNYUSUF
90069	HÜSAMBEY
	GAZI.OSMAN PASA
100001	BAGLARBASI
100002	BARBAROSHAYRETTIN PASA
100003	CEBECI
100004	50. YIL
100005	FEVZIÇAKMAK
100006	GAZI
100007	HABIBLER
100008	HÜRRIYET
100009	KARADENIZ
100010	KARLITEPE
100011	KAZIMKARABEKIR
100012	MERKEZ
100013	SARIGÖL
100014	SEMSIPASA
100015	YENI
100016	YENIDOGAN
100017	YILDIZ TABYA
100018	ZÜBEYDEHANIM
	KADIKÖY
110001	ACIBADEM
110002	ATATÜRK
110003	BOSTANCI
110004	CADDEBOSTAN
110005	CAFERAGA
110006	DUMLUPINAR
110007	EGITIM
110008	ERENKÖY
110009	FENERBAHÇE
110010	FENERYOLU
110011	FIKIRTEPE
110012	GÖZTEPE

District Code	District Name
110013	HASANPASA
110014	IÇERENKÖY
110015	INÖNÜ
110016	KAYISDAGI
110017	KOSUYOLU
110018	KOZYATAGI
110019	KÜÇÜKBAKKALKÖY
110020	MERDIVENKÖY
110021	OSMANAGA
110022	SAHRAYICEDIT
110023	SUADIYE
110024	YENISAHRA
110025	ZÜHTÜPASA
110026	RASIMPASA
	KAGITHANE
120001	ÇAGLAYAN
120002	ÇELIKTEPE
120003	EMNIYETEVLERI
120004	GÜLTEPE
120005	GÜRSEL
120006	HARMANTEPE
120007	HÜRRIYET
120008	MERKEZ
120009	ORTABAYIR
120010	SANAYI
120011	SEYRANTEPE
120012	SIRINTEPE
120013	TALATPASA
120014	TELSIZLER
120015	YAHYAKEMAL
120016	YESILCE
	KARTAL
130001	ALTAYÇESME
130002	ALTINTEPE
130003	AYDINEVLER
130004	BAGLARBASI
130005	BASIBÜYÜK
130006	BÜYÜKBAKKAL
130007	CEVIZLI
130008	ÇARSI
130009	ÇAVUSOGLU
130010	ÇINAR
130011	ESENKENT
130012	ESENTEPE
130013	FERHATPASA
130014	FEVZULLAH
130015	FINDIKLI
130016	GAZI
130017	GÜMÜSPINAR
130018	GÜLENSU

District Code	District Name
130019	GÜLSUYU
130020	IDEALTEPE
130021	KARLIKTEPE
130022	KORDONBOYU
130023	KURFALLI
130024	KÜÇÜKYALI
130025	YAKACIKYENIMAHALLE
130026	MALTEPE-YALI
130028	ORHANTEPE
130029	PETROL IS
130030	RAHMANLAR
130031	SAMANDIRA
130032	SOGANLIK ORTA
130033	SULTANBEYLI FATIH
130034	TOPSELVI
130035	TURGUT REIS
130036	YAKACIK-YALI
130037	YENIMAHALLE
130038	YESILBAGLAR
130039	YUKARIMAHALLE
130040	ZÜMRÜTEVLER
130041	MALTEPE-CEVIZLI
130042	SOGANLIK-YENI
	KUCUK CEKMECE
140001	ALTINSEHIR
140002	AMBARLI
140003	ATATÜRK
140004	AVCILAR-MERKEZ
140005	BESYOL
140006	CENNET
140007	CIHANGIR
140008	CUMHURIYET
140009	DENIZKÖSKLER
140010	FATIH
140011	FEVZI ÇAKMAK
140012	FIRUZKÖY
140013	GÜLTEPE
140014	GÜMÜSPALA
140015	HALKALI
140016	INÖNÜ
140017	ISTASYON
140018	KANARYA
140019	KARTALTEPE
140020	KEMALPASA
140021	MEHMETAKIF
140022	MUSTAFA KEMAL PASA
140023	SÖGÜTLÜ ÇESME
140024	SULTAN MURAT
140025	TEVFIK BEY
140026	ÜNIVERSITE

District Code	District Name
140027	YENIMAHALLE
140028	YESILOVA
140029	ZIYA GÖKALP
	PENDIK
150001	AYDINLI
150002	AYDINTEPE
150003	BAHÇELIEVLER
150004	BATI
150005	CAMI
150006	ÇAMÇESME
150007	ÇINARDERE
150008	DOGU
150009	DUMLUPINAR
150010	ESENYALI
150011	FEVZIÇAKMAK
150012	GÜZELYALI
150013	HARMANDERE
150014	IÇMELER
150015	KAVAKPINAR
150016	KAYNARCA
150017	KURTKÖY
150018	ORTA
150019	SEYHLI
150020	SIFA
150021	TUZLA-POSTANE
150022	TUZLA ISTASYON
150023	VELIBABA
150024	YAYALAR
150025	YAYLA
150026	YENI
	SARIYER
160001	BÜYÜKDERE
160002	CUMHURIYET
160003	ÇAYIRBASI
160004	DERBENT
160005	EMIRGAN
160006	FERAHEVLER
160007	ISTINYE
160008	KIREÇBURNU
160009	KOCATAS
160010	MADEN
160011	MERKEZ
160012	PINAR
160013	POLIGON
160014	RESITPASA
160015	RUMELIHISARI
160016	RUMELIKAVAGI
160017	TARABYA
160018	YENIKÖY
160019	YENIMAHALLE

District Code	District Name
	SISLI
170001	AYAZAGA
170002	BOZKURT
170003	CUMHURIYET
170004	DUATEPE
170005	ERGENEKON
170006	ESENTEPE
170007	ESKISEHIR
170008	FERIKÖY
170009	FULYA
170010	GÜLBAHAR
170011	HALASKARGAZI
170012	HALIDE EDIP ADIVAR
170013	HALIL RIFAT PASA
170014	HARBIYE
170015	HUZUR
170016	INÖNÜ
170017	IZZETPASA ÇIFTLIGI
170018	KAPTANPASA
170019	KUSTEPE
170020	MAHMUT SEVKET PASA
170021	MASLAK
170022	MECIDIYEKÖY
170023	MERKEZ
170024	MESRUTIYET
170025	ONDOKUZ MAYIS
170026	PASA
170027	TESVIKIYE
170028	YAYLA
	UMRANIYE
180001	ATATÜRK
180002	ASAGI DUDULLU
180003	ÇAKMAK
180004	INKILAP
180005	ISTIKLAL
180006	KAZIM KARABEKIR
180007	MUSTAFA KEMAL
180008	NAMIK KEMAL
180009	YUKARI DUDULLU
	USKUDAR
190001	ACI BADEM
190002	AHÇIBASI
190003	AHMET ÇELEBI
190004	A.HACI CAFER
190005	ALTUNIZADE
190006	AYAZMA
190007	BAHÇELIEVLER
190008	BARBAROS
190009	BEYLERBEYI
190010	BULGURLU

District Code	District Name
190011	BURHANIYE
190012	EMNIYET
190013	ESAT PASA
190014	FETIH
190015	FERAH
190016	GÜLFEM HATUN
190017	GÜZELTEPE
190018	HACI HESNA HATUN
190019	ICADIYE
190020	IHSANIYE
190021	IMRAHOR SALACAK
190022	KEFÇE DEDE
190023	KISIKLI
190024	KIRAZLITEPE
190025	KULELI
190026	KUZGUNCUK
190027	KÜÇÜK SU
190028	MURAT REIS
190029	ÖRNEK
190030	PAZARBASI
190031	RUMI MEHMET PASA
190032	SELAMI ALI
190033	SELIMIYE
190034	SOLAK SINAN
190035	TABAKLAR
190036	TOYGAR HAMZA
190037	ÜNALAN
190038	VALIDEI ATIK
190039	YAVUZ TÜRK
190040	KANDILLI
190041	TAVASI HASAN AGA
190042	KÜPLÜCE
190043	HAVUZBASI
190044	ABDULLAH AGA
190045	HAYRETTIN ÇAVUS
190046	TEMBEL HACI MEHMET
190048	EMEK
190049	A.HACI MEHMET
190050	VANIKÖY
190051	INKILAP
	ZEYTINBURNU
200001	BESTELSIZ
200002	ÇIRPICI
200003	GÖKALP
200004	KAZLIÇESME
200005	MALTEPE
200006	MERKEZEFENDI
200007	NURIPASA
200008	SEYITNIZAM
200009	SÜMER

District Code	District Name
200010	TELSIZ
200011	VELIEFENDI
200012	YENIDOGAN
200013	YESILTEPE

2. Residential Frequencies of Female Garment Workers

N Valid	11117
Missing	0

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10001	1	.0	.0	.0
10003	1	.0	.0	.0
10004	1	.0	.0	.0
10005	2	.0	.0	.0
20001	56	.5	.5	.5
20002	43	.4	.4	.9
20003	12	.1	.1	1.0
20004	55	.5	.5	1.5
20005	45	.4	.4	1.9
20006	26	.2	.2	2.2
20007	4	.0	.0	2.2
20008	58	.5	.5	2.7
20009	50	.4	.4	3.2
20010	45	.4	.4	3.6
20011	53	.5	.5	4.1
20012	45	.4	.4	4.5
20013	36	.3	.3	4.8
20014	27	.2	.2	5.0
20015	40	.4	.4	5.4
20016	74	.7	.7	6.1
20017	30	.3	.3	6.3
20018	12	.1	.1	6.4
20019	1	.0	.0	6.4
20020	10	.1	.1	6.5
20021	3	.0	.0	6.6
20022	40	.4	.4	6.9
20023	26	.2	.2	7.2
20024	49	.4	.4	7.6
20025	67	.6	.6	8.2
20026	3	.0	.0	8.2
20027	42	.4	.4	8.6
20028	6	.1	.1	8.7
20029	42	.4	.4	9.0
20030	12	.1	.1	9.1
20031	14	.1	.1	9.3
20032	67	.6	.6	9.9
20033	67	.6	.6	10.5
20034	142	1.3	1.3	11.8
20035	5	.0	.0	11.8
20036	34	.3	.3	12.1
20037	84	.8	.8	12.9
20038	15	.1	.1	13.0
20039	69	.6	.6	13.6

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
20040	76	.7	.7	14.3
20041	60	.5	.5	14.8
20042	34	.3	.3	15.1
20043	21	.2	.2	15.3
20044	32	.3	.3	15.6
20045	60	.5	.5	16.2
20046	29	.3	.3	16.4
20047	36	.3	.3	16.7
20048	52	.5	.5	17.2
20049	27	.2	.2	17.5
20050	56	.5	.5	18.0
20051	71	.6	.6	18.6
20052	120	1.1	1.1	19.7
20053	34	.3	.3	20.0
20054	29	.3	.3	20.2
20055	10	.1	.1	20.3
20056	106	1.0	1.0	21.3
20057	98	.9	.9	22.2
20058	12	.1	.1	22.3
20059	39	.4	.4	22.6
20060	39	.4	.4	23.0
20061	41	.4	.4	23.4
20062	55	.5	.5	23.8
20063	46	.4	.4	24.3
20064	33	.3	.3	24.6
20065	22	.2	.2	24.8
20066	98	.9	.9	25.6
20067	52	.5	.5	26.1
20068	9	.1	.1	26.2
20069	11	.1	.1	26.3
20070	2	.0	.0	26.3
20071	60	.5	.5	26.8
20072	8	.1	.1	26.9
20073	21	.2	.2	27.1
20074	3	.0	.0	27.1
20075	3	.0	.0	27.2
21008	1	.0	.0	27.2
30001	41	.4	.4	27.5
30002	28	.3	.3	27.8
30003	26	.2	.2	28.0
30004	95	.9	.9	28.9
30005	29	.3	.3	29.1
30006	38	.3	.3	29.5
30007	44	.4	.4	29.9
30008	19	.2	.2	30.0
30009	30	.3	.3	30.3
30010	29	.3	.3	30.6
30011	113	1.0	1.0	31.6
30033	4	.0	.0	31.6
40001	8	.1	.1	31.7
40002	8	.1	.1	31.8
40003	2	.0	.0	31.8
40004	2	.0	.0	31.8
40005	5	.0	.0	31.9
40006	2	.0	.0	31.9

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
40007	5	.0	.0	31.9
40008	10	.1	.1	32.0
40009	4	.0	.0	32.0
40010	1	.0	.0	32.1
40011	3	.0	.0	32.1
40012	2	.0	.0	32.1
40013	1	.0	.0	32.1
40014	19	.2	.2	32.3
40015	6	.1	.1	32.3
40016	8	.1	.1	32.4
40017	6	.1	.1	32.5
40018	2	.0	.0	32.5
40019	7	.1	.1	32.5
40020	4	.0	.0	32.6
40021	2	.0	.0	32.6
50001	1	.0	.0	32.6
50002	1	.0	.0	32.6
50003	12	.1	.1	32.7
50004	7	.1	.1	32.8
50006	14	.1	.1	32.9
50008	2	.0	.0	32.9
50009	2	.0	.0	32.9
50010	14	.1	.1	33.1
50011	11	.1	.1	33.2
50012	1	.0	.0	33.2
50013	19	.2	.2	33.3
50014	4	.0	.0	33.4
50016	7	.1	.1	33.4
50017	4	.0	.0	33.5
50018	6	.1	.1	33.5
50019	6	.1	.1	33.6
50020	11	.1	.1	33.7
50021	7	.1	.1	33.8
50022	17	.2	.2	33.9
60002	6	.1	.1	34.0
60003	2	.0	.0	34.0
60004	1	.0	.0	34.0
60005	15	.1	.1	34.1
60006	11	.1	.1	34.2
60007	6	.1	.1	34.3
60008	6	.1	.1	34.3
60009	5	.0	.0	34.4
60010	21	.2	.2	34.6
60012	2	.0	.0	34.6
60013	35	.3	.3	34.9
60014	9	.1	.1	35.0
60015	5	.0	.0	35.0
60016	38	.3	.3	35.4
60017	23	.2	.2	35.6
60018	3	.0	.0	35.6
60019	9	.1	.1	35.7
60021	14	.1	.1	35.8
60022	17	.2	.2	36.0
60023	25	.2	.2	36.2
60025	16	.1	.1	36.3

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
60027	4	.0	.0	36.4
60029	6	.1	.1	36.4
60030	15	.1	.1	36.5
60031	4	.0	.0	36.6
60032	14	.1	.1	36.7
60033	2	.0	.0	36.7
60034	3	.0	.0	36.8
60035	15	.1	.1	36.9
60036	7	.1	.1	37.0
60037	55	.5	.5	37.4
60039	19	.2	.2	37.6
60040	9	.1	.1	37.7
60041	1	.0	.0	37.7
60042	10	.1	.1	37.8
60043	6	.1	.1	37.9
60044	8	.1	.1	37.9
60045	15	.1	.1	38.1
70001	3	.0	.0	38.1
70004	3	.0	.0	38.1
70005	2	.0	.0	38.1
70006	1	.0	.0	38.1
70008	3	.0	.0	38.2
70010	16	.1	.1	38.3
70012	5	.0	.0	38.4
70013	16	.1	.1	38.5
70014	1	.0	.0	38.5
70015	17	.2	.2	38.7
70017	1	.0	.0	38.7
70018	4	.0	.0	38.7
70019	2	.0	.0	38.7
70021	5	.0	.0	38.8
70022	18	.2	.2	38.9
70023	30	.3	.3	39.2
70025	19	.2	.2	39.4
70027	6	.1	.1	39.4
70029	4	.0	.0	39.5
70030	16	.1	.1	39.6
70031	2	.0	.0	39.6
80001	62	.6	.6	40.2
80002	17	.2	.2	40.3
80003	8	.1	.1	40.4
80004	38	.3	.3	40.7
80005	12	.1	.1	40.9
80006	37	.3	.3	41.2
80008	56	.5	.5	41.7
80009	27	.2	.2	41.9
80010	38	.3	.3	42.3
80013	34	.3	.3	42.6
80014	1	.0	.0	42.6
80015	3	.0	.0	42.6
80016	19	.2	.2	42.8
80017	16	.1	.1	42.9
80018	43	.4	.4	43.3
80019	5	.0	.0	43.4
80020	13	.1	.1	43.5

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
80021	25	.2	.2	43.7
90001	12	.1	.1	43.8
90002	11	.1	.1	43.9
90003	23	.2	.2	44.1
90004	18	.2	.2	44.3
90005	4	.0	.0	44.3
90006	6	.1	.1	44.4
90007	9	.1	.1	44.5
90008	2	.0	.0	44.5
90009	2	.0	.0	44.5
90010	8	.1	.1	44.6
90011	15	.1	.1	44.7
90012	26	.2	.2	44.9
90013	8	.1	.1	45.0
90014	12	.1	.1	45.1
90015	7	.1	.1	45.2
90016	25	.2	.2	45.4
90017	11	.1	.1	45.5
90018	4	.0	.0	45.5
90019	2	.0	.0	45.6
90020	12	.1	.1	45.7
90021	20	.2	.2	45.8
90022	8	.1	.1	45.9
90023	5	.0	.0	46.0
90024	10	.1	.1	46.0
90025	11	.1	.1	46.1
90026	12	.1	.1	46.3
90027	24	.2	.2	46.5
90028	9	.1	.1	46.6
90029	5	.0	.0	46.6
90030	2	.0	.0	46.6
90031	20	.2	.2	46.8
90032	11	.1	.1	46.9
90033	1	.0	.0	46.9
90034	15	.1	.1	47.0
90035	3	.0	.0	47.1
90036	9	.1	.1	47.1
90037	3	.0	.0	47.2
90038	13	.1	.1	47.3
90039	13	.1	.1	47.4
90040	16	.1	.1	47.5
90041	3	.0	.0	47.6
90043	3	.0	.0	47.6
90044	8	.1	.1	47.7
90045	14	.1	.1	47.8
90046	11	.1	.1	47.9
90047	14	.1	.1	48.0
90048	29	.3	.3	48.3
90049	10	.1	.1	48.4
90050	20	.2	.2	48.6
90051	3	.0	.0	48.6
90052	11	.1	.1	48.7
90053	5	.0	.0	48.7
90054	27	.2	.2	49.0
90055	12	.1	.1	49.1

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
90056	17	.2	.2	49.2
90057	3	.0	.0	49.3
90058	11	.1	.1	49.4
90059	31	.3	.3	49.6
90060	27	.2	.2	49.9
90061	12	.1	.1	50.0
90062	15	.1	.1	50.1
90063	3	.0	.0	50.1
90064	9	.1	.1	50.2
90065	31	.3	.3	50.5
90066	2	.0	.0	50.5
90067	13	.1	.1	50.6
90068	30	.3	.3	50.9
90069	10	.1	.1	51.0
100001	28	.3	.3	51.3
100002	84	.8	.8	52.0
100003	32	.3	.3	52.3
100004	103	.9	.9	53.2
100005	42	.4	.4	53.6
100006	57	.5	.5	54.1
100007	16	.1	.1	54.3
100008	53	.5	.5	54.7
100009	66	.6	.6	55.3
100010	27	.2	.2	55.6
100011	30	.3	.3	55.8
100012	34	.3	.3	56.1
100013	48	.4	.4	56.6
100014	42	.4	.4	57.0
100015	59	.5	.5	57.5
100016	27	.2	.2	57.7
100017	74	.7	.7	58.4
100018	57	.5	.5	58.9
100020	3	.0	.0	58.9
110001	24	.2	.2	59.2
110002	1	.0	.0	59.2
110003	17	.2	.2	59.3
110004	10	.1	.1	59.4
110005	9	.1	.1	59.5
110006	21	.2	.2	59.7
110007	12	.1	.1	59.8
110008	37	.3	.3	60.1
110009	9	.1	.1	60.2
110010	18	.2	.2	60.4
110011	19	.2	.2	60.5
110012	19	.2	.2	60.7
110013	18	.2	.2	60.9
110014	43	.4	.4	61.2
110015	2	.0	.0	61.3
110016	7	.1	.1	61.3
110017	4	.0	.0	61.4
110018	35	.3	.3	61.7
110019	14	.1	.1	61.8
110020	28	.3	.3	62.1
110021	3	.0	.0	62.1
110022	18	.2	.2	62.2

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
110023	16	.1	.1	62.4
110024	11	.1	.1	62.5
110025	19	.2	.2	62.7
110026	4	.0	.0	62.7
110028	3	.0	.0	62.7
120001	67	.6	.6	63.3
120002	36	.3	.3	63.7
120003	19	.2	.2	63.8
120004	28	.3	.3	64.1
120005	51	.5	.5	64.5
120006	39	.4	.4	64.9
120007	30	.3	.3	65.2
120008	58	.5	.5	65.7
120009	25	.2	.2	65.9
120010	38	.3	.3	66.2
120011	14	.1	.1	66.4
120012	24	.2	.2	66.6
120013	67	.6	.6	67.2
120014	13	.1	.1	67.3
120015	16	.1	.1	67.4
120016	12	.1	.1	67.6
120017	3	.0	.0	67.6
130001	8	.1	.1	67.7
130002	18	.2	.2	67.8
130003	11	.1	.1	67.9
130004	15	.1	.1	68.0
130005	8	.1	.1	68.1
130006	1	.0	.0	68.1
130007	58	.5	.5	68.7
130008	6	.1	.1	68.7
130009	6	.1	.1	68.8
130010	15	.1	.1	68.9
130011	15	.1	.1	69.0
130012	24	.2	.2	69.2
130013	1	.0	.0	69.3
130014	6	.1	.1	69.3
130015	3	.0	.0	69.3
130017	6	.1	.1	69.4
130018	15	.1	.1	69.5
130019	13	.1	.1	69.6
130020	5	.0	.0	69.7
130021	10	.1	.1	69.8
130022	7	.1	.1	69.8
130023	26	.2	.2	70.1
130024	14	.1	.1	70.2
130025	4	.0	.0	70.2
130028	19	.2	.2	70.4
130029	10	.1	.1	70.5
130030	13	.1	.1	70.6
130031	2	.0	.0	70.6
130032	15	.1	.1	70.8
130034	9	.1	.1	70.8
130036	10	.1	.1	70.9
130037	33	.3	.3	71.2
130038	3	.0	.0	71.3

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
130039	6	.1	.1	71.3
130040	34	.3	.3	71.6
140001	22	.2	.2	71.8
140002	27	.2	.2	72.1
140003	60	.5	.5	72.6
140004	26	.2	.2	72.8
140005	2	.0	.0	72.9
140006	40	.4	.4	73.2
140007	19	.2	.2	73.4
140008	83	.7	.7	74.1
140009	41	.4	.4	74.5
140010	25	.2	.2	74.7
140011	42	.4	.4	75.1
140012	22	.2	.2	75.3
140013	44	.4	.4	75.7
140014	17	.2	.2	75.8
140015	77	.7	.7	76.5
140016	56	.5	.5	77.0
140017	43	.4	.4	77.4
140018	133	1.2	1.2	78.6
140019	16	.1	.1	78.8
140020	19	.2	.2	78.9
140021	42	.4	.4	79.3
140022	25	.2	.2	79.5
140023	91	.8	.8	80.4
140024	17	.2	.2	80.5
140025	27	.2	.2	80.8
140026	6	.1	.1	80.8
140027	29	.3	.3	81.1
140028	55	.5	.5	81.6
140029	11	.1	.1	81.7
150001	8	.1	.1	81.7
150002	5	.0	.0	81.8
150003	3	.0	.0	81.8
150004	6	.1	.1	81.9
150005	2	.0	.0	81.9
150006	19	.2	.2	82.1
150007	6	.1	.1	82.1
150008	5	.0	.0	82.2
150009	8	.1	.1	82.2
150010	10	.1	.1	82.3
150011	9	.1	.1	82.4
150012	4	.0	.0	82.4
150013	1	.0	.0	82.4
150014	3	.0	.0	82.5
150015	6	.1	.1	82.5
150016	8	.1	.1	82.6
150017	15	.1	.1	82.7
150018	1	.0	.0	82.7
150019	7	.1	.1	82.8
150020	6	.1	.1	82.9
150021	2	.0	.0	82.9
150023	4	.0	.0	82.9
150024	6	.1	.1	83.0
150025	6	.1	.1	83.0

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
150026	27	.2	.2	83.3
160001	2	.0	.0	83.3
160002	13	.1	.1	83.4
160003	23	.2	.2	83.6
160004	16	.1	.1	83.7
160005	7	.1	.1	83.8
160006	4	.0	.0	83.8
160007	14	.1	.1	84.0
160008	2	.0	.0	84.0
160009	4	.0	.0	84.0
160010	10	.1	.1	84.1
160011	8	.1	.1	84.2
160012	13	.1	.1	84.3
160013	11	.1	.1	84.4
160014	9	.1	.1	84.5
160015	11	.1	.1	84.6
160017	7	.1	.1	84.6
160018	15	.1	.1	84.8
160019	2	.0	.0	84.8
170001	26	.2	.2	85.0
170002	11	.1	.1	85.1
170003	6	.1	.1	85.2
170004	19	.2	.2	85.4
170005	4	.0	.0	85.4
170006	1	.0	.0	85.4
170007	27	.2	.2	85.6
170008	18	.2	.2	85.8
170009	15	.1	.1	85.9
170010	12	.1	.1	86.0
170012	74	.7	.7	86.7
170013	1	.0	.0	86.7
170014	5	.0	.0	86.8
170015	4	.0	.0	86.8
170016	10	.1	.1	86.9
170017	22	.2	.2	87.1
170018	1	.0	.0	87.1
170019	41	.4	.4	87.5
170020	21	.2	.2	87.7
170021	2	.0	.0	87.7
170022	26	.2	.2	87.9
170023	11	.1	.1	88.0
170024	10	.1	.1	88.1
170025	13	.1	.1	88.2
170026	39	.4	.4	88.6
170027	12	.1	.1	88.7
170028	21	.2	.2	88.9
180001	31	.3	.3	89.1
180002	59	.5	.5	89.7
180003	28	.3	.3	89.9
180004	33	.3	.3	90.2
180005	28	.3	.3	90.5
180006	30	.3	.3	90.7
180007	23	.2	.2	91.0
180008	24	.2	.2	91.2
180009	46	.4	.4	91.6

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
190001	7	.1	.1	91.6
190002	1	.0	.0	91.7
190003	4	.0	.0	91.7
190004	3	.0	.0	91.7
190005	2	.0	.0	91.7
190006	1	.0	.0	91.7
190007	16	.1	.1	91.9
190008	4	.0	.0	91.9
190009	10	.1	.1	92.0
190010	27	.2	.2	92.3
190011	5	.0	.0	92.3
190012	14	.1	.1	92.4
190013	27	.2	.2	92.7
190015	12	.1	.1	92.8
190016	5	.0	.0	92.8
190017	22	.2	.2	93.0
190018	7	.1	.1	93.1
190019	23	.2	.2	93.3
190020	6	.1	.1	93.3
190021	2	.0	.0	93.4
190022	6	.1	.1	93.4
190023	11	.1	.1	93.5
190024	17	.2	.2	93.7
190025	8	.1	.1	93.7
190026	4	.0	.0	93.8
190027	4	.0	.0	93.8
190028	6	.1	.1	93.9
190029	26	.2	.2	94.1
190030	5	.0	.0	94.1
190031	3	.0	.0	94.2
190032	24	.2	.2	94.4
190033	8	.1	.1	94.5
190034	2	.0	.0	94.5
190035	3	.0	.0	94.5
190036	5	.0	.0	94.5
190037	27	.2	.2	94.8
190038	3	.0	.0	94.8
190039	12	.1	.1	94.9
190041	2	.0	.0	94.9
190042	15	.1	.1	95.1
190044	2	.0	.0	95.1
190045	1	.0	.0	95.1
190046	2	.0	.0	95.1
190048	3	.0	.0	95.2
190049	2	.0	.0	95.2
190051	2	.0	.0	95.2
200001	45	.4	.4	95.6
200002	67	.6	.6	96.2
200003	35	.3	.3	96.5
200006	22	.2	.2	96.7
200007	42	.4	.4	97.1
200008	35	.3	.3	97.4
200009	37	.3	.3	97.7
200010	106	1.0	1.0	98.7
200011	57	.5	.5	99.2

District Code	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
200012	13	.1	.1	99.3
200013	50	.4	.4	99.8
210001	2	.0	.0	99.8
210002	8	.1	.1	99.9
250001	2	.0	.0	99.9
250002	1	.0	.0	99.9
250003	3	.0	.0	99.9
250004	3	.0	.0	99.9
250005	3	.0	.0	100.0
250006	1	.0	.0	100.0
250007	2	.0	.0	100.0
250008	1	.0	.0	100.0
Total	11117	100.0	100.0	

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